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THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

VOL. II.



Elizabeth Woodville

LIVES OF
THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

BY
AGNES STRICKLAND.

"The treasures of antiquity laid up
In old historic rolls, I opened."
BEAUMONT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND.



ELIZABETH WOODVILLE,

QUEEN OF EDWARD IV.

CHAPTER I.

THE fifteenth century was remarkable for unequal marriages made by persons of royal station. Then, for the first time since the reigns of our Plantagenets commenced, was broken that high and stately etiquette of the middle ages, which forbade king or kaiser to mate with partners below the rank of princess. In that century, the marriage of the handsome Edward IV. with an English gentlewoman caused as much astonishment as the wondrous archery of Dan Cupid

“When he shot so true,
That king Cophetua wed the beggar-maid.”

But the mother of Elizabeth Woodville had occasioned scarcely less wonder in her day, when, following the example of her sister-in-law, queen Katherine, she, a princess of Luxembourg by birth, and (as the widow of the warlike duke of Bedford) the third lady of the realm, chose for her second helpmate a simple knight, who was considered the handsomest man in England. Sir Richard Woodville having been appointed commander of the guard which escorted the young widow of Bedford to England, caused an intimacy ending in marriage, which was kept secret full five years. Its discovery took place about the same time as that of the queen with Owen Tudor. What scandals, what court gossip, must have circulated throughout England in the year of grace 1436! The duchess's dower was forfeited in consequence of her marriage with Woodville, but restored, on her humble supplication to parlia-

ment, through the influence of her husband's patron, cardinal Beaufort. Grafton-castle was the principal residence of the duchess. Probably Elizabeth Woodville was born there, about 1435, some years before the discovery of her parents' marriage.¹ Her father, Sir Richard Woodville, had been one of the English commanders at Rouen, under the duke of Bedford, of whom he was the favourite knight.

After the death of the unfortunate queen-mother, Katherine, and that of the queen-dowager Joanna, the duchess of Bedford became for some time, in rank, the first lady in England, and always possessed a certain degree of influence in consequence. Her husband was in the retinue sent to escort Margaret of Anjou to England;² he was afterwards rapidly advanced at court, made baron, and finally earl of Rivers, and the duchess of Bedford became a great favourite of the young queen. The duchess was still second lady in England, yet her rank was many degrees more exalted than her fortune; therefore, as her children grew up, she was glad to provide for them at the court of her friend, queen Margaret. Her eldest daughter, the beautiful Elizabeth Woodville, was appointed maid of honour³ to that queen, little deeming that she was one day to fill her place on the English throne. While yet in attendance on her royal mistress, she captured the heart of a brave knight, Sir Hugh Johns, a great favourite of Richard, duke of York. Sir Hugh had nothing in the world wherewithal to endow the fair Woodville but a sword, whose temper had been proved in many a battle in France; he was, moreover, a timid wooer, and, very unwisely, deputed others to make the declaration of love which he wanted courage to speak himself. Richard, duke of York, was protector of England when he thus, in regal style,⁴ recommended his landless vassal to the love of her, who was one day to share the diadem of his heir:—

“TO DAME ELIZABETH WODEVILLE.

“Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

“Forasmuch as we are credibly informed that our right hearty and well-beloved knight Sir Hugh John, for the great womanhood and gentleness approved and known in your person—ye being sole, [single,] and to be married—his heart wholly have; wherewith we are right well pleased. Howbeit your disposition towards him in that behalf, as yet, is to us unknown. We therefore, as for the faithful, true, and good lordship we owe unto him at this time, (and so will continue,) desire and heartily pray ye will on your part be to him well-willed to the performing of this our writing and his desire. Wherein ye shall do not only to our pleasure, but, we doubt not, to your own great weal and worship in time to come; certifying, that if ye fulfil our intent in this matter, we will and shall be to him and you such lord, as shall be to both your great weal and worship, by the grace of God, who precede and guide you in all heavenly felicity and welfare.

“Written by RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK.”

Even if Elizabeth's heart had responded to this earnest appeal of her lover's princely master, yet she was too slenderly gifted by fortune to

¹ Monstrelet.

² Breknoke Computus.

³ Parliamentary History. Hall's Chronicle.

p. 365. Rucke and and Prevost likewise dwell on this circumstance.

⁴ Bib. Reg. 17, b. xlvii. fol. 164, vc. clv.

venture on a mere love-match. She probably demurred on this point, and avoided returning a decisive answer, for her delay elicited a second letter on the subject of Sir Hugh's great love and affection. This time it was from the pen of the famous Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. It is not written as if by a stranger to a stranger; at the same time, by his promises of "good lordship" (patronage) to Elizabeth and her lover, it is very evident he considers himself as the superior of both.

"TO DAME ELIZABETH WODEVILLE.

"Worshipful and well-beloved, I greet you well: And forasmuch my right well-beloved Sir Hugh John, knight, (which now late was with you unto his full great joy, and had great cheer, as he saith, whereof I thank you,) hath informed me how that he hath, for the great love and affection that he hath unto your person, as well as for the great sadness [seriousness] and wisdom that he hath found and proved in you at that time, as for your great and praised beauty and womanly demeaning, he desireth with all haste to do you worship by way of marriage, before any other creature living, (as he saith). I (considering his said desire, and the great worship that he had, which was made knight at Jerusalem, and after his coming home, for the great wisdom and manhood that he was renowned of, was made knight-marshal of France, and after knight-marshal of England,¹ unto his great worship, with other his great and many virtues and desert, and also the good and notable service that he hath done and daily doth to me,) write unto you at this time, and pray you *effectuously* that ye will the rather (at this my request and prayer) to condescend and apply you unto his said lawful and honest desire, wherein ye shall not only *purvey* [provide] right notably for yourself unto your weal and worship [profit and honour] in time to come, as I hereby trust, but also cause me to show unto you such good lordship [patronage] as ye by reason of it shall hold you content and pleased, with the grace of God, which everlastingly have you in his bliss, protection, and governance.

"Written by the EARL OF WARWICK."

No one can read this epistle without the conviction that the great earl of Warwick had some ambition to become a match-maker as well as a king-maker. Nevertheless, Sir Hugh met with the usual fate of a lover who has not the spirit to speak for himself, and deposes his wooing to the agency of friends,—he was rejected by the fair Elizabeth. He married a nameless damsel, and in course of time died possessor of a single manor.²

The foregoing letters could not have been written till some time in 1452. Elizabeth was that year seventeen, and she was then, as Richard of York says, "sole and to be married," that is, she was single and disengaged; a remarkable crisis of her life, when in her maiden beauty she was eagerly wooed by the avowed partisans of "the pale and of the purple rose." Some worldly considerations, besides her duty to her royal mistress, queen Margaret, seem to have led Elizabeth to reject the Yorkist partisan, Sir Hugh Johns, and the heir of the wealthy lordship of Ferrers of Groby, a cavalier firmly attached to the house of Lancaster. The time is not distinctly specified of the marriage of Elizabeth Woodville with John Gray; it probably took place soon after her rejection of the Yorkist champion in 1552. This wedlock was

¹ This, according to Sir Hugh's monument, was in 1461; therefore, these letters, which are dateless, must have been written after

that year. A fact which proves that Elizabeth was single then.

² Giraldus Cambrensis

certainly a great match for the penniless maid of honour, for it was equal to several of the alliances of the Plantagenet princesses. John Gray was son and heir to lord Ferrers of Groby, possessor of the ancient domain of Bradgate, which was hereafter to derive such lustre from being the native place of Elizabeth's descendant, lady Jane Gray. Bradgate was Gray's patrimony, by reason of his descent from the proudest blood of our Norman nobility.¹ Elizabeth, after she was married, became one of the four ladies of the bedchamber of her royal mistress, Margaret of Anjou, in whose wardrobe-book, preserved in the office of the duchy of Lancaster, she is mentioned as "lady Isabella Gray, in attendance on the queen's person,"—the name of Isabella was used in Latin writing instead of Elizabeth. Tradition declares that her marriage with the heir of Groby was a happy one. The ferocious contests between York and Lancaster commenced directly after their union.

An adventure connected with the struggle for the crown in the last stormy years of Henry VI.'s reign, placed young Edward Plantagenet, then earl of March, and the father of Elizabeth in extraordinary collision. The earl of Rivers and his son, Sir Anthony, ardent partisans of Lancaster, were fitting out ships at Sandwich by order of queen Margaret, in order to join the duke of Somerset's naval armament in 1458. At this time Sir John Dinham, a naval captain in the service of Warwick, made a descent at Sandwich, and, surprising the earl of Rivers and his son in their beds, carried them prisoners to Calais. How they were received there, William Paston² shall tell, in one of his letters to a Norfolk knight, his brother :—"As for tidings, the lord Rivers was brought to Calais, and before the lords by night, with eight-score torches; and there my lord of Salisbury rated him, calling him 'knave's son;' that 'such as *he* should be so rude as to call him and these other lords traitors, for they should be found the king's true liegemen when such as he should be found a traitor!' And my lord of Warwick rated him, and said, 'His father was but a little squire brought up with king Henry V., and since made himself by marriage, and also made a lord, and it was not *his* part to have held such language to those who were of king's blood!' And my lord March rated him likewise. And Sir Anthony Woodville was likewise rated, for his language, by all the three lords." All this rating seems to have been the *dénouement* of some old quarrel at court with the earl of March. As the duke of York had not yet claimed the crown, but only the right of succession, his son dared not take the lives of Henry VI.'s subjects in cold blood; therefore the Woodvilles escaped with the payment of ransom.

The distraction of the times was such, that her husband had no opportunity of taking his place as lord Ferrars in the house of peers³

¹ See Dugdale. Brayley.

² Paston Papers.

³ Dugdale.

on the death of his father. He was then twenty-five, handsome, brave, and manly, the leader of queen Margaret's cavalry, and an ardent and faithful partisan of her cause. Elizabeth had brought her husband two sons; one, born just before the death of lord Ferrars, was named Thomas, the other Richard. These children were born at Bradgate, which, during the lifetime of her lord, was the home of Elizabeth. There is reason to believe that Elizabeth followed her lord in the campaign which queen Margaret made in 1460. Prevost states, that previously to the second battle of St. Alban's, queen Margaret persuaded Elizabeth to visit Warwick's camp,¹ under pretence of requesting some little favour or assistance for herself, as it was known the stout earl was very partial to her; but, in reality, Elizabeth acted as a spy for her royal mistress. Elizabeth's husband, Gray lord Ferrars, commanded the cavalry of queen Margaret during that furious charge which won the day for Lancaster, at the second battle of St. Alban's. The Red rose was for a brief space triumphant; but the young victorious leader, after receiving knighthood from the sword of holy king Henry at the village of Colney, died of his wounds the 28th of February, 1461, and his beautiful Elizabeth was left desolate. A rancour so deep was held against the memory of John lord Gray, that his harmless infants, the eldest not more than four years old, were deprived of their inheritance of Bradgate, and Elizabeth herself remained a mourning and destitute widow in her native bowers of Grafton at the accession of Edward IV.

Edward IV. was the eldest of the very numerous family of Cicely Neville, duchess of York, and Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, lineal claimant of the crown of England. He was born at Rouen, in the spring of 1441-2, when the duke of York, his father, reigned as regent over that portion of France which still submitted to English domination. When the duke and duchess of York returned to England, the young prince, who was called by the admirers of his fine person, the "rose of Rouen," was established by his father, during his education, in the palatial castle of Ludlow, and here he was living with his next brother, the unfortunate young Edmund, earl of Rutland,² under the superintendence of their governor, Sir Richard Croft, a fierce and warlike marchman. So little, however, did the young princes of York like their custodian, that they compounded a letter³ to their father, when Edward was about twelve years old, taking the opportunity of "thanking his highness, their dread lord and sire, for the caps and green gowns he had sent them," but complaining most piteously "of the odious rule and governance of Richard Croft." Whether they obtained any redress cannot be told; but he remained an active military partisan for the house of York, and was the same person that took prisoner Edward's hapless young rival, the Lancastrian prince of

¹ Whethampstede.

² Slain in cold blood by Clifford, after the battle of Wakefield.

³ Ellis.

Wales, at the red field of Tewkesbury. Lady Croft, the wife of this faithful but unbeloved castellan, was a near kinswoman of the duchess of York : she had been the widow of Sir Hugh Mortimer, and she was called in Ludlow castle "their lady governess."¹ Young Edward very early entered upon his martial career; and, however ferocious he might be in battle, he presented some traits of a generous heart in his youth, and manifested in many instances an ardent attachment to his numerous tribe of brothers and sisters. It is remarkable that his subsequent passion for astrology, divination, and every kind of fortune-telling, in which he imitated the pursuits of Henry V., first impaired the bonds of family affection, and at the same time his own prosperity.

The public career of the heir of York, before and after the defeat and death of his father at Wakefield, has been already too closely interwoven with these biographies to need further detail, excepting that the circumstance of his having been born in Normandy, though forgotten by most historians, added much to his popularity when, in his twentieth year, he presented himself before the citizens of London, and claimed the crown. His Norman birth was remembered as a circumstance likely to facilitate the future reunion of England and Normandy; and the popular songs of London hailed the claimant of the English crown as the "Rose of Rouen." One of the coronation songs² commences with this allusion :—

"Now is the Rose of Rouen grown to great honour,
Therefore sing we every one y-blessed be that flower.
I warn ye every one that ye shall understand,
There sprang a rose in Rouen that spread to England;
Had not the Rose of Rouen been, all England had been dour,
Y-blessed be the time God ever spread that flower."

After describing Towton-field, and giving the rose of Rouen the utmost praise for saving the fair southern shires of England from the invasion of the northern borderers, brought by queen Margaret,—

"The Rose came to London, full royally riding,
Two archbishops of England they crowned the Rose king.
Almighty Lord! save the Rose, and give him thy blessing,
And all the realm of England joy of his crowning,
That we may bless the time God ever spread that flower."

Edward was crowned at Westminster-abbey June 28, 1461.

Nothing can be more evident than that all the connexions of Elizabeth, both parental and matrimonial, were viewed with considerable hostility by the newly-crowned king. Nevertheless, her mother was a *diplomatiste* of most consummate ability; insomuch, that the common people attributed her influence over the minds of men to sorcery. The manner in which she reconciled herself to young Edward, when she had

¹ Retrospective Review.

² Political Poems; Archæologia.

so lately been aiding and abetting queen Margaret, and, withal, after the stormy scene which had occurred between that prince and her lord and son at Calais, and after her son-in-law Gray had by his valour almost turned the scale of victory against the house of York, is really unaccountable; but the effect of her influence remains, in no equivocal terms, on the Issue rolls of Edward's exchequer. In the first year of his reign there is an entry, declaring "that the king, affectionately considering the state and benefit of Jaquetta duchess of Bedford and lord Rivers, of his especial grace" not only pays her the annual stipend of the dower she held of the crown, "three hundred and thirty-three marks, four shillings, and a third of a farthing," but actually pays 100% in advance;¹ a strong proof that Edward was on good terms with the father and mother of Elizabeth three years before he was ostensibly the lover of their daughter. Is it possible that the fair widow of Sir John Gray first became acquainted with the victor in the depths of her distress for the loss of her husband, and that Edward's sudden passion for her induced his extraordinary profession of affection for her mother and father, who were, till the death of Sir John Gray, such stanch Lancastrians? If this singular entry in the Issue rolls may be permitted to support this surmise, then did the acquaintance of Elizabeth and Edward commence two or three years earlier than all former histories have given reason to suppose. Whatever be the date of this celebrated triumph of love over sovereignty, tradition points out precisely the scene of the first interview between the lovely widow and the youthful king. Elizabeth waylaid Edward IV. in the forest of Whittlebury, a royal chase, when he was hunting in the neighbourhood of her mother's dower-castle at Grafton. There she waited for him, under a noble tree still known in the local traditions of Northamptonshire by the name of "the queen's oak."² Under the shelter of its branches the fair widow addressed the young monarch, with a fatherless boy in either hand; and when Edward paused to listen to her, she threw herself at his feet, and pleaded earnestly for the restoration of Bradgate, the inheritance of her children. Her downcast looks and mournful beauty not only gained her suit, but the heart of the conqueror.

The "queen's oak," which was the scene of more than one interview between the beautiful Elizabeth and the enamoured Edward, stands in the direct track of communication between Grafton-castle and Whittlebury-forest: it now rears its hollow trunk, a venerable witness of one of the most romantic facts that history records. If the friendly entry in the Issue rolls be taken for the date of Elizabeth's acquaintance with Edward IV., it must have commenced soon after the battle of Towton. Thus she was little more than twenty-nine³ when she first captivated him,

¹ Issue Rolls. Appendix, 480.

² Baker's Northamptonshire.

³ Fabyan and the Fragment Chronicle, printed by Hearne, at the end of the Sprott Chronicle

and her delicate and modest beauty was not yet impaired by time. Edward tried every art to induce Elizabeth to become his own on other terms than as the sharer of his regal dignity: the beautiful widow made this memorable reply: "My liege, I know I am not good enough to be your queen, but I am far too good to become your mistress." She then left him to settle the question in his own breast; for she knew he had betrayed others, whose hearts had deceived them into allowing him undue freedom. Her affections, in all probability, still clung to the memory of the husband of her youth, and her indifference increased the love of the young king. The struggle ended in his offering her marriage.

The duchess of Bedford, when she found matters had proceeded to this climax, took the management of the affair, and, pretending to conceal the whole from the knowledge of her husband, arranged the private espousals of her daughter and the king. "In most secret manner, upon the 1st of May, 1464, king Edward spoused Elizabeth, late being wife of Sir John Gray. Which spousailles were solemnized early in the morning at the town called Grafton, near to Stoney-Stratford. At which marriage was none present but the spouse [Edward], the spousesse [Elizabeth], the duchess of Bedford her mother, the priest, and two gentlewomen and a young man who helped the priest to sing. After the spousailles the king rode again to Stoney-Stratford, as if he had been hunting, and then returned at night. And within a day or two the king sent to lord Rivers, father to his bride, saying that he would come and lodge with him for a season, when he was received with all due honour, and tarried there four days, when Elizabeth visited him by night so secretly, that none but her mother knew of it. And so the marriage was kept secret till it needs must be discovered, because of princesses offered as wives to the king. There was some obloquy attending this marriage,—how that the king was enchanted by the duchess of Bedford, or he would have refused to acknowledge her daughter." In the archives of the Howard dukes of Norfolk, this marriage is always dated as taking place one year earlier, in the summer of 1463. It appears that various agents were employed in England to watch how the commonalty approved of the king's marriage: the result was communicated by Sir John Howard in a letter,¹ supposed to be addressed to the earl of Rivers, the father of the new queen, after Sir John had made interest to obtain situations for himself and his spouse in the royal household: "Also, my lord, I have been in divers places within Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and have communicated this marriage, to feel how the people of the country were disposed; and, in good faith, they are disposed in the best wise, and glad thereof. Also I have been with many divers

¹ Botfield's Household-book of Sir John Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, (Jockey of Norfolk,) who fell at Bosworth.

estates, to feel their hearts; and, in good faith, I found them all right well disposed." The queen, in the earlier period of her royalty at least, could reckon on the heir of Howard as her devoted partisan. In the ensuing year she received from him the present of a favourite hobby, or pony, called "Lyart Lewis," or "Grey Louy," valued by his accountant at 8*l*.¹

In the course of the summer of 1464, the king's marriage was discussed at court, though he yet delayed its public acknowledgment. His great desire was to prove to his peers that Elizabeth, descended of the house of Luxembourg,² was as worthy to share his throne as her mother was to marry the brother of Henry V. With this idea he sent an embassy to his ally, Charles count of Charolois, asking him to induce some of the princes of the house of Luxembourg to visit England, and claim kindred with his wife. From the remarks Monstrelet makes on this head, it may be gathered that the princes of Luxembourg had wholly forgotten and lost sight of the mother of Elizabeth. It is certain that they had been incensed at her marriage with Richard Woodville, for he says, "Richard was the handsomest man in all England, and Jaquetta was an exceedingly handsome gentlewoman; yet they never could visit the continent, or her brother count Louis St. Pol would have slain them both." Jaquetta was gradually forgotten, till the extraordinary advancement of Elizabeth and the message of her royal lord revived the remembrance of her Flemish relatives, and the count of Charolois sent word "that the coronation of Elizabeth would be attended by her kindred."

The marriage of Elizabeth gave the utmost offence to the mother of Edward IV., who, before the fall of her husband, Richard duke of York, at Wakefield, had assumed all the state of a queen, and was now infuriated at having to give place to the daughter of a man, who commenced his career as a poor squire of ordinary lineage. Cicely of Raby was the youngest daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, by Joanna Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt. Cicely married Richard duke of York, in whom centred the Mortimer title to the throne: he was the ward of her father and mother; by duke Richard she had Edward IV. and a large family. The duchess of York was remarkable for her beauty, and still more so for her indomitable pride. In the north she was called the 'rose of Raby,' but in the neighbourhood of her baronial residence of Fotheringay-castle the common people called her 'proud Cis,' for she had a throne-room at Fotheringay, where she gave receptions with the state of a queen.

The duchess of York, among other arguments against her son's wed-

¹ Botfield's Household-book of Sir John Howard, &c.

² The house of Luxembourg was coeval

with the Frankish monarchy, and the head of the family was on the imperial throne of Germany

lock, declared that the fact of Elizabeth being a widow, ought to prevent her marriage with a king, since the sovereignty would be dishonoured by such bigamy. The king merrily answered, "She is indeed a widow, and hath children; and by God's blessed Lady! I, who am but a bachelor, have some too. Madame, my mother, I pray you be content: for as to the bigamy, the priest may lay it in my way if ever I come to take orders, for I understand it is forbidden to a priest, but I never wist it was to a king."¹ This is the version king Edward's courtiers chose to give of the conversation; but there is little doubt the duchess of York reproached her son with the breach of his marriage-contract with Elizabeth Lucy, the predecessor of Elizabeth Woodville in his affections. Bitterly was this perfidy afterwards visited on the innocent family of the royal seducer. Edward was likewise married in childhood to lady Eleanor Butler, a descendant of the great earl of Shrewsbury.

It was at the ancient palace of Reading, on Michaelmas-day 1464, that Edward IV. finally declared Elizabeth to be his wedded wife. A council of the peers was convoked there, when the king took Elizabeth by the hand, and presented her to them as his rightful queen. She was then led by the young duke of Clarence, in solemn pomp, to the stately abbey-church of Reading, where she was publicly declared queen; and having made her offering, received the congratulations of all the nobility assembled there, among whom, some authorities declare, was the earl of Warwick.² A portrait of Elizabeth Woodville, to be found in a fine illumination in the British Museum,³ represents her in the costume in which she first appeared as a royal bride at Reading. The manner in which Elizabeth's hair is arranged proves that the limning was drawn while she was a bride. She wears a lofty crown, with closed arches of peculiar richness, the numerous points of which are finished by fleurs-de-lis; her hair, with the exception of a small ring in the middle of the forehead, is streaming down her back, and reaches to her knees: it is pale yellow, and its extreme profusion agrees with the description of chroniclers. She is very fair, her eyelids are cast down with an affected look of modesty, which gives a sinister expression to her face. Her attire is regal; the material of her dress is a splendid kind of gold brocade, in stripes called baudekins, which was solely appropriated to the royal family; it is garter blue, of a column pattern, alternately with gold; the sleeves are tight, the bodice close fitting, with robings of ermine turned back over the shoulders; it is girded round the waist with a crimson scarf, something like an officer's sash. The skirt of the dress is full, with a broad ermine border, and finishes with a train many yards in length: this is partly held up by the queen, while the extremity

¹ Camden's Remains.

² Dr. Lingard rejects the story of Warwick's embassy for the hand of Bona of Savoy at the time of Edward's marriage.

³ King's Library, royal MS.: illuminated for Edward IV.

is folded round the arms of a train-bearer, who is probably one of her sisters. A rich blue satin petticoat is seen beneath the dress, and the shoes are of the pointed form called sometimes "cracows," and sometimes "pignaces." About her neck she wears a pearl necklace strung in an elaborate pattern, called a device. The queen is represented entering the abbey-church of Reading, led by a youth just the age of Clarence. She is received by the abbot, whose face is very expressive. The high Syrian caps of the ladies her attendants, with the hair passed through the top, the short-waisted dresses, with robings or reverses of fur, and trains with furred borders, all mark the costume of the reign of Edward IV. The royal barges are seen waiting in a bend of the river.

The acknowledgment of Elizabeth's marriage was followed by a series of the most brilliant fêtes and tournaments that had been witnessed in England since the establishment of the order of the Garter by Edward III. At these scenes Elizabeth presided, surrounded by a virgin train of lovely sisters, who were the cynosure of the eyes of the unmarried baronage of England. Although these nobles had suffered all the portionless daughters of the duchess of Bedford to reach ages from twenty to thirty unwooed and unmarried, yet they now found that no beauties were comparable to the sisters of her whom the king delighted to honour. The exaltation of so many fair rivals did not add to the new-made queen's popularity with the female nobility of England; while her heroic brother, Anthony Woodville, by his beauty, his learning, and his prowess in the tilt-yard, with better reason raised considerable envy among his own sex. Elizabeth incensed the ancient nobility by the activity with which she mated her numerous tribe among the greatest heirs and heiresses of the realm. Anthony Woodville married the orphan of lord Scales, the richest heiress in the kingdom, whom the duchess of York designed for her son Clarence. Neither infantine juvenility nor the extreme of dotage seems to have been objected by the Woodvilles, if there were a superfluity of the goods of this world; for the queen's eldest brother, a fine young man, wedded, for her great jointure, Katherine, dowager-duchess of Norfolk, then in her eightieth year,—“a diabolical marriage,” wrathfully exclaims William of Worcester. Margaret Woodville, the October after Elizabeth was acknowledged queen, married lord Maltravers, heir of the earl of Arundel. Soon afterwards, Henry, duke of Buckingham, married Katherine Woodville; Jaquetta married the earl of Essex, and the fourth sister married the heir of the earl of Kent. In the next September, the queen's sister, Mary, married the heir of lord Herbert; and from this wedlock proceeded the first affront given to the earl of Warwick, for Herbert was promoted to some office which interfered with his interests.

At Easter, 1465, on the return of Sir Anthony Woodville from high

mass, with his royal sister, at the chapel of the Shene-palace, a bevy of her ladies surrounded him, and by the presentation of a golden knee-band figured with SS, and ornamented with a forget-me-not, gave some mystical intimation that he was expected to remember his knightly devoir of high emprise at the coronation of his sister. Anthony Woodville, who now adopted the title of lord Scales in right of his lady, thus wrote¹ to de la Roche, champion of Burgundy, from the palace of Shene:—

“Truth it is, that the Wednesday next before the solemn and devout resurrection of our blessed Saviour and Redeemer, for certain causes I drew me near toward the queen of England and of France, my sovereign lady, to whom I am right humble servant, subject, and brother. And as I spoke to her highness on my knees, my bonnet off my head, according to my duty, I know not how it happened, but all the ladies of her court environed me about, and anon I took heed that they had tied above my left knee a band of gold, garnished with precious stones which formed a letter, [it was a collar of SS, meaning ‘Souvenance,’ or remembrance,] which, when I perceived, truth to say, it came nigher to my heart than to my knee; and to this collar was hanging a noble flower of Souvenance, enamelled, and in manner of emprise. And then one of the ladies said to me, full sweetly, ‘that I ought to take a step fitting for the time;’ and then each of them withdrew demurely to their places. And I, all abashed at this adventure, rose up to go and thank them for their rich and honourable present; but when I took up my cap, I found in it a letter written on vellum, and only closed and bound with a golden thread. Now I thought this letter contained the will of the ladies expressed in writing, and that I should know the adventure which the flower of Souvenance was given me to undertake. Then humbly did I thank the queen, who of her grace had permitted such honour to be done me in her noble presence, and especially did I thank the ladies for their noble present. I went forthwith to the king of England, my sovereign lord, to show him the emprise, and that he would give me leave and licence to accomplish the contents of the said letter, to bring the adventure of the flower of Souvenance to a conclusion.” King Edward broke the thread of gold: he read the articles of combat, and permitted the jousts.² Then Woodville forwarded the articles of combat and the enamelled jewel of forget-me-not to the count de la Roche by a herald, requesting him “to touch the flower with his worthy and knightly hand, in token of his acceptance of the challenge;” the count did so, in the expectation of being one of the knights sent by Charles the Bold to do honour to the coronation-tournament of the queen.

The coronation of Elizabeth was appointed at Westminster-abbey, Whit-Sunday, the 26th of May. On Whitsun-eve the queen entered

¹ *Excerpta Hist.* 186

² *Excerpta Hist.* 136.

London from Eltham-palace, the mayor and city authorities meeting her at the foot of Shooter's-Hill, and conducting her through Southwark to the Tower. That morning Edward kept court at the Tower, where he knighted thirty-two persons, among whom were five judges and six citizens: he behaved with the utmost popularity, in order to obtain the favour of the citizens for his queen. She was carried through the city to her palace at Westminster in a litter borne on long poles, like a sedan chair, supported by stately-pacing steeds. The new-made knights all rode, on this occasion, in solemn procession before the queen's litter. She was crowned next day, with great solemnity, in Westminster-abbey, the young duke of Clarence officiating as high-steward. After the coronation, the queen sat in state at a grand banquet in Westminster-hall, where the bishop of Rochester, who sang the mass at her consecration, took his place at the king's right hand, and the duke of Buckingham (now the queen's brother-in-law, by reason of his wedlock with Katherine Woodville) sat at his left. Charles the Bold fulfilled his promise of sending to England a sovereign-prince of Elizabeth's kin, to convince the Londoners that Edward had taken to himself a helpmate of princely alliances. Count James of St. Pol, uncle to the duchess of Bedford, landed at Greenwich some days before the coronation, and brought with him a hundred knights with their servants, but the champion of Burgundy, challenged by the queen's brother, was not among them.¹ Yet Anthony had the pleasure of defeating him at Smithfield two years afterwards. The Flemish chevaliers constituted an armed band of mercenaries, ready to aid in enforcing obedience, if any opposition had occurred at the recognition of Elizabeth as queen-consort. The king regularly paid them for their attendance, for he presented the count de St. Pol with three hundred nobles, and each of his chevaliers with fifty. Sir John Howard made an entry in his household-book to the following effect: "The king oweth me for all the plate that the queen was served with on the day of her coronation."²

Elizabeth's marriage with Edward IV. drew upon them the enmity of no less a person than the celebrated Isabel of Castile, queen of Spain. In the Harleian MSS. is a letter from the Spanish ambassador, Granfidius de Sasiola, who uses these remarkable words:³—"The queen of Castile was turned in her heart from England in time past, for the unkindness she took of the king of England (Edward IV., whom God pardon), for his refusing her, and taking to wife a widow-woman of England; for which cause there was mortal war between him and the earl of Warwick, even to his death."

The queen's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was born at Westminster-palace about five months after her mother's recognition in Reading-

¹ Monstrelet.² Botfield.³ Dated August 8th, 1483. When this was

written, the Spanish ambassador was at the court of Richard III.

abbey. The royal physicians, by means of their impertinent studies of astrology, had solemnly assured king Edward that his expected child by his queen would prove a prince. The king, who was deep in the same kind of lore, had convinced himself that the infant would wear the crown of England. One of these physicians, named Dominic, was more than usually positive that an heir-male would be born. He therefore obtained leave to station himself in the queen's withdrawing-room, leading to her bedchamber, when the birth was expected, in order that he might be the first to carry the tidings of the child's sex to his royal master, Edward IV. Dominic crouched down by the bedchamber-door listening, and having heard the child cry, he knocked, and called to one of the queen's ladies and asked, "What her grace had?" The ladies about queen Elizabeth Woodville were not in the best humour, being unwilling to answer "only a girl." So one of them replied, "Whatsoever the queen's grace hath here within, sure 'tis a fool that standeth there without." Poor Dr. Dominic, much confounded by this sharp answer, and having no news to report, stole away without speaking to king Edward, whose presence he did not enter for a long time. Edward IV. consoled himself for his child being one of the weaker sex by his mode of reading the future, which promised royalty for his first-born, whether son or daughter.¹ Edward IV. was at times notoriously unfaithful to his queen; yet over his mind Elizabeth, from first to last, certainly held potent sway,—an influence most dangerous in the hands of a woman who possessed more cunning than firmness, more skill in concocting a diplomatic intrigue than power to form a rational resolve. She was ever successful in carrying her own purposes, but she had seldom a wise or good end in view; the advancement of her own relatives, and the depreciation of her husband's friends and family, were her chief objects. Elizabeth gained her own way with her husband by an assumption of the deepest humility; her words were soft and caressing, her glances timid.

The benefactions which Margaret of Anjou had bestowed upon Cambridge were continued by her successor; for early in 1466 Elizabeth appropriated a part of her income to the completion of the good work of her former mistress, and Queen's college owes its existence to these royal ladies,—

*"Anjou's heroine and the paler rose,
The rival of her crown and of her woes."*

There is preserved a beautiful portrait of Elizabeth Woodville.² If we may judge by the delicacy of the face and complexion, it must have been portrayed at the time of her benefaction to Cambridge, soon after

¹ Fabyan.

² Copied by Mr. G. P. Harding. Frontispiece of this volume.

her coronation, when her beauty was unimpaired. The costume is remarkable: the transparent hood and veil placed over a gold embroidered close cap, the shape of the Turkish *fez*, is odd, but becoming. This style of head-dress succeeded the famous horned caps of the previous century; the clear gauze, stiffened, was supported on wires or canes. The short-waisted, close-bodied gown, with tight sleeves and embroidered cuffs, and a little embroidered cape, was the costume which prevailed after that of the *cote hardi* worn by Margaret of Anjou. There is another portrait of Elizabeth, nearly a fac-simile, at Hampton-Court, painted by an inferior artist to the Cambridge one: the dress is the same, with the exception that the curious gauze hood and veil is removed, and the face left exposed, with only the ugly *fez* cap at the back of the head: all the fair hair of the queen is strained back from the temples, and packed under it. The face in the Hampton-Court portrait is faded and worn with care, yet they both evidently represent the same person.

The enmity between Elizabeth and Warwick had not at this time amounted to anything serious, for he stood godfather to her eldest daughter, born at Westminster-palace, 1466. But some months after the queen had brought an heiress to the throne, she ventured on an affront to the all-powerful minister, general, and relative of her royal lord. Warwick had set his mind on marrying Anne the heiress of the duke of Exeter and the king's sister, Anne of York, to his nephew, George Neville. Meantime, the queen slyly bought the consent of the rapacious duchess of Exeter¹ for four thousand marks, and married the young bride to her eldest son (by Sir John Gray) at Greenwich-palace, October, 1466. The queen's eagerness for wealthy alliances was punished by the loss of her purchase-money, for the heiress of Exeter died in her minority.

Elizabeth Woodville was pertinacious of her forest rights, for her autograph, extant among the Tower records, is appended to a threatening document, almost as bellicose in its style as the challenge of earl Douglas to earl Percy in the ballad of Chevy-Chase. The queen warned off her chases Sir William Stonor, although he pleaded that king Edward gave him leave; into this she says she would inquire—"In the mean season you spare of hunting within our said forests and chases as you will answer at your peril. Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the first day of August."

¹ Wm. of Worc. Anne of York, eldest child of Richard duke of York and Cicely Neville, was (according to the Friar's Genealogy) wedded in early youth to Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, the legitimate descendant of the line of Lancaster, by Elizabeth, sister of Henry IV. The duchess of Exeter was an atrocious character; she divorced and de-

spoiled her first husband, and caused the death of her second. By Exeter she had this one daughter, who was the next heir of Lancaster after Edward, son of Henry VI.; by her second husband she had another daughter, the ancestress of the illustrious house of Mansera.

The earl of Warwick had, for several years, borne a sway in England almost amounting to despotism. This influence was gradually transferred to the queen's family, and other offences ensued. Edward had so far forgotten gratitude and propriety, as to have offered some personal insult to a female relative of Warwick, generally supposed to be Isabel, his eldest daughter, who was, as the old chroniclers declare, the finest young lady in England. Such conduct was the more aggravating, since Warwick had certainly delayed his master's marriage with various princesses, in hopes that, as soon as Isabel was old enough, Edward would have made her his queen—a speculation for ever disappointed by the exaltation of Elizabeth. Warwick gave his daughter Isabel in marriage to the duke of Clarence, and England was soon after in a state of insurrection. As popular fury was especially directed against the Woodvilles, they were advised to abscond for a time; for lord Rivers, the queen's father, was lord treasurer, and he had been tampering with the coinage.

The first outbreak of the muttering storm was a rebellion in Yorkshire, under a freebooter called Robin of Redesdale, declared by some to have been a noble, outlawed for the cause of the Red rose. The insurgent defeated Edward IV.'s forces at Edgecote; and, pursuing the fugitives from the battle into the forest of Dean, found there concealed the queen's father, with his eldest son, John: they were, in the names not by the order of Clarence and Warwick, hurried to Northampton and beheaded, without judge or jury. Anthony Woodville very narrowly escaped murder. For the queen's mother a still more fearful doom was intended: one of those terrific accusations of witchcraft was prepared against her, which were occasionally aimed at ladies of royal rank whose conduct afforded no mark for other calumny. This was the third accusation of the kind which had taken place in the royal family since the year 1419. The queen was preparing to accompany her husband in a progress into Norfolk when this astounding intelligence reached her. The murder of her father and brother appears to have taken place in the middle of harvest, 1469. The blow must have fallen with great severity on Elizabeth, whose affections were knit so strongly to her own family.

When the king advanced to the north in order to inquire into these outrages, he was detained, in some kind of restraint, by Warwick and his brother Montague at Warwick-castle, where an experiment was tried to shake his affections to Elizabeth by the insinuations that her whole influence over him proceeded from her mother's skill in witchcraft. For this purpose Thomas Wake, a partisan of the Neville faction, brought to Warwick-castle some little lead and waxen images, part of the stock-in-trade of a sorceress, which he declared was captured at Grafton,¹

¹ Parl. Rolls.

with the goods of the queen's mother. Edward was far from being proof against such follies, yet this accusation seems to have had no effect on his mind. The king was taken to Middleham-castle (Warwick's stronghold in the north), where he was detained some time; there he entered into negotiations for the marriage of his infant heiress, Elizabeth of York, with young George Neville. This scheme greatly pleased the uncle and godfather of the boy, the archbishop of York, who persuaded his brothers to let Edward stay with him at his seat called the More, in Hertfordshire. Warwick sent up Edward, very severely guarded, from Middleham-castle. From the More, Edward escaped speedily to Windsor, and was soon once more in his metropolis, which was perfectly devoted to him, and where, it appears, his queen had remained in security during these alarming events. Again England was his own; for Warwick and Clarence, in alarm at his escape from the More, betook themselves to their fleet, and fled. Then the queen's brother, Anthony Woodville, who had the command of the Yorkist navy, intercepted and captured "divers of the rebel ships," but not that in which Warwick and Clarence, with their families, were embarked, which reached the coast of France. The queen was placed by the king in safety in the Tower,¹ before he marched to give battle to the insurgents. Her situation gave hopes of an addition to the royal family: she was the mother of three girls, but had not borne heirs-male to the house of York.

Edward soon found that a spirit of disaffection was busy in his army; he narrowly escaped Warwick, who had returned to England. Warned by his faithful sergeant of minstrels, Alexander Carlile,² he fled half-dressed from his revolting troops in the dead of night, and embarked at Lynn with a few faithful friends. Elizabeth was thus left alone, with her mother, to bide the storm. She was resident at the Tower, where her party still held Henry VI. a prisoner. While danger was yet at a distance, the queen's resolutions were remarkably valiant: she victualled and prepared the metropolitan fortress for siege with great assiduity. But the very day that Warwick and Clarence entered London, and proceeded to release king Henry, in a truly feminine panic Elizabeth betook herself to her barge, and fled up the Thames to Westminster,—not to her own palace, but to a strong, gloomy building called the Sanctuary, which occupied a space at the end of St. Margaret's churchyard, at a short distance from Westminster-palace; it was a massive structure, of strength sufficient to stand a siege, and had a church built over it, in the form of a cross. Such is the description given by Dr. Stukely, who had seen it standing. Built by Edward the Confessor, of such vast strength, that the workmen employed in its demolition, in the last century, almost despaired of ever being able to level it. The queen

¹ Warkworth Chronicle.² Sprott; Fragment Chronicle.

registered herself, her mother, her three little daughters,—Elizabeth, Mary, and Cicely with the faithful lady Scrope, her attendant, as sanctuary-women; and in this dismal place she awaited, with a heavy heart, the hour in which the fourth child of Edward IV. was to see the light. The long-hoped-for heir of York was born during this dark eclipse of the fortunes of his house, November 1, 1470. The queen was in a most destitute state, in want of everything; but Thomas Milling, abbot of Westminster, sent various conveniences from the abbey close by. Mother Cobb, a well-disposed midwife, resident in the Sanctuary, charitably assisted the distressed queen in the hour of maternal peril, and acted as nurse to the little prince. Nor did Elizabeth, in this fearful crisis, want friends: for master Serigo, her physician, attended herself and her son; while a faithful butcher, John Gould, prevented the whole sanctuary party from being starved into surrender, by supplying them with “half a beef and two muttons every week.” The little prince was baptized, soon after his birth, in the abbey, with no more ceremony than if he had been a poor man’s son. Thomas Milling, the abbot of Westminster, however, charitably stood godfather for the little prisoner, whose grandmother, the duchess of Bedford, with lady Scrope, were his godmothers. The sub-prior performed the ceremony, and they gave him the name of his exiled sire.

Early in March the queen was cheered with the news that Edward IV., her royal lord, had landed at Ravenspur, and soon after, that his brother Clarence had forsaken Warwick. From that moment, the revolution of his restoration was as rapid as that of his deposition. When Edward drew near the capital, “he sent, on the 9th of April, 1471, very comfortable messages to his queen, and to his true lords, servants, and lovers, who advised and practised secretly how he might be received and welcomed in his city of London.” The result was, that the metropolis opened its gates for Edward IV., and the Tower, with its unresisting inmate, king Henry, was surrendered to him. Edward hurried to the Sanctuary “and comforted the queen, that had a long time abided there, the security of her person resting solely on the great franchises of that holy place; sojourning in deep trouble, sorrow, and heaviness, which she sustained with all manner of patience belonging to any creature, and as constantly as ever was seen by any person of such high estate to endure; in the which season, natheless, she had brought into this world, to the king’s greatest joy, a fair son, a prince, wherewith she presented her husband at his coming, to his heart’s singular comfort and gladness, and to all them that him truly loved.”¹

The very morning of this joyful meeting, Elizabeth, accompanied by her royal lord, left her place of refuge. Never before had Westminster Sanctuary received a royal guest, and little was it ever deemed a prince

¹ Fleetwood’s Chronicle, edited by J. Bruce, Esq.

of Wales would first see light within walls that had hitherto only sheltered homicides, robbers, and bankrupts. The ruthless wars of the Roses, indeed, made the royal and the noble acquainted with strange house-mates; but never did the power of sanctuary appear so great a blessing to human nature, as when the innocent relatives of the contending parties fled to the altar for shelter. Like all benefits, sanctuary was abused, but assuredly it sheltered many a human life in these destructive and hideous contests. The same day that Edward IV. took Elizabeth from the Sanctuary, he carried her to the city, where he lodged her and her children in Castle-Baynard, a bastile-built palace, and his family property, which had been held in his father's time, when the Tower of London was untenable. Here Edward and his queen heard divine service that night, slept there,¹ and kept Good-Friday solemnly next day. On Easter-Sunday Edward gained the battle of Barnet, and the deaths of Warwick and Montague insured the ultimate success of the house of York. Elizabeth retired to the Tower of London while her husband gained the battle of Tewkesbury. The news of his success had scarcely reached her, before the Tower was threatened with storm by Falconbridge, a relative of the earl of Warwick; and "therein," says Fleetwood, "was the queen, my lord prince, and the ladies the king's daughters, all likely to stand in the greatest jeopardy that ever was," from the formidable attack of this last partisan of Lancaster. The queen's valiant brother, Anthony Woodville, was there, and she, relying on his aid, stood the danger this time without running away; but, assuredly, nature had never intended Elizabeth for an amazon.

After Edward had crushed rebellion, by almost exterminating his opponents, he turned his attention to rewarding the friends to whom he owed his restoration. He sagaciously considered that the interesting situation in which his wife had placed herself during his exile, had greatly contributed to his ultimate success. Indeed, the feminine helplessness of Elizabeth Woodville, and the passive resignation with which she endured the evils and inconveniences of the sanctuary-house in the hour of maternal weakness and agony, had created for her a tender regard throughout the realm, that actually did more benefit to the cause of York than the indomitable spirit of Margaret of Anjou effected for the opposite party. Wonder and affection were awakened for Elizabeth, and, during the winter of 1470-1, tidings of the queen's proceedings in sanctuary were the favourite gossip of the matrons of London. Edward IV. bestowed princely rewards on those humble friends² who had aided "his Elizabeth," as he calls her, in that fearful crisis. He pensioned Margaret Cobb with 12*l.* per annum, Dr. Serigo with 40*l.*; and likewise rewarded butcher Gould, by leave to load a royal ship with hides and tallow.

¹ Holinshed.² Fodera.

Abbot Thomas Milling, the queen's benefactor in sanctuary, the king called to his privy council, and finally confirmed his election to the bishopric of Hereford.

CHAPTER II.

ELIZABETH'S court is described by an eye-witness, who was her guest both at Windsor and Westminster in 1472. He was Louis of Bruges, lord of Grauthuse, governor of Holland, who had hospitably received Edward when he fled in the preceding year from England, and landed with a few friends at Sluys, "the most distressed company of creatures," as Comines affirms, "that ever was seen;" for Edward had pawned his military cloak, lined with marten fur, to pay the master of his ship, and was put on shore in his waistcoat. The lord of Grauthuse received him, and fed and clothed him, and lent him money and ships, without which he would never have been restored to his wife and country. After his restoration Edward invited his benefactor to England, in order to testify his gratitude, and introduce him to Elizabeth. "When the lord of Grauthuse came to Windsor,¹ my lord Hastings received him, and led him to the far side of the quadrant (the quadrangle of Windsor-castle), to three chambers, where the king was then with the queen. These apartments were very richly hung with cloth of gold arras; and when he had spoken with the king, who presented him to the queen's grace, they then ordered the lord chamberlain Hastings to conduct him to his chamber, where supper was ready for him."

After his refreshment, the king had him brought immediately to the queen's own withdrawing room, where "she and her ladies were playing at the marteaux, a game with balls like marbles; and some of her ladies were playing at closheys [nine-pins] of ivory, which sight was full pleasant. Also king Edward danced with my lady Elizabeth, his eldest daughter. In the morning, when matins were done, the king heard in his own chapel [that of St. George, at Windsor-castle] Our Lady mass, which was most melodiously sung. After mass, king Edward gave his guest a cup of gold, garnished with pearl. In the cup was a great piece of unicorn's horn, to *my* estimation seven inches in compass; and on the cover of the cup a great sapphire. Then the king came into the quadrant. My lord prince also, borne by his chamberlain, master Vaughan, bade the lord Grauthuse welcome." The innocent little prince was then only eighteen months old. "Then the king took his guest into the little park, where they had great sport; and there the king made him ride on his own horse, a right fair hobby, which the king

¹ Narrative of Louis of Bruges, Lord Grauthuse: edited by Sir F. Madden. *Archæologia*.

gave him. The king's dinner was in the lodge in Windsor-park. After dinner, the king showed his guest his garden and vineyard of pleasure. Then the queen did ordain a grand banquet in her own apartments, at which king Edward, her eldest daughter, the duchess of Exeter, the lady Rivers, and the lord of Grauthuse all sat with her at one mess; and at another table sat the duke of Buckingham, my lady his wife, sister to the queen, my lord Hastings, chamberlain to the king, my lord Berners, chamberlain to the queen, the son of lord Grauthuse, and master George Barthe, secretary to the duke of Burgundy. There was a side-table, at which sat a great *view* of ladies, all on one side of the room. Also on one side of the outer chamber sat the queen's gentlewomen. And when they had supped, my lady Elizabeth, the queen's eldest daughter, danced with the duke of Buckingham, her aunt's husband." It appears to have been the court etiquette, that this young princess, then but six years old, should only dance with her father or uncles.

"Then, about nine of the clock, the king and the queen, with her ladies and gentlewomen, brought the lord of Grauthuse to three chambers of pleasaunce, all hanged with white silk and linen cloth, and all the floors covered with carpets. There was ordained a bed for himself, of as good down as could be gotten: the sheets of Rennes cloth. Also fine festoons; the counterpane, cloth of gold, furred with ermines. The tester and *ceiler* also shining cloth of gold, the curtains of white sarcelin; as for his head-suit and pillows, they were of the queen's own ordering. In the second chamber was likewise another state-bed, all white. Also in the chamber was made a couch with feather beds, and hanged above like a tent, knit like a net; and there was a cupboard. In the third chamber was ordained a bayne [bath] or two, which were covered with tents of white cloth." Could the present age offer a more luxurious or elegant arrangement in a suite of sleeping-rooms, than in those provided by Elizabeth for her husband's friend?

"And when the queen, with all her ladies, had showed him these rooms, the queen, with the king and attendants, turned again to their own chambers, and left the said lord Grauthuse there with the lord chamberlain Hastings, *which despoiled* him [helped him undress], and they both went together to the bath. And when they had been in their baths as long as was their pleasure, they had green ginger, divers syrups, comfits, and ipocras served by the order of the queen. And in the morning he took his cup with the king and queen, and returned to Westminster again. And on St. Edward's-day, 13th of October, king Edward kept his royal state at Westminster-palace. In the forenoon he came into the parliament in his robes, on his head a cap of maintenance, and sat in his most royal majesty, having before him his lords spiritual and temporal. Then the speaker of the common parliament,

named William Allington, declared before the king and his nobles the intent and desire of his commons, especially in 'their commendation of the womanly behaviour and great constancy of his queen when he was beyond sea : also the great joy and surety of this land in the birth of the prince ; and the great kindness and humanity of the lord Grauthuse, then present, shown to the king when in Holland.' " Grauthuse was then, with all due ceremony, created earl of Winchester—Occleve, the poet, reading aloud his letters-patent. Then the king went into the white-hall, whither came the queen crowned ; also the prince in his robes of state, borne after the queen in the arms of his chamberlain, master Vaughan. And thus the queen, and the king, with the little prince carried after them, proceeded into the abbey-church, and so up to the shrine of St. Edward, where they offered. Then the king turned down into the choir, where he sat in his throne. The new earl of Winchester bare his sword unto the time they went to dinner. As a finale to the entertainments, king Edward created a king-at-arms, baptizing him "Guienne." Norroy was forced to proclaim the largess of the new earl of Winchester, since "master Garter had an impediment in his tongue,"—a circumstance affording much mirth to the king. A voide of light refreshments was then served to the king, and the lord of Grauthuse made his *congé*." The meal now called tea was, at this era, termed "a voide," as it was considered the dismissal of the company ; it was served on a tray, ever since called "a voider."

The queen's visit to Oxford was long remembered there. She arrived from Woodstock after sunset with the king, her mother, and the duchess of Suffolk ; they entered Oxford with a great crowd of people running before the royal *charrettes*, bearing torches. The queen's brother, Lionel Woodville, the new chancellor, received and harangued the royal party, who tarried till after dinner the next day. King Edward viewed the new buildings of Magdalen, and made an oration in praise of Oxford, declaring he had sent his nephews, the sons of the duchess of Suffolk, to be educated there, as a proof of his esteem. The queen's mother, the duchess of Bedford, died not long after the visit to Oxford.

The espousals of young Richard, duke of York, with Anne Mowbray, the infant heiress of the Duchy of Norfolk, took place at St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, January, 1477, which was splendidly hung with arras of gold on this occasion. The king, the young prince of Wales, the three princesses, Elizabeth, Mary, and Cicely, were present ; the queen led the little bridegroom, who was not five, and her brother, earl Rivers, led the baby bride, scarcely three years old. They afterwards all partook of a rich banquet, laid out in the Painted-chamber. The innocent and ill-fated children then married, verified the old English proverb, which says,

Soon after this infant marriage, all England was startled by the strange circumstances attending the death of the duke of Clarence.

Edward IV., though deeply stained with bloodshed in war and martial executions, was, in the earlier periods of his life, susceptible of the tenderest feelings of natural affection and disinterested love: he had acted the part of a kind parent to his father's unprotected younger children.¹ Clarence was not more than twelve years old at the battle of Towton; it is therefore evident that he owed his high station wholly to the valiant arm of his elder brother. The best feelings of Edward were outraged by the unprovoked revolt of Clarence, nor did his return to allegiance, prompted as it was by the most sordid motives, raise him in his brother's esteem. Edward possessed, in an exaggerated degree, the revengeful spirit of the royal line of Plantagenet. "He shall repent it, through every vein of his heart," was his usual expression if any one crossed his will; and he too often kept his word. But if the misdeeds of a brother he had once so fondly loved were not likely to be forgiven by Edward, they were still less likely to be forgotten by the queen, who had been cruelly injured by Clarence. Her beloved father and her brother had been put to death in his name; her brother Anthony, the pride of English chivalry, had narrowly escaped a similar fate: moreover, her mother had been accused of sorcery by the Clarence party.

Clarence was exasperated because the queen opposed his endeavour to obtain the hand of Mary of Burgundy in a second marriage, yet his grief at the loss of his wife, Isabel of Warwick, had almost unsettled his reason, and he had illegally put one of her attendants to death, whom he accused of poisoning her. He muttered imputations of sorcery against the queen, in which he implicated king Edward.² The queen was at Windsor with her royal lord when the news was brought him that his brother Clarence, after sitting at the council-board for many days doggedly silent, with folded arms, had one morning rushed into the council-room, and uttered most disrespectful words against the queen and his royal person, concerning the deaths of his friends Burdett and Stacy. The comments of the queen did not soothe Edward's mind, who hurried to Westminster, and the arrest, arraignment, and sentence of the unhappy Clarence soon followed. He was condemned to death, but the king demurred on his public execution. Clarence had, since the death of his beloved Isabel, desperately given himself over to intemperance, in order to drown the pains of thought. In his dismal prison of the Bowyer Tower a butt of malmsey was introduced, and he was found dead, with his head hanging over the butt, the night after he had offered his mass-penny at the chapel within the Tower. Probably Clarence was the victim of his own frailty. He was beset with temptation; despair, loneliness, a vexed conscience, the habit of drinking, and a flow-

¹ Fenn's Paston Papers

² Parliamentary Rolls.

ing butt of his favourite nectar at his elbow, left little trouble either to assassins or executioners. The partisans of the queen and the duke of Gloucester mutually recriminated his death on each other. Gloucester was certainly absent from the scene of action, residing in the north. On the St. George's day succeeding this grotesque but horrible tragedy, the festival of the Garter was celebrated with more than usual pomp; the queen took a decided part in it, and wore the robes as chief lady of the order. The queen kept up a correspondence by letter with the duchess of Burgundy, with the ambitious hope of obtaining the hand of Mary of Burgundy for her brother, lord Rivers. When the duchess visited the court of England in August, 1480, the queen's youngest brother, Sir Edward Woodville, was sent with a fleet to escort her. The duchess sojourned at Cold-harbour, the city residence which had lately belonged to her deceased brother Clarence. Among other gifts, she was presented at her departure with a magnificent side-saddle.¹

The queen's accomplished brother, lord Rivers, continued his patronage to the infant art of printing. In the archbishop of Canterbury's library there is an illuminated MS., representing earl Rivers introducing his printer, Caxton, and a book, to king Edward and queen Elizabeth, who are seated in state, with their son the prince of Wales standing between them. The prince is very lovely, with flowing curls. The pride of Elizabeth Woodville was inflated excessively by the engagement which the king of France had made for his son with her eldest daughter Elizabeth. She did not sufficiently calculate that it was the dread of her warlike husband's arms which had occasioned the alliance, rather than any regard for her on the part of Louis XI. Elizabeth positively degraded her young princess by the impolitic parade she made regarding these expectations, and, withal, perpetually importuned the crafty French king to know when she should send him "her dauphiness."²

The last years of king Edward's life were passed in repose and luxury, which had most fatal effects on his health. He had long given the queen's place in his affections to his beautiful mistress, Jane Shore, a goldsmith's wife in the city, whom he had seduced from her duty. The death of Edward IV. is said to have been hurried by the pain of mind he felt at the conduct of Louis XI., who broke the engagement he had made to marry the dauphin to the princess Elizabeth of York, but an intermittent fever was the immediate cause of his death. When expiring, he made his favourites, Stanley and Hastings, vow reconciliation with the queen and her family; and, propped with pillows, the dying monarch exhorted them to protect his young sons. He died with great professions of penitence, at the early age of forty-two. If the king left

¹ Wardrobe accounts of Edward IV., edited by Sir Harris Nicolas.

² M. Michelet, *History of France*; and *Cemines*.

any directions for the government of his kingdom during his son's minority, they were not acted upon, for no will of his is extant, save one made at the time of his invasion of France. Excepting the control of the marriages of his daughters, this document gave no authority to the queen,¹ though it secures to her, with many affectionate expressions, all the furniture, jewels, and other movables she had used at various places, and the possession of her dower, which had been, unfortunately for her, settled from the confiscated possessions of the house of Lancaster.

Edward expired at Westminster, April 9th, 1483. On the day of his death his body, with the face, arms, and breast uncovered, was laid out on a board for nine hours, and all the nobility, and the lord mayor and aldermen of London, sent for to recognise it, and testify that he was really dead. Afterwards he was robed and clad royally: the whole psalter was read over the body, and it was watched by bannerets and knights, in long black gowns and hoods. At the mass of requiem, the queen's chamberlain, lord Dacre, offered for her. Her son, the marquess of Dorset, and lord Hastings, took distinguished parts at the funeral; but the earl of Lincoln, son of the duchess of Suffolk, Edward IV.'s sister, attended as chief mourner at his uncle's burial. The royal corpse was finally taken by water to Windsor, and interred with great pomp in the beautiful chapel of St. George.

Skelton, laureate of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. has made Edward IV. the subject of a poem, which probably first brought him into notice at the court of Elizabeth of York, daughter to the deceased monarch. The verses are cast as if king Edward himself thus spoke:—

"I made the Tower strong, I wist not why,—
Knew not for whom! I purchased Tattersal;²
I strengthened Dover on the mountain high,
And London I convoked to fortify her wall;
I made Nottingham a palace-royal,
Windsor, Eltham, and many other mo;
Yet at the last I went from them all,
Et ecce nunc in pulvere dormio!
Where is now my conquest and royal array?
Where be my coursers and my horses high?
Where is my mirth, my solace, and my play?
As vanity is nought, all is wandered away!"

Then, addressing his widowed queen by the familiar name which tradition says he was accustomed to use, Edward is supposed to say,—

"Oh lady Bessee! long for me ye may call,
For I am departed until the doomsday;
But love ye that Lord who is sovereign of all."

Elizabeth was left, in reality, far more desolate and unprotected in

¹ Excerpta Historica.

² A stately castle in Lincolnshire.

her second than in her first widowhood. The young king was pursuing his studies at Ludlow-castle, and presiding over his principality of Wales, under the care of his accomplished uncle, Rivers, and the guardianship of his faithful chamberlain, Vaughan, the same person who carried him in his arms after the queen and his royal father, on all public occasions, when the little prince was a lovely babe of eighteen months old.

Elizabeth sat at the first council after the death of her husband, and proposed that the young king should be escorted to London by a powerful army. Fatally for himself and his royal master's children, jealousy of the Woodvilles prompted Hastings to contradict this prudent measure. He asked her, insolently, "Against whom the young sovereign was to be defended? Who were his foes? Not his valiant uncle Gloucester! Not Stanley, or himself! Was not this proposed force rather destined to confirm the power of her kindred, and enable them to violate the oaths of amity they had so lately sworn by the death-bed of their royal master?" He finished by avowing "that he would retire from court, if the young king were brought to London surrounded by soldiers." Thus taunted, the hapless Elizabeth gave up, with tears, the precautionary measures her maternal instinct had dictated; the necessity for which not a soul in that infatuated council foreboded but herself, and even *she* was not aware of her real enemy. The turbulent and powerful aristocracy, at the head of whom was Hastings, and who had ever opposed her family, were the persons she evidently dreaded. The duke of Gloucester had been very little at court since the restoration, and never yet had entered into angry collision with the Woodvilles. He was now absent at his government of the Scottish borders. When he heard of the death of the king, he immediately caused Edward V. to be proclaimed at York, and wrote a letter of condolence¹ to the queen, so full of deference, kindness, and submission, that Elizabeth thought she should have a most complying friend in the first prince of the blood. So the council commanded earl Rivers to bring up the young king, without the militia of the Welsh border,—those hardy soldiers who had more than once turned the scale of conquest in favour of York; and if they had now been headed by the valiant Rivers, would have ensured the safety of Edward V.

Astounding tidings were brought to the queen, at midnight, on the 3rd of May, that the duke of Gloucester, marching with his cavalry from the north, joined by the duke of Buckingham and his feudal array, had intercepted the young king on his progress to London, had seized his person, and arrested earl Rivers and lord Richard Gray on the 29th of April. Elizabeth then bitterly bewailed the time that she was persuaded from calling out the militia to guard Edward V. on his journey. In that

¹ Carte. Hall.

moment of agony she, however, remembered, that while she could keep her second son in safety, the life of the young king was secure. "Therefore," says Hall, "she took her young son, the duke of York, and her daughters, and went out of the palace of Westminster into the Sanctuary, and there lodged in the abbot's place; and she, and all her children and company, were registered as sanctuary persons." Dorset, the queen's eldest son, directly he heard of the arrest of his brother, weakly forsook his important trust as constable of the Tower, and came into the sanctuary to his mother. "Before day broke, the lord chancellor, Rotherham, archbishop of York, who lived in York-place, beside Westminster-abbey, having received the news of the duke of Gloucester's proceedings, called up his servants, and took with him the great seal, and went to the queen, about whom he found much heaviness, rumble, haste, and business with conveyance of her [household] stuff into sanctuary. Every man was busy to carry, bear, and convey stuff, chests, and fardels [packages]; no man was unoccupied, and some walked off with more than they were directed, to other places. The queen sat alow [below] on the rushes in dismay." Another chronicler adds to this picturesque description, "that her long fair hair, so renowned for its beauty, escaped from its confinement, and streaming over her person, swept on the ground;"—a strange contrast with the rigid etiquette of royal widows' costume, which commanded not only that such profusion of glittering tresses should be hid under hood and veil, but that even the queen's forehead should be covered with a white frontlet, and her chin, to the upper lip, with a piece of lawn called a barb. The faithful archbishop informed the sorrowing queen of a cheering message, "sent him by lord Hastings in the night. 'Ah, woe worth him!' replied Elizabeth, 'for it is he that goeth about to destroy me and my blood.'—'Madame,' said the archbishop, 'be of good comfort; I assure you, if they crown any other king than your eldest son, whom they have with them, we will on the morrow crown his brother, whom you have with you here. And here is the Great Seal, which in likewise as your noble husband gave it to me, so I deliver it to you for the use of your son.' And therewith he delivered it to the queen, and departed from her in the dawning of day; and when he opened his window, and looked forth on the Thames, he saw the river covered with boats full of the duke of Gloucester's servants, watching that no one might go to the queen's asylum."¹ Sir Thomas More (and he ought to be good authority for anything relating to chancellors' seals) affirms, that the archbishop, alarmed at the step he had taken, went afterwards to Elizabeth, then in sanctuary, and persuaded her to return the Great Seal; but Gloucester never forgave him for its original surrender.

The apartments of the abbot of Westminster are nearly in the same

¹ Hall.

state, at the present hour, as when they received Elizabeth and her train of young princesses. The noble hall, now used as a dining-room for the students of Westminster-school, was, doubtless, the place where Elizabeth seated herself in her despair, "*alow* on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed;" still may be seen the circular hearth in the midst of the hall, and the remains of a *louvre* in the roof, at which such portions of smoke as chose to leave the room departed. But the merry month of May was entered when Elizabeth took refuge there, and round about the hearth were arranged branches and flowers, while the stone-floor was strewn with green rushes. At the end of the wall is oak panelling, latticed at top, with doors leading by winding stone-stairs to the most curious nest of little rooms that the eye of antiquary ever looked upon. These were, and still are, the private apartments of one of the dignitaries of the abbey, where all offices of buttery, kitchen, and laundry are performed under many a quaint gothic arch, in some places (even at present) rich with antique corbel and foliage. This range, so interesting as a specimen of the domestic usages of the middle ages, terminates in the abbot's own private sitting-room, which yet looks down on his little quiet flower-garden. Nor must the passage be forgotten leading from this room to the corridor, furnished with lattices, still remaining, where the abbot might, unseen, be witness of the conduct of his monks in the great hall below. Communicating with these are the state-apartments of the royal abbey, larger in dimensions and more costly in ornament, richly dight, with painted glass and fluted oak panelling. Among these may be especially noted one called the organ-room, likewise the ante-chamber to the great Jerusalem-chamber; which last was the abbot's state reception-room, and retains to this day, with its gothic-window of painted glass, of exquisite workmanship, its curious tapestry and fine original oil portrait of Richard II.¹

Such are the principal features of the dwelling, whose monastic seclusion was once broken by the mournful plaints of the widowed queen, or echoed to the still more unwonted sounds of infant voices; for, with the exception of the two beautiful and womanly maidens, Elizabeth and Cicely, the royal family were young children. The queen took with her into sanctuary Elizabeth, seventeen years old at this time, afterwards married to Henry VII. The next princess, Mary, had died at Greenwich, a twelvemonth before this calamitous period. Cicely, whom Hall calls "less fortunate than fair," was in her fifteenth year: she afterwards married lord Welles. These three princesses had been the companions of their mother in their infancy when she had formerly sought sanctuary. Richard, duke of York, born at Shrewsbury in 1472, was at this time eleven years old. Anne, born in 1474, after the date of her father's

¹ The authors of this work are indebted for the examination of the secluded portions of Westminster-abbey to the courteous permission of the Rev Henry Milman

will (in which only the eldest daughters are named), was about eight years old. Katherine, born at Eltham, about August, 1479, then between three and four years old: she afterwards married the heir of Devonshire. Bridget, born at Eltham, 1480, November 20th, then only in her third year; she was devoted to the convent from her birth, and was professed a nun at Dartford.

The queen had, in council, appointed May 4th for her son's coronation; his false uncle, however, did not bring him to London till that day. Edward V. then entered the city, surrounded by officers of the duke of Gloucester's retinue, who were all in deep mourning for the death of the late monarch. At the head of this posse rode Gloucester himself, habited in black, with his cap in his hand, oft-times bowing low, and pointing out his nephew (who wore the royal mantle of purple velvet) to the homage of the citizens. Edward V. was at first lodged at the bishop of Ely's palace;¹ but as the good bishop (in common with all the high clergy) was faithful to the heirs of Edward IV., the young king was transferred to the regal apartments in the Tower, under pretence of awaiting his coronation. Gloucester's next object was to get possession of prince Richard, then safe with the queen. After a long and stormy debate between the ecclesiastical and temporal peers at a council held in the Star-chamber (close to Elizabeth's retreat), it was decided "that there might be sanctuary men and women, but as children could commit no crime for which an asylum was needed, the privileges of sanctuary could not extend to them; therefore the duke of Gloucester, who was now recognised as lord protector, could possess himself of his nephew by force if he pleased." The archbishop of Canterbury was unwilling that force should be used, and he went with a deputation of the temporal peers, to persuade Elizabeth to surrender her son. When they arrived at the Jerusalem-chamber, the archbishop urged "that the young king required the company of his brother, for he was melancholy without a playfellow." To this Elizabeth replied, "Troweth the protector,—ah! pray God he may prove a protector!—that the king doth lack a playfellow?"¹ Can none be found to play with the king but only his brother, which hath no wish to play because of sickness? as though princes, as young as they be, could not play without their peers,—or children could not play without their kindred, with whom (for the most part) they agree worse than with strangers!"

At last she said, "My lord, and all my lords now present, I will not be so suspicious as to mistrust your truths." Then taking young Richard by the hand, she continued, "Lo, here is this gentleman, whom I doubt not would be safely kept by me, if I were permitted; and well do I know there be some such deadly enemies to my blood, that, if

¹ Hall.

they wist where any lay in their own bodies, they would let it out if they could. The desire of a kingdom knoweth no kindred: brothers have been brothers' bane, and may the nephews be sure of the uncle? Each of these children is safe while they be asunder. Notwithstanding, I here deliver him, and his brother's life with him, into your hands, and of you I shall require them before God and man. Faithful be ye I wot well, and power ye have, if ye list, to keep them safe; but if ye think I fear too much, yet beware ye fear not too little! And therewithal," continued she, to the child, "farewell! mine own sweet son. God send you good keeping! Let me kiss you once ere you go, for God knoweth when we shall kiss together again!" And therewith she kissed and blessed him, and turned her back and wept, leaving the poor innocent child weeping as fast as herself.¹ When the archbishop and the deputation of lords had received the young duke, they brought him "into the Star-chamber, where the lord protector took him in his arms with these words: 'Now welcome, my lord, with all my very heart!' He then brought him to the bishop's palace at St. Paul's, and from thence honourably through the city to the young king at the Tower, out of which they were never seen abroad."² Elizabeth has been blamed for yielding up her son to the murderers of her brother Rivers, and of her son Richard Gray; but it is certain that they were alive, and not deemed in any danger, at Pontefract.

Meantime preparations went on, night and day, in the abbey and the vicinity for the coronation of Edward V. Even the viands for the banquet were bought, which Hall declares were afterwards spoilt and thrown away. On the 13th of June, Richard of Gloucester called a council at the Tower, ostensibly to fix the precise time of the coronation, but in reality to ascertain which of the lords were in earnest to have young Edward for their king. The first attack on Elizabeth took place at this council-table, when Gloucester, after finding Hastings incorruptible in his fealty to the heirs of Edward IV., broke out into a strain of invective against him, as leagued with that "witch, dame Gray, called his brother's wife, who, in conjunction with Jane Shore, had by their sorceries withered his arm." He showed his arm, which all present well knew had been long in that state. Hastings was about to deny any alliance with the queen or with the powers of darkness, when he was rudely interrupted, dragged forth to the Tower-yard, and beheaded, without trial, before Gloucester's dinner was served. The same morning Hastings had exulted much on hearing the report that lord Richard Gray, the queen's son, and earl Rivers, her brother, whom he especially hated, had been put to death at Pontefract; executions which in reality did not take place until ten days afterwards.

The next blow was the attempt made at St. Paul's-cross, by Dr

¹ Sir Thomas More; and Hall.

² *Ibid.*

Shaw, to prove the queen's marriage invalid and her children illegitimate. This man, however, overshot his mark, by attacking Cicely of York, Richard's mother. For the duchess of York, always the mortal enemy of Elizabeth, was the zealous partizan of Richard, whose private councils were held at Baynard's Castle, his mother's London residence. Dr. Shaw reaped no fruits but disgrace for his blundering malice. Soon afterwards, the faction of the duke of Gloucester presented a petition to prevent the crown from falling to the issue of "the pretended marriage between king Edward and Elizabeth Gray, made without the assent of the lords of the land, and by the sorcery of the said Elizabeth and her mother Jaquetta (as the public voice is through the land), privily and secretly in a chamber, without proclamation by banns according to the laudable custom of the church of England; the said king Edward being married and troth-plight a long time before to one Eleanor Butler, daughter to the old earl of Shrewsbury."¹ A forced recognition of Richard as king, in the hall of Crosby-house, his town residence, followed the presentation of this petition, and from that day, June 26th, the son of Elizabeth Woodville was considered as deposed. The coronation of Richard III. took place ten days after.

"Forthwith the two young princes were both shut up, and all their people removed but only one, called Black Will, or Will Slaughter, who was set to serve them, and four keepers to guard them. The young king was heard to say, sighingly, 'I would mine uncle would let me have my life, though he taketh my crown.' After which time the prince never tied his points, nor anything attended to himself; but, with that young babe his brother, lingered in thought and heaviness till the traitorous deed delivered them from wretchedness."

During Richard's progress to the north, in the beginning of August, 1483, he roused Sir James Tyrell, his master of horse, from his pallet-bed in his guard-chamber, one night, at Warwick-castle, and sent him to destroy the royal children. Sir Robert Brakenbury refused to co-operate, but obeyed the royal mandate to give up the keys of the Tower for one night to the usurper's emissary. "Then Sir James Tyrell devised that the princes should be murdered in bed, to the execution whereof he appropriated Miles Forest, one of their keepers, a fellow flesh-bred in murder; and to him he joined one John Dighton, his own horse-keeper, a big, broad, square knave. All their other attendants being removed from them, and the harmless children in bed, these men came into their chamber, and suddenly lapping them in the clothes, smothered and stifled them till thoroughly dead: then laying out their bodies in the bed, they fetched Sir James to see them, who caused the murderers to bury them at the stair-foot, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones. Then rode Sir James in great haste to king Richard, and showed him the man-

¹ Hall, after Sir T. More.

ner of the murder, who gave him great thanks, but allowed not their burial in so vile a corner, but would have them buried in *consecrated* ground. Sir Robert Brakenbury's priest then took them up, and where he buried them was never known,¹ for he died directly afterwards.

When the news was first brought to the unfortunate queen-mother, "yet being in the sanctuary, it struck to her heart like the sharp dart of death: she was so suddenly amazed, that she swooned and fell to the ground, and there lay in great agony, yet like to a dead corpse. And after she was revived and came to her memory again, she wept and sobbed, and with pitiful screeches filled the whole mansion. Her breast she beat, her fair hair she tare and pulled in pieces, and calling by name her sweet babes, accounted herself mad when she delivered her younger son out of sanctuary, for his uncle to put him to death. After long lamentation, she kneeled down and cried to God to take vengeance, 'who,' she said, 'she nothing doubted would remember it;' and when, in a few months, Richard unexpectedly lost his only son, the child for whose advancement he had steeped his soul in crime, Englishmen declared that the imprecations of the agonized mother had been heard."²

The wretched queen's health sank under the load of intense anguish inflicted by these murders, which had been preceded by the illegal execution of her son, lord Richard Gray, and of her chivalric brother, at Pontefract. She was visited in sanctuary by a priest-physician, Dr. Lewis,³ who likewise attended Margaret Beaufort, mother to Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, then an exile in Bretagne. The plan of uniting the princess Elizabeth to this last scion of the house of Lancaster, was first suggested to the desolate queen by Dr. Lewis. She eagerly embraced the proposition, and the good physician becoming, by means of daily visits, the medium of negotiation between the two mothers, the queen finally agreed to recognise Henry Tudor as king of England, if he were able to dispossess the usurper and obtain the hand of her daughter. Buckingham, having been disgusted by Richard, his partner in crime, rose in arms. The queen's son, Dorset (who had escaped out of sanctuary by the agency of his friend Lovel, one of the tyrant's ministers), raised an insurrection in Yorkshire with the queen's brother, Sir Edward Woodville; but, on Buckingham's defeat, fled to Paris, where he continued the treaty for the marriage of his half sister the princess-royal, and Henry Tudor, grandson to queen Katherine and Owen Tudor.

¹ Sir Thomas More has followed the deposition of the criminals who perpetrated the dark deed. Tyrell was condemned so late as 1499, for some minor Yorkist plot, and gave this information before his execution in 1502.

² This dreadful scene is noted by Sir Thomas More as happening during Richard III.'s absence at York, where he was re-crowned in September. 1483.

³ Hall.

After the utter failure of Buckingham's insurrection, Elizabeth was reduced to despair, and finally forced to leave sanctuary, and surrender herself and daughters into the hands of the usurper, March 1484. For this step she has been blamed severely by those who have not taken a clear and close view of the difficulties of her situation. She had probably, in the course of ten months, exhausted her own means, and tired the hospitality of the monks at Westminster. Moreover, though the king could not lawfully infringe the liberties of sanctuary, he could cut off supplies of food, and starve out the inmates, for he kept a guard round the abbey. To use the words of a contemporary,—“During the queen's stay at Westminster-abbey, the church and monastery were enclosed like a camp, and strictly guarded by soldiers under one Nesfield; and none were suffered to go in or out without especial warrant, lest, as Richard III. feared, the princesses should be conveyed away by sea.”¹ Notwithstanding this terrible restraint, Elizabeth would not leave her retreat without exacting from Richard a solemn oath, guaranteeing the safety of her children, which the usurper took in the presence of the lord mayor and aldermen, as well as the lords of the council. The terms of Elizabeth's surrender are peculiarly bitter; for it is evident that she and her daughters not only descended into the rank of mere private gentlewomen, but she herself was held in personal restraint, since the annuity of seven hundred marks allotted by act of parliament for her subsistence, was to be paid, not to her, but to John Nesfield, squire of the body to king Richard, “for the finding, exhibition, and attendance of dame Elizabeth Gray (late *calling herself* queen of England).”² Thus Elizabeth had not a servant she could call her own, for this myrmidon of king Richard's was to find her, not only with food and clothes, but attendance.

After leaving sanctuary, some obscure apartments in the palace of Westminster are supposed to have been the place of her abode. From thence she wrote to her son Dorset at Paris to put an end immediately to the treaty of marriage between Henry Tudor and the princess Elizabeth, and to return to her. The parties who had projected the marriage were struck with consternation, and greatly incensed at the queen's conduct; but these steps were the evident result of the personal restraint she was then enduring. If Richard III. chose to court her daughter as his wife, queen Elizabeth ought to be acquitted of blame; for it is evident, that if she had been as yielding in the matter as commonly supposed, she would not have been under the control of John Nesfield.

The successful termination of the expedition undertaken by the earl of Richmond, to obtain his promised bride and the crown of England, at once avenged the widowed queen and her family on the usurper, and

¹ Nuffield is the same as Nesfield in the Parliamentary History

² Parliamentary Rolls

restored her to liberty. Instead of abiding under the despotic control of the royal hunchback's man-at-arms, the queen made joyful preparation to receive her eldest daughter, who was brought to her at Westminster from Sheriff-Hutton with honour, attended by a great company of noble ladies.¹ Queen Elizabeth had the care of her daughter till the January following the battle of Bosworth, when she saw her united in marriage to Henry of Richmond, the acknowledged king of England.

One of Henry VII.'s first acts was to invest the mother of his queen with the privileges and state befitting her rank as the widow of an English sovereign. She had never been recognised as queen-dowager, excepting in the few wrangling privy councils that intervened between the death of her husband and her retreat into the abbey of Westminster, and even during these, her advice had been disregarded, and her orders defied; therefore to Henry VII., her son-in-law, she owed the first regular recognition of her rights as widow of an English sovereign. Unfortunately Elizabeth had not been dowered on the lands anciently appropriated to the queens of England, but on those of the duchy of Lancaster, which Henry VII. claimed as heir of John of Gaunt. However, a month after the marriage of her daughter to Henry VII. the queen-dowager received possession of some of the dower-palaces, among which Waltham, Farnham, *Masshebury*, and Baddow may be noted.² Henry likewise adds a pension of 102*l.* per annum, from his revenues. The scandalous entries on the Parliamentary rolls, whereby she was deprived of her dower in the preceding reign, were ordered by the judges to be burnt, their first lines only being read, "because from their falseness and shamefulness they were only deserving of utter oblivion."

Although so much has been said in history regarding Henry VII.'s persecution of his mother-in-law, this, the only public act passed regarding her which appears on the rolls, is marked with delicacy and respect. If she were deprived of her rights and property once more, no evidence exists of the fact, excepting mere assertion. Nor are assertions, even of contemporaries, to be credited without confirmatory documents at any era, when a country was divided into factions furious as those which kept the reign of Henry VII. in continual ferment. It is possible that Henry VII. personally disliked his mother-in-law; and in this he was by no means singular, for there never was a woman who contrived to make more personal enemies; but that he ever deprived her of either property or dignity, remains yet to be proved. This queen had passed through a series of calamities sufficient to wean the most frivolous person from pleasure and pageantry; she had to mourn the untimely deaths of three murdered sons, and she had four daughters wholly destitute, and dependent on her for their support; it can therefore scarcely be matter of surprise that, in the decline of life, she seldom shared in

¹ Lord Bacon's *Life of Henry VII.*, p. 2

² *Elizabeth of York*, by Sir Harris Nicolas.

the gaities of her daughter's court. Nevertheless, she appeared there frequently enough to invalidate the oft-repeated assertion that she fell into disgrace with the king for encouraging the rebellions of the earl of Lincoln and Lambert Simnel. Was such conduct possible? The earl of Lincoln had been proclaimed heir to the throne by Richard III., and as such, was the supplanter of all her children; and Lambert Simnel represented a youth who was the son of Clarence, her enemy, and the grandson of the mighty earl of Warwick,¹ the sworn foe of all the house of Woodville. However, at the very time she is declared to be in disgrace for such unnatural partiality, she was chosen by the king, in preference to his own beloved mother, as sponsor to his dearly prized heir, prince Arthur. "On September 20th, 1486, Elizabeth of York, gave birth to an heir, and on Sunday following, her mother, the queen-dowager, stood godmother to him in Winchester cathedral." After describing the procession, in which the princess Cicely carried the infant, the historian adds:—"Queen Elizabeth [Woodville] was in the cathedral, abiding the coming of the prince; she gave a rich cup of gold, covered, which was borne by Sir Davy Owen. The earl of Derby gave a gold salt, and the lord Maltravers gave a coffer of gold; these standing with the queen as sponsors."² Soon afterwards Henry VII. sought to strengthen his interest in Scotland, by negotiating a marriage between James III. and his mother-in-law, a husband certainly young enough to be her son; yet his violent death alone prevented her from wearing the crown-matrimonial of Scotland—when she would have been placed in a situation to injure her son-in-law, if such had been her wish.

The queen-consort had taken to her chamber, previously to her accouchement in the close of the year 1489, when her mother, queen Elizabeth Woodville, received the French ambassador³ in great state, assisted by Margaret, the king's mother. The next year, Henry VII. presented his mother-in-law with an annuity of 400*l*. No surrender of lands of equal value has yet been discovered; yet, strange to say, historians declare that she was stripped of everything, because about this time she retired into the convent of Bermondsey. Here she had every right to be, not as a prisoner, but as a cherished and highly honoured inmate; for the prior and monks of Bermondsey were solemnly bound, by the deeds of their charter, to find hospitality for the representatives of their great founder, Clare earl of Gloucester, in the state-rooms of the convent.⁴ Now Edward IV. was heir to the Clares, and Elizabeth, queen-dowager, had every right, as his widow, to appropriate the apartments expressly reserved for the use of the founder. She had a right

¹ The existence of the young earl of Warwick was a profound court-secret, till the imposture of Lambert Simnel obliged Henry VII. to show the real person to the public.

² Lelandi Collectanea.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Annales Abbate de Bermondsey.*

of property there ; and as it was the custom in the middle ages for royal persons to seek monastic seclusion when health declined, not only for devotional purposes, but for medical advice, where could Elizabeth better retire, than to a convent bound by its charter to receive her ? Eighteen months after she was seized with a fatal illness at Bermondsey, and, on her death-bed, dictated the following will :—

“ In the name of God, &c., 10th April, 1492, I, Elizabeth, by the grace of God queen of England, late wife to the most victorious prince of blessed memory, Edward IV. *Item.* I bequeath my body to be buried with the body of my lord at Windsor, without pompous interring or costly expenses done thereabout. *Item.* Whereas I have no worldly goods to do the queen’s grace, my dearest daughter, a pleasure with, neither to reward any of my children according to my heart and mind, I beseech God Almighty to bless her grace, with all her noble issue ; and, with as good a heart and mind as may be, I give her grace my blessing, and all the aforesaid my children. *Item.* I will that such small stuff and goods that I have be disposed truly in the contentation of my debts, and for the health of my soul, as far as they will extend. *Item.* That if any of my blood will wish to have any of my said stuff, to me pertaining, I will they have the preferment before all others. And of this my present testament I make and ordain my executors—that is to say, John Ingilby, prior of the Charter-house of Shene, William Sutton and Thomas Brent, doctors. And I beseech my said dearest daughter, the queen’s grace, and my son, Thomas marquis of Dorset, to put their good wills and help for the performance of this my testament. In witness whereof to this my testament, these witnesses—John, abbot of Bermondsey, and Benedict Cun, doctor of physic.”

The daughters of Elizabeth attended her death-bed, and paid her affectionate attention ; the queen alone was prevented, having taken to her chamber preparatory to the birth of the princess Margaret. Elizabeth died the Friday before Whitsuntide, and as she expressed an earnest wish for speedy and private burial, her funeral took place on Whitsunday, 1492. Her will shows that she died destitute of personal property ; but that is no proof of previous persecution, since several of our queens, who were possessed of the undivided dower appanage, and whose children were provided for, died not much richer. Indeed, it was not easy, in that era, for persons who had only a life income, to invest their savings securely ; therefore they seldom made any. Elizabeth had four daughters wholly dependent on her for support, since the calamities of the times had left them portionless ; and after the death of their mother, the queen, their sister, was much impoverished by their maintenance. The great possessions of the house of York were chiefly in the grasp of the old avaricious duchess Cicely of York, who survived her hated daughter-in-law several years. Edward IV. had endowed his

proud mother as if she were a queen-dowager; while his wife was dowered on property to which he possessed no real title.

Some discontented Yorkist, who witnessed the parsimonious funeral of Elizabeth, has described it, and preserved the interesting fact, that the only lady who accompanied the corpse of the queen on its passage from the river to Windsor-castle, was one mistress Grace, a natural daughter of Edward IV.¹ "On Whit-Sunday, the queen-dowager's corpse was conveyed by water to Windsor, and there privily, through the little park, conducted into the castle, without any ringing of bells or receiving of the dean, but only accompanied by the prior of the Charter-house, and Dr. Brent, Mr. Haute, and mistress Grace (a bastard daughter of king Edward IV.), and no other gentlewoman; and, as it was told to me, the priest of the college received her in the castle [Windsor], and so privily, about eleven of the clock, she was buried, without any solemn dirge done for her obit. On the morn thither came Audley, bishop of Rochester, to do the office, but that day nothing was done solemnly for her; saving also a hearse, such as they use for the common people, with wooden candlesticks about it, and a black [pall] of cloth of gold on it, four candlesticks of silver gilt, every one having a taper of no great weight. On the Tuesday hither came, by water, king Edward's three daughters, the lady Anne, the lady Katherine, and the lady Bridget [the nun princess] from Dartford, accompanied by the marchioness of Dorset, daughter of the duke of Buckingham, the queen's niece,² the daughter of the marquis of Dorset; lady Herbert, also niece to the queen; dame Katherine Gray; dame Guildford (governess to the children of Elizabeth of York): their gentlewomen walked behind the three daughters of the dead. Also that Tuesday came the marquis of Dorset, son to the queen; the earl of Essex, her brother-in-law; and the viscount Welles, her son-in-law. And that night began the dirge. But neither at the dirge were the twelve poor men clad in black, but a dozen divers old men,"—that is, old men dressed in the many-coloured garments of poverty—"and they held old torches and torches' ends. And the next morning one of the canons, called master Vaughan, sang Our Lady mass, at which the lord Dorset offered a piece of gold; he kneeled at the hearse-head. The ladies came not to the mass of requiem, and the lords sat about in the quire. My lady Anne came to offer the mass-penny, and her officers-at-arms went before her: she offered the penny at the head of the queen, wherefore she had the carpet and the cushion. And the viscount Welles took his (wife's) offering, and dame Katherine Gray bare the lady Anne's train: every one of the king's daughters offered. The marquis of Dorset offered a piece of gold, and all the lords at their pleasure; the poor knights of Windsor, dean, canons, yeomen, and officers-at-arms,

¹ Arundel MSS. 30.

² Daughter of her sister Katherine, who married Buckingham

all offered: and after mass, the lord marquess paid the cost of the funeral."

At the east end of St. George's chapel, north aisle, is the beautiful monument of Edward IV., made of steel, the work of Quentin Matsys, representing a pair of gates between two towers of ancient gothic architecture. On a flat stone at the foot of this monument are engraven, in old English characters; the words—

King Edward and his Queen, Elizabeth Woodville.

The actual place of interment of Elizabeth Woodville was supposed to be discovered March 4th, 1789. The workmen employed in new-paving the choir of St. George's chapel, Windsor, perceived some decay in the stones which close the entrance of the vault where the body of Edward IV. is deposited. Two of the canons and the surveyor entered that vault, and viewed king Edward's body, which is enclosed in a wooden and then a leaden coffin. The skeleton was entire, nobly proportioned, and of the gigantic height of six feet three inches. The head of the king reclined to the right, where there was a quantity of long brown hair, which had fallen off the skull, but remained entire. There was no trace of envelope, cere-cloth, robe, ring, or royal insignia—plunderers in Cromwell's time, when the vault was opened, having carried off all these. Upon Edward's coffin was found another of wood, much decayed; it contained the skeleton of a woman: from the marks of age on the skull, this was supposed to be the remains of his queen, Elizabeth Woodville,¹—thus realizing the emphatic words of Southey,

"Thou, Elizabeth, art here—

Thou to whom all griefs were known;

Who wert placed upon the bier

In happier hour than on a throne."

ANNE OF WARWICK,

QUEEN OF RICHARD III.

ANNE of Warwick, the last of our Plantagenet queens, and the first who had previously borne the title of princess of Wales, was born at Warwick-castle, in the year 1454.¹ Previously to the marriage of the illustrious lady who now bears the title, there had been but six princesses of Wales in England: the first three were left widows; and it is singular that, although two of them were afterwards queen-consorts, neither of them derived that dignity from the prince of Wales she had wedded. The first English princess of Wales, Joanna, the widow of Edward the Black Prince, died of a broken heart. The miseries of Anne of Warwick, the widow of Edward of Lancaster, prince of Wales, this biography will show. The misfortunes of Katharine of Arragon, consort of Henry VIII., and widow to Arthur prince of Wales, will be related in the course of the present volume. Caroline of Anspach, consort of George II., after a lapse of two hundred years, was the only princess of Wales who succeeded happily to the throne-matrimonial of this country. Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, widow to Frederick prince of Wales, lost a beloved husband in the prime of life, and never was queen. The troublous career of the sixth princess of Wales, Caroline of Brunswick, is still in public memory.

In the pictorial history called the Rous roll, two mysterious hands are introduced, offering to Anne of Warwick the rival crowns of York and Lancaster; while the white bear, the cognizance assumed by her mighty sire, Warwick the king-maker, lies muzzled at her feet, as if the royal lions of Plantagenet had quelled the pride of that hitherto tameless bear on the blood-stained heath of Barnet.

The principal events which marked the career of her father have been traced in the biographies of the two preceding queens. Richard Neville, surnamed the king-making earl of Warwick, was heir, in right of the countess his mother, to the vast inheritance of the Montagues, earls of Salisbury. He aggrandized himself in a higher degree by his union

¹ Herald's College.

with Anne, the sister of Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who had become sole heiress of that mighty line by the early death of her niece. Richard was soon after summoned to the house of lords, in right of his wife, as earl of Warwick. He possessed an income of 22,000 marks per annum, but had no male heir, his family consisting of but two daughters: the eldest, lady Isabel,¹ was very handsome. Bucke calls lady Anne "the better woman of the two."

When, on the convalescence of king Henry, Margaret of Anjou recovered her former influence in the government, Warwick, having good reason to dread her vengeance, withdrew, with his countess and young daughters, to his government of Calais, where the childhood and early youth of the lady Anne were spent. Occasionally, indeed, when the star of York was in the ascendant, Warwick brought the ladies of his family to his residence in London. The site of this mansion is still known by the name of Warwick-court. Here the earl exercised semi-barbarous hospitality at the era² when a pacification was attempted between the warring houses of York and Lancaster; six hundred of the retainers of Anne's father were quartered in Warwick-lane, "all dressed alike in red jackets, with the bear and ragged staff embroidered both before and behind. Six oxen were daily devoured for breakfast, and all the taverns about St. Paul's and Newgate-street were full of Warwick's meat; for any one who could claim acquaintance with that earl's red-jacketed gentry might resort to his flesh-pots, and, sticking his dagger therein, carry off as much beef as could be taken on a long dagger."

At this period the closest connexion subsisted between the families of the duke of York and the earl of Warwick. Richard Plantagenet, afterwards Richard III., was two years older than the lady Anne; he was born October 2, 1452, at his father's princely castle of Fotheringay. He was the youngest son of Richard duke of York and his duchess Cicely, the earl of Warwick's aunt. "At his nativity," says Rous, a contemporary chronicler, "the scorpion was in the ascendant; he came into the world with teeth, and with a head of hair reaching to his shoulders. He was small of stature, with a short face and unequal shoulders, the right was higher than the left." Rous was the family priest at Warwick-castle, and knew Richard well; he not only delineated him with the pen, but with the pencil.³

Passing over events already related, that led to the deposition of Henry VI., positive proof may be found that Anne of Warwick and Richard of Gloucester were companions when he was about fourteen, and she twelve years old. After Richard had been created duke of Gloucester at his brother's coronation, he was consigned to the guardianship of the earl of Warwick, at Middleham-castle. At the grand enthronization of George Neville, the uncle of Anne, as archbishop of

¹ Herald's College.² Stowe's London.³ Rous Roll.

York, Richard was his guest at York-palace, seated in the place of honour in the chief banqueting-room upon the dais, under a cloth of estate or canopy, with the countess of Westmoreland on his left hand, his sister, the duchess of Suffolk, on his right, and the noble maidens his cousins, the lady Anne and the lady Isabel, seated opposite to him.¹ These ladies must have been placed there expressly to please the prince, by affording him companions of his own age, since the countess of Warwick, their mother, sat at the second table, a place much lower in dignity. As Richard was the son of lady Anne's great-aunt, intimacy naturally subsisted between such near relatives. Majerres, a Flemish annalist, affirms that Richard had formed a very strong affection for his cousin Anne; but succeeding events proved that the lady did not bestow the same regard on him which her sister Isabella did on his brother Clarence, nor was it to be expected, considering his disagreeable person and temper. As lady Anne did not smile on her crook-backed cousin, there was no inducement for him to forsake the cause of his brother, king Edward. It was in vain his brother Clarence said, in a conference with Warwick, "By sweet St. George, I swear! that if my brother Gloucester would join me, I would make Edward know we were all one man's sons, which should be nearer to him than strangers of his wife's blood."²

Anne was, at this juncture, with her mother and sister at Calais. "For," continues Hall, "the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence sailed, directly thither, where they were solemnly received and joyously entertained by the countess of Warwick and her two daughters; and after the duke had sworn on the sacrament ever to keep part and promise with the earl, he married Isabella in the Lady-church at Calais, in the presence of the countess and her daughter Anne." 1470. The earl of Warwick, accompanied by his countess and lady Anne, returned with the newly wedded pair to England, where he and his son-in-law soon raised a civil war that shook the throne of Edward IV. After the loss of the battle of Edgecote, the earl of Warwick escaped with his family to Dartmouth, where they were taken on board a fleet, of which he was master.

On the voyage they encountered the young earl Rivers, with the Yorkist fleet, who gave their ships battle, and took most of them; but the vessel escaped which contained the Neville family. While this ship was flying from the victorious enemy a dreadful tempest arose, and the ladies on board were afflicted at once with terror of wreck and the oppression of sea-sickness. To add to their troubles, the duchess of Clarence was taken in labour with her first child.³ In the midst of this accumulation of disasters, the tempest-tossed bark made the offing of Calais; but in spite of the distress on board, Vauclerc, whom Warwick

¹ Leland's Collectanea.² Hall, p. 272.³ Ibid. p. 279.

had left as his lieutenant, held out the town against him, and would not permit the ladies to land: he, however, sent two flagons of wine on board for the duchess of Clarence, with a private message, assuring Warwick "that the refusal arose from the towns-people," and advising him to make some other port in France.¹ The duchess of Clarence soon after gave birth, on board ship, to the babe who had chosen so inappropriate a time for his entrance into a troublesome world, and the whole family landed at Dieppe the beginning of May. When they were able to travel, the lady Anne, her mother and sister, attended by Clarence and Warwick, journeyed across France to Amboise, where they were graciously received by Louis XI., and that treaty was finally completed which made Anne the wife of Edward, the promising heir of Lancaster.

This portion of the life of Anne of Warwick is so inextricably interwoven with that of her mother-in-law, queen Margaret, that it were vain to repeat it a second time. Suffice it to observe that the bride was in her seventeenth, the bridegroom in his nineteenth year, and that Prevost affirms that the match was one of ardent love on both sides. The prince was well-educated, refined in manner, and, moreover, his portrait in the Rous roll bears out the tradition that he was eminently handsome. The ill-fated pair remained in each other's company from their marriage at Angers, in the following August, till the fatal field of Tewkesbury, May 4th, 1471.² A contemporary Flemish chronicler asserts that "Anne was with her husband, Edward of Lancaster, when that unfortunate prince was hurried before Edward IV., after the battle of Tewkesbury; and that it was observed, Richard duke of Gloucester was the only person present who did not draw his sword on the royal captive, out of respect to the presence of Anne, as she was the near relative of his mother, and a person whose affections he had always desired to possess."

The unfortunate prince of Wales, last scion of the royal house of Lancaster, was buried the day after the battle of Tewkesbury, under the central tower of that stately abbey. Some nameless friend (in all probability his youthful widow), when opportunity served, caused the spot of his interment to be marked with a grey marble slab, enriched with a monumental brass, of which (or rather of its outlines in the stone) there is a small drawing in the Dinely MS., with the following memorandum:—"This fair tombstone of grey marble, the brass whereof hath been picked out by sacrilegious hands, is directly under the tower of the church at the entrance of the quire, and said to be laid over prince Edward, who lost his life in cool blood in that dispute between York and Lancaster." When the pavement of the nave of Tewkesbury-abbey was repaired in the last century, the marble slab which covered

¹ Comines.² Hall.

the remains of "gallant-springing young Plantagenet" was taken up, and flung into a corner with other broken monuments and fragments of less interest, to the great regret of some of the towns-people, who obtained permission to place a brass tablet over the royal grave, with a Latin inscription to this effect:—"Lest all memory of Edward prince of Wales should perish, the pious care of the good people of Tewkesbury has provided this tablet, to mark the spot of his interment." The original tombstone, having been sought and identified by the present learned vicar, the Rev. E. Davies, has been polished, and placed as a basement for the font, to preserve it from further desecration.

After Margaret of Anjou was taken away to the Tower of London, Clarence privately abducted his sister-in-law, under the pretence of protecting her. As he was her sister's husband, he was exceedingly unwilling to divide the united inheritance of Warwick and Salisbury, which he knew must be done if his brother Gloucester carried into execution his avowed intention of marrying Anne. But very different was the conduct of the young widow of the prince of Wales from that described by Shakespeare. Instead of acting as chief mourner to the hearse of her husband's murdered father, she was sedulously concealing herself from her abhorred cousin; enduring every privation to avoid his notice, and concurring with all the schemes of her self-interested brother-in-law Clarence, so completely, as to descend from the rank of princess of Wales to the disguise of a servant in a mean house in London, in the hopes of eluding the search of Gloucester—incidents too romantic to be believed without the testimony of a Latin chronicler of the highest authority,¹ who affirms it in the following words:—"Richard duke of Gloucester, wished to discover Anne, the youngest daughter of the earl of Warwick, in order to marry her; this was much disapproved by his brother, the duke of Clarence, who did not wish to divide his wife's inheritance: he therefore hid the young lady." Concealment was needful, for Anne was actually under the same attainder in which her hapless mother and queen Margaret were included. Her mother was totally unable to protect her, for she was a prisoner in the Beaulieu sanctuary, the egress from thence being guarded securely by the armed bands of Edward IV.

Nearly two years wore away after the battle of Tewkesbury, during which period the princess of Wales was concealed and a fugitive, whilst her mother, the richest heiress in the land, suffered the greatest distress. The poor lady pleaded in her petition to the commons' house, "that she had never offended his most redoubted highness, for she, immediately after the death of her lord and husband (on whose soul God have mercy), for none offence by her done, but dreading only the trouble at that time within this realm, entered into sanctuary of Beaulieu for surety of her

¹ Continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland.

person, and to attend to the weal and health of the soul of her said lord and husband, as right and conscience required her to do." In fact, the death of her husband at Barnet field and the lost battle of Tewkesbury occurred within a few days, yet she declares, that within five days of her retreat into the New Forest sanctuary, she had commenced her labours and suits to the king's highness for safe-conduct to go and come where she chose. She wrote letters with her own hand, *in the absence of clerks*; to the king's highness; "also to the queen's good grace [Elizabeth Woodville], to Cicely, duchess of York, my right redoubted lady, the king's mother, to my lady [Elizabeth of York], the king's eldest daughter, to my lords the king's brethren:" these were the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the one already her son-in-law and the father of her grandchildren, and the other on the watch to become her son-in-law whensoever he could gain access to her hapless youngest daughter. She adds that she wrote "to my ladies, the king's sisters:" these were Anne duchess of Exeter, and Elizabeth duchess of Suffolk; likewise "to my lady [duchess] of Bedford," the queen's mother. To a very hard-hearted set of relatives and family connections these letters were addressed, for lady Warwick remained destitute and desolate, but sedulously watched by an armed guard, which, to her dismay, and the alarm of the ecclesiastics of the Beaulieu sanctuary, the Yorkist king sent to terrify them. Edward showed himself thus forgetful of the obligations his wife and children had recently owed to the sanctuary, and at the same time, notwithstanding his pretended skill in fortune-telling, he could not foresee that his children would again be reduced to a similar refuge, aggravated by the military tyranny of which he had set the example in the case of the forlorn countess of Warwick.

The cunning of the duke of Gloucester at length discovered his cousin, Anne, princess of Wales, under the disguise of a cook-maid in the city of London. Immediately, he entered her in the sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and thither transferred her person. The attainder hanging over her forced her to accept of this assistance.¹ The unhappy widow was afterwards removed to the protection of her uncle, George Neville,² the archbishop of York, and was even permitted to visit and comfort her mother-in-law, queen Margaret, at the Tower; but as she still resisted marrying Richard, she was deprived of her uncle's protection, her last refuge against her hated cousin. A letter of Paston, dated 1473, observes, "that the countess of Warwick is out of Beaulieu sanctuary and that Sir James Tyrell conveyeth her northwards; but the duke of Clarence liketh it not. The world seemeth queasy, for all the persons about the king's person have sent for their armour, on account of the quarrel regarding the inheritance of Anne." The dispute

¹ Continuator of Croyland Chronicle.

² *Ibid.*

was debated in council, and the king made an award, assigning certain lands to the duke of Gloucester, and adjudging the rest of the estate to Clarence. The award was made at the expense of Anne countess of Warwick, the mother of the young ladies, and the true heiress of the vast estates of De Spencer and Beauchamp, for the act of parliament specified "that the countess of Warwick was no more to be considered, as to her inheritance, than if she were dead."¹ In fact, Rous accuses Richard of incarcerating, during his life, "the venerable countess Anna, the rightful mistress of the Warwick patrimony, when in her distress she fled to him, as her son-in-law, for protection"—an ill deed which has not commonly been enumerated in the ample list of Richard's iniquities.

The marriage of the lady Anne and Richard duke of Gloucester took place at Westminster,² 1474. She was compelled by violence to marry Richard. Some illegalities were connected with this ceremony, assuredly arising from the reluctance of the bride, since the parliamentary rolls of the next year contain a curious act, empowering the duke of Gloucester "to continue the full possession and enjoyment of Anne's property, even if she were to *divorce him*, provided he did his best to be reconciled and re-married to her"—ominous clauses relating to a wedlock of a few months! which proved that Anne meditated availing herself of some informality in her abhorred marriage; but had she done so, her husband would have remained in possession of her property. The informalities most likely arose from the want of the proper bulls to dispense with relationship; and as the free consent of both bride and bridegroom was an indispensable preliminary to such dispensation, the absence of these legal instruments negatively prove that the unfortunate Anne of Warwick never consented to her second marriage. The birth of her son Edward, at Middleham-castle, 1474, probably reconciled the unhappy duchess of Gloucester to her miserable fate; but that her marriage was never legalized may be guessed by the rumours of a subsequent period, when the venomous hunchback, her cousin-husband, meditated in his turn divorcing *her*.

Richard and Anne lived chiefly at Middleham-castle, in Yorkshire, once the grand feudal seat of her father and mother, an abode convenient for the office borne by the duke, as governor of the northern marches. As a very active war was proceeding with Scotland, in the course of which Richard won several battles and captured Edinburgh,³ his reluctant wife was not much troubled with his company, but devoted herself to her boy, in whom all her affections centered, and the very springs of her life were wound up in his welfare. During her abode at Middleham she lost her sister, the duchess of Clarence. The death of Edward IV. caused a great change in the life of Anne. Her husband, who had very recently returned from Scotland, left Anne and his boy at Mid-

¹ Carte.² Sprout Fragment.³ Holinshed.

dleham when he departed to intercept, with his veteran cavalry, his young nephew Edward V., on progress to London. Richard's household-book¹ at Middleham affords some notitia regarding the son of Anne of Warwick, during his absence. Geoffry Frank is allowed 22s. 9d. for green cloth, and 1s. 8d. for making it into gowns for my lord prince and Mr. Neville; 5s. for choosing a king of West Witton, in some frolic of rush-bearing, and 5s. for a feather for my lord prince; and Dirick, shoemaker, had 13s. 1d. for his shoes; and Jane Collins, his nurse, 100s. for her year's wages. Among the expenses which seem to have occurred on the progress of the young prince up to London, on the occasion of the coronation of his parents, are his offerings at Fountain's-abbey, and other religious houses. For mending his whip, 2d., and 6s. 8d. to two of his men, Medcalf and Pacok, for running on foot by the side of his carriage.

After a succession of astounding crimes, Richard effected the usurpation of his nephew's throne, and Anne of Warwick was elevated to the dignity of consort to an English monarch. She arrived in London, with her son, in time to share her husband's coronation, yet we should think her arrival was but just before that event, as her rich dress for the occasion was only bought two days preceding the ceremony. There is an order to "Piers Curteys,² to deliver for the use of the queen four and a half yards of *purpille* cloth of gold upon damask, July 3rd." Short time had the tire-women of Anne of Warwick to display their skill in the fitting of her regal robes, since this garment was to be worn on the 5th of the same month. Richard, who had previously been proclaimed king, conducted his queen and her son in great state, by water, Sunday, July 4th, from Baynard's-castle to the Tower, when his hapless little prisoners were made to vacate the royal apartments, and were consigned to a tower near the watergate.³ The same day Anne's only child, Edward, was created prince of Wales.⁴ The grand procession of the king and queen, and their young heir, through the city, took place on the morrow, when they were attended from the Tower by four thousand northern militia, whom the king and queen called "gentleman of the north," but who were regarded by the citizens as an ungentle and suspicious-looking pack of plunderers. The next day, July 5th, 1483, the coronation of Richard and his queen took place, with an unusual display of pageantry, great part of which had been prepared for the coronation of the hapless Edward V.

The king, with queen Anne, his wife, came down out of the white-hall into the great hall of Westminster, and went directly to the King's-bench, where they sat some time; and from thence the king and queen walked *barefoot* upon striped cloth unto king Edward's shrine, all their nobility going before them, every lord in his degree. The duke of Nor-

¹ Harleian MS.² Ibid.³ Hutton's Bosworth.⁴ Hall and More.

folk bore the king's crown before him, between both his hands, and the duke of Buckingham, with a white staff in his hand, bore the royal hunchback's train. Queen Anne had both earls and barons preceding her. The earl of Huntingdon bore her sceptre, viscount Lisle the rod with the dove, and the earl of Wiltshire her crown. Then came our sovereign lady the queen,¹ over her head a canopy, and at every corner a bell of gold; and on her head a circlet of gold, with many precious stones set therein; and on *every side* of the queen went a bishop; and my lady of Richmond, mother of Henry Tudor, bare the queen's train. So they went from St. Edward's shrine to the seats of state by the altar, and when the king and queen were seated, there came forth their highnesses' priests and clerks, singing most delectably Latin and pricksong, from musical notes, full royally. This part of the ceremonial concluded, "the king and queen came down from their seats of estate, and the king had great observance and service." Our authority states that the king and queen "put off their robes, and stood all naked from their waists upwards till the bishop had anointed them." Their majesties afterwards assumed their robes of cloth of gold, and cardinal Morton crowned them both with much solemnity. "The homage was paid at that part of the mass called the offertory, during which time the queen sat with the bishops and peeresses, while Richard received the kiss of fealty from his peers. The bishops of Exeter and Norwich stood on each side of the queen; the countess of Richmond was on her left hand, and the duchess of Norfolk knelt behind the queen with the other ladies. Then the king and queen came down to the high altar and kneeled, and anon the cardinal turned him about with the holy sacrament in his hand, and parted it between them both, and thus they received the good Lord." Their crowns were offered, as usual, at St. Edward's shrine. The king proceeded out of the abbey-church, and the queen followed, bearing the sceptre in her right hand, and the dove with the rod in her left, so going forth till they came to the high daïs at Westminster-hall; and when they came there, they left their canopies standing, and retired to their chamber.

Meantime, the duke of Norfolk came riding into Westminster-hall, his horse trapped with cloth of gold down to the ground, and he cleared it of all people but the king's servants. And the duke of Buckingham called to the marshal, saying how "the king would have his lords sit at four boards in the hall;" and at four o'clock the king and queen came to the high daïs. On the queen's right hand stood my lady Surrey, and on her left the lady Nottingham, holding a canopy of state over her head. "The king sat at the middle of the table, the queen at the left hand of the table, and on each side of her stood a countess, holding a cloth of pleasance when she listed to drink. The champion of England after

dinner rode into the hall, and made his challenge without being gainsayed. The lord mayor served the king and queen with ipocras, wafers, and sweet wine; and by that time it was dark night. Anon came into the hall great lights of wax-torches and *torchettes*; and as soon as the lights came up the hall, the lords and ladies went up to the king and made their obeisance. And anon the king and queen rose up and went to their chambers, and every man and woman departed and went their ways, where it liked them best."¹

After the coronation, queen Anne went to Windsor-castle, with the king and her son. Here Richard left her, while he undertook a devious journey, ending at Tewkesbury. The queen and prince then commenced a splendid progress, in which they were attended by many prelates and peers, and the Spanish ambassador, who had come to propose an alliance between the eldest daughter of his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and the son of Richard III. The queen took up her abode at Warwick-castle, the place of her birth and a grand feudal seat of her father, which belonged to the young earl of Warwick (the son of her sister Isabella and the duke of Clarence); it is especially noted that the queen brought him with her.² Richard III. joined his queen at Warwick-castle, where they kept court with great magnificence for a week. It must have been at this visit that the portraits of queen Anne, of Richard III., and their son, were added to the Rous roll; for Rous, the author and artist, lived at Guy's-cliff. The popular opinion concerning Richard's deformity is verified by the portrait, for his figure, if not crooked, is decidedly hunchy; nor must this appearance be attributed to the artist's lack of skill in delineating the human form, for the neighbouring portrait by the same hand, representing Anne's father, the great earl of Warwick, is as finely proportioned as if meant for a model of St. George. Richard, on the contrary, has high thick shoulders, and no neck. Surely, if the king's ungainly figure had not been matter of great notoriety, an artist capable of making such a noble sketch as that of the earl, would not have brought the king's ears and shoulders in quite such close contact. Warwick was dead, Richard was alive, when this series of portraits closes; therefore, if any pictorial flattery exists, in all probability Richard had the advantage of it. Among other contemporary descriptions of Richard not generally known, is the following metrical portrait,³ by one of the Stanley heralds, his contemporary:—

"The king's own brother, he, I mean,
Who was deformed by nature;
Crook-backed and ill-conditioned,
Worse-faced—an ugly creature,
Yet a great peer; for princes—peers—
Are not always beauteous."

¹ Grafton and Har. MS.

² Rous's Latin Chronicle.

³ A curious M^C in the possession of sir Thomas Phillipps, of Middle Hill.

Anne, in Rous's portrait, from the Beauchamp pedigree, appears as she did on her coronation-day, when the crown-matrimonial had just been placed on her brow. The crown circle of alternate crosses and pearl trefoils has four plain arches of gold, which meet on the top under a large pearl, on which is a little cross. The features of Anne are regular, of the Plantagenet cast, which she derived from her great-grandsire John of Gaunt. She wears a close dress, and is without jewels, save a row of large pearls round her throat: the royal mantle, with its cordon, is attached to her dress. Her sceptre is a plain rod, surmounted with a cross of pearls. Her hair is simply and gracefully flowing, and a veil, depending from the back of her head, relieves the heavy outline of the arched crown, which, with all its symbolical intimations of imperial dignity, is an ill exchange for the beautiful floriated circlet of our earlier queens.¹ The most curious portrait of Anne of Warwick was drawn by Rous, apparently just before her death. She is there thin to emaciation, yet her face, which has assumed the form of a long triangle, has a most expressive character: she is not dressed royally, but wears one of the transparent gauze head-dresses seen on the portrait of her sister-in-law, queen Elizabeth Woodville. It is *outré* in form, with two enormous wings stiffened on frames; her hair is seen through it, strained back from the temples, and has the appearance of being powdered. Such was her appearance when she was worn with the consumptive illness which subsequently brought her to the grave.

From Warwick-castle queen Anne and king Richard went to Coventry, where was dated, August 15, 1483, a memorandum of an account of 180*l.* owed to Richard Gowles, mercer, London, for goods delivered for the use of queen Anne, as specified in bills in the care of John Kendal, the king's secretary. The court arrived at York August 31. The re-coronation of the king and queen, likewise the re-investiture of prince Edward of Gloucester as prince of Wales, took place soon after at this city; measures which must have originated in the fact, that the sons of Edward IV. having been put to death during the northern progress of the court, the usurper considered that oaths of allegiance, taken at the re-coronation, would be more legal than when the right heirs were alive. The overflowing paternity of Richard, which, perhaps, urged him to commit some of his crimes, thus speaks in his patents for creating his son prince of Wales: "Whose singular wit and endowments of nature, wherewith (his young age considered) he is remarkably furnished, do portend, by the favour of God, that he will make an honest man."² But small chance was there for such a miracle, if his life had been spared. It is strange that Richard III. should express hopes for his son's future honesty, at the very moment when he was putting him in possession of his murdered cousins' property.

¹ See vol. II. of the eight-volume edition of this work.

² White Kenne's notes to Bucke

After the re-coronation had been performed in York cathedral, queen Anne walked in grand procession through the streets of the city, holding her little son by the right hand : he wore the demi-crown appointed for the heir of England. The Middleham household-book mentions that five marks were paid to Michell Wharton, for bringing the prince's jewels to York on this occasion. The same document proves that the court was at Pontefract September 15—that fearful fortress, recently stained with the blood of Richard's victims. Richard gave, by the way, in charity to a poor woman, 3s. 6d.; the charge of baiting the royal charrette was 2d.; and the expenses of the removal of my lord prince's household to Pontefract, 24s. A formidable insurrection, headed by the duke of Buckingham, recalled Richard to the metropolis: he left his son, for security, among his northern friends, but queen Anne accompanied her husband.

It is a doubtful point whether Anne approved of the crimes which thus advanced her son. Tradition declares she abhorred them, but parliamentary documents prove that she shared with Sir James Tyrell the plunder of Richard's opponents, after the rebellion of Buckingham was crushed. She received one hundred marks, the king seven hundred marks, and Sir James Tyrell two manors from Sir William Knyvet, who paid this the purchase-money for his life. Anne's share amounts to considerably more than her proportion of queen-gold. If the queen had even passively consented to the unrighteous advancement of her family, punishment quickly followed; for her son, on the last day of March, 1484, died at Middleham-castle "an unhappy death."¹ This expression, used by Rous, his family chronicler, leads his readers to imagine that this boy, so deeply idolized by his guilty father, came by his end in some sudden and awful manner. His parents were not with him, but were as near as Nottingham-castle when he expired.

The loss of this child, in whom all Anne's hopes and happiness were garnered, struck to her heart, and she never again knew a moment's health or comfort; she seemed even to court death eagerly. Nor was this dreadful loss her only calamity. Richard had no other child; his declining consort was not likely to bring another; and if *he* did not consider her in the way, his guilty and ruffianly satellites certainly did, for they began to whisper dark things concerning the illegality of the king's marriage, and the possibility of its being set aside. As Edward IV.'s parliament considered that it was possible for Anne to divorce Richard nine years previously, it cannot be doubted that Richard could have resorted to the same manner of getting rid of her when queen. Her evident decline, however, prevented Richard from giving himself any trouble regarding a divorce; yet it did not restrain him from uttering peevish complaints to Rotherham, archbishop of York, against his wife's

sickliness and disagreeable qualities. Rotherham, who had just been released from as much coercion as a king of England dared offer to a spiritual peer who had not appeared in open insurrection, ventured to prophecy, from these expressions, "that Richard's queen would suddenly depart from this world." His speech got circulated in the guard-chamber and gave rise to a report that the queen, whose personal sufferings in a protracted decline had caused her to keep her chamber for some days, was actually dead. Anne was sitting at her toilet, with her tresses unbound, when this strange rumour was communicated to her. She considered it was the forerunner of her death by violent means, and, in a great agony, ran to her husband, with her hair dishevelled as it was, and with streaming eyes and piteous sobs asked him, "What she had done to deserve death?" Richard, it is expressly said, soothed her with fair words and smiles, bidding her "be of good cheer, for in sooth she had no other cause."¹

The next report which harassed the declining and dying queen was, that her husband was impatient for her demise, that he might give his hand to his niece, the princess Elizabeth of York. This rumour had no influence on the conduct of Anne, since the queen's kindness to her husband's niece is thus noted:—"The lady Elizabeth (who had been some months out of sanctuary) was, with her four younger sisters, sent by her mother to attend the queen at court, at the Christmas festivals kept with great state in Westminster-hall. They were received with all honourable courtesy by queen Anne, especially the lady Elizabeth was ranked most familiarly in the queen's favour, who treated her as a sister; but neither society that she loved, nor all the pomp and festivity of royalty, could cure the langour or heal the wound in the queen's breast for the loss of her son."² The young earl of Warwick was, after the death of Richard's son, proclaimed heir to the English throne, and as such took his seat at the royal table³ during the lifetime of his aunt, queen Anne. As these honours were withdrawn from the ill-fated boy directly after the death of the queen, it is reasonable to infer that he owed them to some influence she possessed with her husband, since young Warwick, as her sister's son, was her heir as well as his.

Within the year that deprived Anne of her only son, maternal sorrow put an end to her existence by a decline, slow enough to acquit her husband of poisoning her—a crime of which he is accused by most writers. She died at Westminster-palace on March 16, 1485, in the midst of the greatest eclipse of the sun that had happened for many years. Her funeral was most pompous and magnificent. Her husband was present and was observed to shed tears,⁴ deemed hypocritical by the by-standers; but those who knew that he had been brought up with

¹ Holinshed. Sir Thomas More.² Con. of Croyland Chronicle.³ Rous Chronicle.⁴ Baker's Chronicle.

Anne, might suppose that he felt some instinctive yearnings of long companionship when he saw her deposited in that grave where his ambitious interests had caused him to wish her. Human nature, with all its conflicting passions and instincts, abounds with such inconsistencies, which are often startlingly apparent in the hardest characters.

The queen was interred near the altar at Westminster, not far from the place where subsequently was erected the monument of Anne of Cleves. No memorial marks the spot where the broken heart of the hapless Anne of Warwick found rest from as much sorrow as could possibly be crowded into the brief span of thirty-one years.

ELIZABETH OF YORK,

SURNAMED THE GOOD,

QUEEN-CONSORT OF HENRY VII.

CHAPTER I.

THE birth of Elizabeth of York was far from reconciling the fierce baronage of England to the clandestine marriage of their young sovereign, Edward IV., with her mother—a marriage which shook his throne to the foundation. The prospect of female heirs to the royal line gave no satisfaction to a population requiring from an English monarch not only the talents of the satirist, but the abilities of the military leader—not only the wisdom of the legislator, but the personal prowess of the gladiatorial champion. After three princesses (the eldest of whom was our Elizabeth) had been successively produced by the queen of Edward IV., popular discontent against the house of York reached its climax. The princess Elizabeth was born at the palace of Westminster, February 11, 1466, according to the inscription on her tomb. She was baptized in Westminster-abbey, with as much pomp as if she had been the heir-apparent of England; indeed, the attention Edward IV. bestowed upon her in her infancy was extraordinary. He was actuated by a strong presentiment that this beautiful and gracious child would ultimately prove the representative of his line.

The infant princess, at a very tender age, took her place and precedence, clothed in deep mourning, when the corpse of her grandfather, Richard duke of York, with that of his son, Edmund earl of Rutland, were re-interred at the church of Fotheringay. The bodies were exhumed from their ignoble burial at Pontefract, and conveyed into Northamptonshire with regal state. Richard duke of Gloucester, a youth of fourteen, followed them as chief mourner. Edward IV., his queen, and their two infant daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, met the hearses in Fotheringay churchyard, and attended the solemn rites of the re-interment, clad in black weeds. The next day the king, the queen, and the royal infants offered at requiem. Margaret countess of Rich-

mond offered with them. Thus early in life was our Elizabeth connected with this illustrious lady, whose after-destiny was so closely interwoven with her own. Margaret had the charge of the young Elizabeth, as lady governess; she was then the second wife of the Yorkist partisan, lord Stanley.¹

Some years passed before the important position of Elizabeth, as heiress of the realm, was altered by the birth of brothers. Her father settled on her for life the manor of Great-Lynford, in Buckinghamshire;² he likewise authorized his exchequer to pay his queen 400*l.* yearly, in liquidation of her expenses, incurred for her daughters Elizabeth and Mary; and this revenue was to be continued till their disposal in marriage. These royal children were nursed at the palace of Shene. The hand of his infant heiress was more than once deceitfully proffered by Edward IV. as a peace-offering to his enemies when fortune frowned upon him. He thus deluded the Nevilles, when he was their prisoner at Middleham. Next he endeavoured to interrupt the treaty of marriage between the Lancastrian prince of Wales and Anne of Warwick, by offering "my lady princess" to queen Margaret as a wife for her son. On the subsequent flight of Edward IV. from England, the young Elizabeth and her two little sisters were the companions of their distressed mother in Westminster sanctuary. The birth of her eldest brother Edward, in that asylum, removed the princess Elizabeth, for some years, from her dangerous proximity to the disputed garland of the realm. When liberated from the sanctuary by her victorious father, she was carried with the rest of his children, first to her grandmother's residence of Baynard's-castle, on one of the city wharfs; and then to the Tower of London, and was sojourning there during the dangerous assault made on that fortress by Falconbridge from the river. The full restoration of Edward IV. succeeded these dangers, and peaceful festivals followed the re-establishment of the line of York. At a ball given in her mother's chamber at Windsor-castle, in honour of the visit of Louis of Grauthuse, 1472, the young Elizabeth danced with her royal father, she being then six or seven years old: she afterwards danced with the duke of Buckingham, the husband of her aunt, Katherine Woodville. The same year, her father offered her in marriage to the young exiled earl of Richmond, intending by that means to beguile him into his power.

When the princess was about nine years old, her father made an expedition to France, with the avowed purpose of re-conquering the acquisitions of Henry V. Before he embarked he made his will, dated at Sandwich, in which he thus mentions Elizabeth:—

"We will that our daughter Elizabeth have ten thousand marks towards her marriage; and that our daughter Marie have also ten thou-

¹ Cole MS.

² Privy-purse Expenses, and Memoir of Elizabeth, by Sir Harris Nicolas.

sand marcs, so that they be governed and ruled by our dearest wife the queen. . . . And if either of our said daughters do marry *thaimself*^f without such advice and assent, so as they be thereby disparaged (as God forbid), then she so marrying herself have no payment of her ten thousand marcs."

A French war was averted by the kingdom of France submitting to become tributary to Edward IV. In the articles of peace, Elizabeth was contracted to the dauphin Charles, eldest son of the astute monarch Louis XI.; thus was her hand for the fourth time tendered to her father's adversaries. Edward IV. surrendered to his son-in-law the titular right to the long-contested dukedom of Guienne, or Aquitaine, on condition that these territories were to be considered part of Elizabeth's dower. From the hour of her contract with the heir of France, Elizabeth was always addressed at the English court as madame la dauphine,¹ and a certain portion of the tribute that Louis XI. paid to her father was carried to account for her use as the daughter-in-law of the king. She was taught to speak and write French: she could likewise speak and write Spanish. She could, at an early age, read and write her own language; for her royal sire sent for a scrivener, "the very best in the city," who taught her and her sister Mary to write court-hand as well as himself, but not a very beautiful species of penmanship, according to the specimen, which Elizabeth inscribed in a book of devotion:² *This book is mine, Elizabeth, the king's daughter.* The princess has written in the old English character, now confined to law-deeds, but which was soon after superseded by the modern or Italian hand.

As the appointed time of Elizabeth's marriage with the dauphin Charles approached, her dower was settled, and rich dresses in the French fashion were made for her; when suddenly, without any previous intimation, the contract was broken by Louis XI. demanding the heiress of Burgundy in marriage for the dauphin. This slight offered to Elizabeth infuriated her father so much, that the agitation is said to have had a fatal effect on his health. Comines, a contemporary in the confidence of the king of France, more than once in his history expresses his indignation at seeing the tribute money sent every year from France to Edward's "château de Londres, which had before greater heaps of treasure and precious things than it could hold." He likewise dwells with evident satisfaction on the report "that the death of Edward IV. was caused by Louis XI. rejecting the princess-royal as a wife for his little dauphin Charles. "But," observes Comines, rather insolently, "it was very well known that the girl, who is now queen of England, was a great deal too old for monseigneur the dauphin, who is now king of France."³ Elizabeth was four, or perhaps five, years older

¹ Comines; likewise Guthrie.

² Cottonian MSS. See fac-simile in the eight-volume edition of this work.

³ Comina

than Charles, and there was still greater disparity in person than in years; for her stature was tall and stately, and his was dwarfish.

The fortunes of the young Elizabeth suffered the most signal reverse directly she lost her royal sire and only efficient protector. From Westminster-palace she was, with her second brother and young sisters, hurried by the queen her mother into the sanctuary of Westminster, which had formerly sheltered her in childhood. But Elizabeth of York was no longer an unconscious child, who sported as gaily with her little sisters in the abbot of Westminster's garden as she did in the flowery meads of Shene; she had grown up into the charms of early womanhood, and was the sharer of her royal mother's woes. The sad tale of that queen's calamities has already been told by us. How much the princess Elizabeth must have grieved for her two murdered brothers may be gathered from the words of her blind laureate, Bernard Andreas,¹ who knew her well: "The love," he says, "she bore her brothers and sisters was unheard of, and almost incredible."

The treaty of betrothment, privately negotiated between Elizabeth of York and Henry of Richmond by their respective mothers, was the first gleam of comfort that broke on the royal prisoners in sanctuary after the murder of the innocent princes in the Tower. The young princess promised to hold faith with her betrothed: in case of her death before her contract was fulfilled, her next sister Cicely was to take her place. But it is a singular fact, that neither at this time, nor at any other period of her life, was the slightest proposal made by the partisans of the house of York for placing Elizabeth on the throne as sole sovereign. Even her near relatives, her half-brother Dorset, and her uncle Lionel Woodville, bishop of Salisbury, when they raised the standard of revolt against Richard III. at Salisbury (simultaneously with Buckingham's rebellion in the autumn of 1483), proclaimed the earl of Richmond Henry VII., although he was a distant exile, who had done no more for the cause than taken an oath to marry Elizabeth if he ever had it in his power. As these nobles had but just escaped from sanctuary, which they had shared with Elizabeth of York and her mother, and must have intimately known their plans and wishes, this utter silence on her claims as the heiress of Edward IV. is the more surprising. In truth, it affords another remarkable instance of the manner in which Norman prejudice in favour of Salic law had corrupted the common or unwritten law of England regarding the succession. The violation of this ancient national law had given rise to the most bloody civil wars which had vexed the country since the Conquest.

How efficient the protection of an ecclesiastic of the high rank of bishop Lionel must have proved to the forlorn princesses when they were sheltered in the very bosom of the church, may be imagined.

¹ Life of Henry VII., by Andreas.

But the bishop and Dorset were both obliged to fly to France, owing to the utter failure of Buckingham's insurrection, and after their exile the situation of Elizabeth of York and her mother became very irksome. A cordon of soldiers, commanded by John Nesfield, a squire of Richard III.'s guard, watched night and day round the abbey, and the helpless prisoners were reduced to great distress. Thus they struggled through the sad winter of 1483, but surrendered themselves in March. Elizabeth's mother has been unjustly blamed for this measure, yet it was the evident effect of dire necessity. The princess Elizabeth was forced to own herself the illegitimate child of Edward IV.; she had to accept a wretched annuity, and, as a favour, was permitted to contemplate the prospect of marrying a private gentleman. Such were the conditions of a coarsely-worded act of parliament, passed under the influence of Richard III.'s military despotism in the preceding January. The act, it is well known, was indited by bishop Stillington, the mortal foe of her mother's house, who added to this the more intolerable injury of projecting a union between Mr. William Stillington, his natural son, and the princess. This unfortunate lover of Elizabeth met with a fate far severer than his presumption merited: "he was shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy," says Comines; "taken prisoner, and, by mistake, starved to death"—a mistake, perhaps, instigated by some of the indignant kindred of the princess, who were then refugees in France.

The princess Elizabeth was certainly separated from her unfortunate mother when they left sanctuary, since that queen was placed under the control of the same Nesfield who had so inexorably kept watch and ward round the abbey. Meantime, the princess and her sisters were received at court with some appearance of regard by Richard III., and with great affection by his queen, "who always treated Elizabeth of York as a sister."¹ Indeed, it ought to be remembered that Elizabeth was one of Anne of Warwick's nearest female relatives, independently of the wedlock with Richard III. As the princess was seen so frequently in the company of queen Anne after leaving sanctuary, in the spring of 1484, she was most likely consigned to her charge: she was certainly lodged in the palace of Westminster. Here she found her father's old friend, lord Stanley, in an office of great authority, having been appointed by the usurper steward of the royal household, a place he held in the reign of Edward IV.² It is well known that this nobleman was step-father to Henry of Richmond, the betrothed husband of the princess Elizabeth; and that his wife, Margaret Beaufort, was exiled from the court and in disgrace with the usurper, for having projected the union of her son with the princess. The question of how Stanley contrived to retain his important office can only be met by the fact that he was too powerful to be dispossessed.

¹ Continuator of the Croyland Chronicle.

² Lodge's Memoir of the Earl of Derby.

In the absence of regular information, a metrical chronicle, called the "Song of the Lady Bessy,"¹ deserves attention, as written by Humphrey Brereton, agent of lord Stanley. The princess, he says, meeting lord Stanley in Westminster-palace, soon after she came out of sanctuary, began urging him passionately, by the name of "father Stanley," and with many reminiscences of all he owed to her father, to assist her in the restoration of her rights. At first, lord Stanley repulsed her, declaring he could not break the oath he had sworn to king Richard, observing, moreover, that women were proverbially "unstable of council." Elizabeth renewed her importunities, but when he seemed quite inflexible—

"Her colour changed as pale as lead,
Her *faze*² that shone as golden wire,
She tare it off beside her head."

After this agony she sunk into a swoon, and remained some time speechless. Lord Stanley was overcome by the earnestness of her anguish. "Stand up, lady Bessy," he said. "Now I see you do not feign, I will tell you that I have long thought of the matter as you do; but it is difficult to trust the secrecy of women, and many a man is brought to great woe by making them his confidantes." He then added, "that his adherents would rise at his bidding, if he could go to the north-west in person, but that he durst not trust a scribe to indite his intention in letters." This difficulty the princess obviated, by declaring that she could "indite and write as well as the scrivener who taught her." Then lord Stanley agreed she should write the letters without delay.

Among the other circumstances related by the princess to lord Stanley in this interview, there is one in strong coincidence with the propensity to dabble in fortune-telling and astrology, which was a weakness belonging to the line of Plantagenet. She said "that her father, being one day studying a book of magic in the palace of Westminster, was extremely agitated, even to tears; and though earls and lords were present, none durst speak to him but herself. She came and knelt before him for his blessing, upon which he threw his arms around her, and lifted her into a high window; and when he had set her there, he gave her the *reason* or horoscope he had drawn, and bade her show it to no one but to lord Stanley, for he had plainly calculated that no son of his would wear the crown after him. He predicted that she should be queen, and the crown would rest with her descendants." Of course this prophecy had its due weight with Stanley, and—

"We must part, lady (the earl said then),
But keep this matter secretly,
And this same night, at nine or ten,
In your chamber I think to be:

¹ Edited by Hayward.

² This old word signifies a torch, or a profusion of long fair hair

Look that you make all things ready.
 Your maids shall not our counsel hear
 And I will bring no man with me,
 But Humphrey Brereton, my trusty squire."

This was the author, who was an active agent in the plot.

That evening lord Stanley and Brereton disguised themselves in "manner strange," and went and stood at a private wicket, till the princess, recognising Stanley by a signal made with his right hand, admitted him. It was the cold season, for there was fire in her apartment, of which Brereton gives this pretty sketch:—

"Charcoals in chimneys there were cast,
 Candles on sticks were burning high;
 She oped the wicket and let him in,
 Saying, ' Welcome, lord and knight so free !'
 A rich chair was set for him,
 Another for that fair lady.
 They ate the *spice*, and drank the wine,
 To their study then went they ;
 The lady there so fair and free,
 With rudd as red as rose in May,
 She kneeled down upon her knee."

In this attitude Elizabeth commenced writing the letters dictated by lord Stanley. Brereton is too exact as to the genealogy and individual particulars of the persons he named, to leave a single doubt that his metrical narrative was written from facts, and by a contemporary of Elizabeth of York ; for, careless as he is in regard to general history, he is wonderfully accurate in all the peculiarities of the costume and private history of his day, and the closer he is sifted, the more truthful does he seem in minute traits, which must have been forgotten had the work been written a century afterwards. He shows the odd expedients men in authority resorted to when they could neither read nor write, and therefore had to depend wholly on the fidelity of a scrivener, on whose transcription they placed their seals as proof that the missive was to meet credence from the recipient party ; and such person was often beset with doubts as to whether the engrossed scroll (which bore no identity of handwriting) was not a treacherous fiction sealed with a stolen signet. The expedients of the unlearned but sagacious Stanley, in this dilemma, are well worthy of attention ; to convince his friends that these letters really were no forgery, he relates to each some particular incident only known between themselves, and which no false scribe could invent. To his eldest son, for instance, he bade the princess "commend him, and charged him to remember, when they parted at Salford-bridge, how hard he pulled his finger, till the first joint gave way, and he exclaimed with the pain." By such token lord Stanley bade him "credit this letter, and meet him at a conference in London, disguised like a Kendal merchant." Sir William Stanley was requested "to come to the conference like a merchant of Beaumorris, or Caernarvon, with a retinue of

Welshmen who could speak no English." Sir John Savage, Stanley's nephew, was summoned "as a Chester merchant." But, of all, the letter to Gilbert Talbot, and the reminiscences lord Stanley recalled to him, are the richest in costume and the peculiar features of the age. Lord Stanley thus directs the princess :—

"Commend me to good Gilbert Talbot,
(A gentle squire forsooth is he);
Once on a Friday, well I wot,
King Richard called him traitor high.
But Gilbert to his falchion prest,
(A bold esquire, forsooth, is he),
There durst no serjeant him arrest,
He is so perilous of his body.
In Tower-street, I met him then,
Going to Westminster sanctuary;
I lighted beside the horse I rode—
The purse from my belt I gave him truly;
I bade him ride down to the north-west,
And perhaps he might live a knight to be
Wherefore, lady Bessy, at my request,
Pray him to come and speak with me."

Gilbert Talbot, the hero here described, greatly distinguished himself at Bosworth. He was dubbed knight-banneret on the field, and richly rewarded by Henry VII.: he was one of the officers of Katharine of Arragon, who made him her ranger of Needwood-forest.

After the princess had written these despatches, and lord Stanley had sealed them, they agreed that Humphrey Brereton, who had always been true to king Edward IV., should set out with them to the north-west of England. Lord Stanley and his man slept that night in Elizabeth's suite of apartments, but she watched till dawning of day.

"And Bessy waked all that night,
There came no sleep within her eye;
Soon in the morn, as the day-spring,
Up riseth the young Bessye,
And maketh haste in her dressing.
To Humphrey Brereton gone is she.
And when she came to Humphrey's bower,
With a small voice called she;
Humphrey answered that lady bright,
Saying, 'Who calleth here so early?'
'I am king Edward's daughter right,
The countess Clere, young Bessy;
In all haste, with means and might,
'Thou must come to lord Stanley!'"

The lady "fair and sweet" guided Humphrey to the bedside of his master, who gave him directions for the safe delivery of six letters. Humphrey summoned Sir William, the brother of lord Stanley, at Holt-castle, lord Strange at Latham-house, Edward and James Stanley from Manchester with their cousin Sir John Savage. Lastly, he arrived at

Sheffield-castle, with his missive for "Gilbert Talbot fair and free." whose reception of Elizabeth's letter is highly characteristic:—

"When he that letter looked upon,
A loud laughter laughed he.
'Fair fall that lord in his renown,
To stir and rise beginneth he;
Fair fall Bessy, the countess Clere,
That such counsel giveth truly!
Greet well my nephew, nigh of blood,
The young earl of Shrewsbury;
Bid him not dread or doubt of good,
In the Tower of London though he be:
I shall make London gate to tremble and quake,
But my nephew rescued shall be.
Commend me to that countess clear,
King Edward's child, young Bessy;
Tell her I trust in Jesu, who hath no peer,
To bring her her love¹ from over the sea.'"

The iteration of the expression "countess clear," which is applied by all her partisans to Elizabeth of York, certainly meant more than a descriptive epithet relative to her complexion, or why should the term "countess" be always annexed to it? In truth, the lady Bessy was, by indubitable right, the moment her brothers were dead, the heiress of the mighty earldom of Clere, or Clare, as the representative of her ancestress Elizabeth de Burgh,² the wife of Lionel, second son of Edward III. The title of duke of Clarence, which originally sprang from this inheritance, might be resumed by the crown; but the great earldom of Clere, or Clare, was a female fief, and devolved on Elizabeth. Her partisans certainly meant to greet her as its rightful and legitimate owner when they termed her "countess Clere," for however clear or bright she might be, that species of complexion by no means brought any rational connection with the title of countess.

When Brereton returned from his expedition, he found lord Stanley walking with king Richard in the palace garden.³ Stanley gave him a sign of secrecy, and Humphrey asserted before the king, "that he had been taking a vacation of recreation among his friends in Cheshire." After a coaxing and hypocritical speech of Richard, regarding his affection for the "poor commonalty," he went to his own apartments in the palace. Brereton then obtained an interview of the princess, to whom he detailed the success of his expedition. Elizabeth agreed to meet her confederates in secret council when they arrived from the north. The place of meeting was an old inn in the London suburbs, between Holborn and Islington; an eagle's foot was chalked on the door, as the token of the place of meeting for the disguised gentlemen who came from Cheshire and Lancashire. The eagle's foot is one of the armorial bearings of Sir Reginald Braye, who was a retainer belonging to lord Stanley,

¹ Henry of Richmond.

² See the biography of queen Philippa, vol. i.

³ Cotton-garden was one of the pleasancess or gardens of Westminster-palace.

and, as all historians are well aware, was deeply concerned in the revolution which placed Elizabeth and Richmond on the English throne. The inn thus indicated was conveniently stationed for the rendezvous, as travellers from the north perforce passed the door. Thither, according to our poet, the princess and Stanley repaired secretly by night. After Elizabeth had conferred with her allies, and satisfied herself that they would not murder Richmond, out of their Yorkist prejudices, if he trusted himself among the northern powers, she agreed to send him a ring of betrothal, with a letter, informing him of the strength of the party propitious to the union of York and Lancaster. Humphrey Brereton undertook the dangerous task of carrying the despatches. He embarked at Liverpool, a port then little known to the rest of England; but the shipping, and all other matters there, were at the command of the house of Stanley.

When the malady of queen Anne became hopeless, and she evidently drew near her end, a rumour prevailed in the palace, and from thence spread over the country, that the king, on her demise, intended to espouse his niece Elizabeth. It was a report that excited horror in every class of the English people, and in no one (as all historians expressly declare) so much as in the mind of the young princess herself, who detested the idea of the abhorrent union.¹ It may be inferred that she had not concealed her aversion from her uncle, since, after the queen's death, she was sent into restraint at the castle of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire. Richard himself, perceiving the public disgust, gave up the idea of marrying Elizabeth. Immediately the funeral of his wife was over, he called a meeting of the civic authorities, in the great hall of St. John's, Clerkenwell, just before Easter, 1485, and, in their presence, distinctly disavowed any intention of espousing his niece, and forbade the circulation of the report, "as false and scandalous in a high degree." A little while before this proclamation, the same chronicler² states, "that a convocation of twelve doctors of divinity had sat on a case of the marriage of an uncle and niece, and had declared that the kindred was too near for a pope's bull to sanction."

If the princess Elizabeth had not manifested decided repugnance to the addresses of her uncle, she might, perhaps, have met with better treatment than consignment to a distant fortress; yet, in the face of this harsh usage, sir George Bucke, the apologist for Richard III., has had the hardihood to affirm that she was so desirous of marrying her uncle, as to be anxious to hasten the death of her aunt. In confirmation of this assertion, he adduces an infamous letter, which he says he saw in the cabinet of the earl of Arundel, among the Howard papers, addressed by the princess Elizabeth to the duke of Norfolk, Richard's great supporter. Bucke pretends that she, in this letter, solicited the good offices

¹ Sir Thomas More. *Holinshed Hall*

² *Continuator of Croeland.*

of the duke of Norfolk in her favour, adding, "that the king was her joy and maker in this world, and that she was his in heart and thought." So far Bucke affects to quote her words, but he adds, in a most uncandid manner, "she *hinted* her surprise at the duration of the queen's illness, and her apprehensions that she would *never* die."¹ Why did not Bucke quote the very words of the princess, that all the world might judge how far the expressions he calls a *hint* extended? Meantime, this letter has never been seen to the present hour, and Bucke is too violent a partisan and too unfaithful an historian to be believed on his mere word. Persons often act inconsistently in respect to the characters of others, but never in regard to their own. During many trials, the retiring conduct of Elizabeth bore fully out her favourite motto, which consisted of the words HUMBLE AND REVERENT. Nor is it probable that her sweet and saintly nature should have blazed out, in one sentence of a letter, into all the murderous ambition that distinguished her father and uncles, and then subsided for ever into the ways of pleasantness and peace. If this princess had had a heart capable of cherishing murderous thoughts against "her kind aunt, queen Anne," she would have shown some other symptoms of a cruel and ungrateful nature. She certainly did not; therefore it is unjust to condemn her on a supposed hint in a letter which no one but an enemy ever read.

While our princess is incarcerated in her northern prison, it is needful to bestow a few pages on the paladin appointed to her rescue. The romantic incidents of the early life of our first Tudor sovereign are, indeed, little known. Henry Tudor was the son of Edmund earl of Richmond,² and Margaret Beaufort, only child of John duke of Somerset. His mother was little more than thirteen³ when he was born at Pembroke-castle, June 26, 1456. Margaret has thus prettily recorded the date of his birth in one of her letters: "For," says the proud and happy mother, "it was on this day of St. Anne that I did bring into the world my good and gracious prince, and only-beloved son." The father of this infant survived but till the succeeding November. The countess of Richmond, afterwards the pride of English matrons, the most noble as well as most learned lady in the land, was left a widow and a mother at fourteen, with a little earl of five months old in her arms, whom she had to rear and protect amidst all the horrors of a civil war, which had just begun to rage when her husband died.

When the infant earl of Richmond was about three years old, he was presented by his fond young mother to his great-uncle Henry VI., who solemnly blessed him, and, placing his hand on the child's head, said, "This pretty boy will wear the garland in peace for which we so sinfully contend"—an oracular saying carefully treasured by the young mother

¹ Bucke's Hist.; W. Kennet, p. 568.

² Son of queen Katherine and Owen Tudor.—See her life.

³ Hall.

of the boy, and remembered afterwards by his party to his advantage. Soon after, the little earl was taken under the protection of his uncle, Jasper earl of Pembroke; and as he was the next heir, through his mother, to the whole ambitious race of Somerset, who were filling England with their seditious efforts to be recognised as legitimate branches of the royal line of Lancaster, the boy was conveyed to the remote castle of Pembroke, for his personal security from the inimical house of York. He was not five years old when his only protector, Jasper Tudor, was forced to fly from the lost field of Mortimer's-Cross. Pembroke-castle was stormed by Sir William Herbert, one of Edward IV.'s partisans, and the earldom of Pembroke was given to him as a reward. The poor little earl of Richmond was found in the castle,¹ not altogether friendless, for he was protected by Philip ap Hoell, whom he in after life described gratefully as "our old servant and well-beloved *nurriour*,"² an expression which plainly shows that Henry had a Welshman by way of nurse. The new earl of Pembroke was a just and brave man, and, moreover, had a good and merciful lady for his helpmate. So far from hurting the little prisoner whom they had seized with his uncle's castle, the lady Herbert took him to her maternal arms, and brought him up with her own family, "and in all kind of civility well and honourably educated him."³ The excellence of this good deed will be better appreciated when it is remembered that Henry was the heir of the dispossessed earl of Pembroke, and considered by some to have more right to the castle than the Herberts.

The family of lady Herbert consisted of three sons and six daughters, companions of Henry's childhood, and with the lady Maud Herbert there is reason to suppose he had formed a loving attachment. When he was fourteen, his generous protector lord Pembroke was illegally murdered by Warwick's faction, after Banbury fight. Young Tudor still remained with his maternal friend, lady Herbert, till another revolution in favour of Lancaster restored Jasper Tudor once more to his earldom and castle, who with them took re-possession of his nephew. But the few months Jasper was able to hold out the castle was a period of great danger. The nephew and uncle narrowly escaped destruction from a plot contrived by Roger Vaughan, a bold and crafty marchman, belonging to a fierce clan of his name, vowed vassals of the Mortimers and their heirs. Jasper had the satisfaction of turning the tables on Roger, by cutting off his head. But he was soon after besieged in the castle by Morgan Thomas, who, according to the orders of Edward IV., dug a trench round the fortress, and would soon have captured its inmates if David Thomas (brother to the besieger) had not taken pity on the Tudors and favoured their escape to Tenby,⁴ whence, with a few faithful retainers, they embarked for France, and were cast by a tempest on the

¹ Hall.² Sir Harris Nicolas. Privy-purse Expenses.³ Hall.⁴ *Ibid.*

coast of Bretagne. Duke Francis II. received them hospitably, and for two or three years they lived peacefully, yet under some restraint.

But the existence of young Henry Tudor disquieted Edward IV., though in the very height of victorious prosperity, and he sent Stillington, bishop of Bath (the ready tool for any iniquity), on a deceitful mission to the court of Bretagne, offering Henry the hand of his eldest daughter with a princely dower, and to Jasper restoration of his earldom, if they would return to England and be his friends. Henry and Jasper were both deceived so far as to be placed without resistance in the hands of the English deputation, and the whole party were only waiting at St. Malo for a favourable wind, when the duke of Bretagne was seized with a sudden qualm of conscience: he sent his favourite, Peter Landois, to inform young Henry privately, that he would be murdered if he trusted himself on board Edward's ships. It seems Edward IV. had bargained that his envoy should pay the duke of Bretagne a large sum directly the unfortunate Lancastrian nobles were surrendered. Stillington had just delivered the cash agreed upon, and this was the way the duke contrived to keep the purchase-money, and save the lives of his guests. The earl of Richmond had caught a quotidian ague at St. Malo,¹ and was lying in such a state of suffering under its feverish fits, that he troubled himself very little about the message of the duke; but the moment his affectionate uncle heard it, he summoned his faithful servants, who ran with the sick youth in their arms to take sanctuary at St. Malo, nor could any promises of Stillington induce them to come out. Edward IV. complained bitterly to duke Francis of the trick he had played him, but he well deserved to lose his money.

Meantime, Margaret, the mother of the young earl, had married lord Henry Stafford, and was again a widow, while yet in the bloom of youth. Before the fall of Lancaster she had wedded lord Stanley, who was a widower with children. Stanley became the most ardent partisan of York, but his esteem for her virtues was great, and her influence over him sufficient to inspire him with a very fatherly interest for her poor exiled boy, from whom she had been cruelly divided since his infancy. From the hour when young Richmond was placed in sanctuary at St. Malo, he was virtually a prisoner. As Henry considered that his life was in great danger, he resolved to render himself capable of taking orders, as a last refuge from the malice of Edward IV. With this intention, as well as for the purpose of wiling away the heavy hours of captivity, he became a proficient in Latin, and all the learning of the times.²

The danger passed away, the learning remained to his future benefit. Yet Richmond and his uncle must have led a harassed life for many years during their exile; nor had they always the comfort of being together,

¹ Hall.² Coles' MSS. Speed.

for the records of Vannes prove that, after remaining some time in a state of honourable restraint in the capital of Bretagne, watched by guards, yet treated as princes, on some suspicion of their intention to withdraw themselves, Henry and his uncle were arrested at the request of Edward IV. Jasper was confined in the castle of Jocelin, and young Henry in the castle of Elvin. The Bretons to this day point out one of the two towers of Elvin as his prison.¹ The death of his great persecutor, Edward IV., caused an amelioration of his captivity. A few months opened to him an immediate vista to the English crown.

After the destruction of the heirs of York had been effected by Richard III., Christopher Urswick came to Bretagne with a proposal from the countess Margaret to her son, that he should marry the rightful heiress of the realm, Elizabeth of York. Henry immediately requested an interview with the duke of Bretagne, to whom he confided his prospects, and received from him promises of assistance and permission to depart. Soon after came Hugh Conway, bringing great sums from his mother, with directions to effect a landing as soon as possible in Wales. Henry sailed for England with forty ships, furnished him by the duke of Bretagne. According to general history, he heard of Buckingham's failure and returned immediately; yet the local traditions of Wales declare that he landed and remained in concealment for several months at Tremostyn, in Flintshire. "In the ancient castle of Tremostyn, in Flintshire, is a great room at the end of a long gallery, said by the tradition of the place to have been the lodging of Henry VII., when earl of Richmond, for he resided secretly in Wales at the time he was supposed to have been in Bretagne. None of our historians," adds Pennant, "account for a certain period in Henry's life after he had departed from the protection of the duke of Bretagne. While Henry was thus lurking at Mostyn, a party of Richard's forces arrived there on suspicion, and proceeded to search the castle. He was about to dine, but had just time to leap out of a back window, and make his escape by means of an aperture, which is to this day called the king's hole."²

With Henry's visit to Wales was probably connected the report mentioned in history of his desire to marry lady Katherine Herbert, the youngest daughter of his former generous protectors. After the defeat of Buckingham, he for a time lost all hope of alliance with the royal Elizabeth. His former love, Maud Herbert, had been married to the earl of Northumberland, but Henry sent word that he wished to have her younger sister.³ The messenger, however, met with the most unaccountable impediments in his journey; and before he could communicate with lady Northumberland, new schemes were agitated for his union with the princess Elizabeth, and Henry was forced to sacrifice his private affections. The people imagined that the union of the rival

¹ Hunter, in illustration of the "Song of the Lady Bessy."

² Pennant's Wales

³ Hall.

roses was arranged by Providence, for the purpose of putting an end to the long agonies England had endured on account of the disputed succession. Great crowds went to behold a natural prodigy of a rose-bush, which produced blossoms where the rival colours of the rose of York and Lancaster were for the first time seen blended. This the English considered was an auspicious omen.¹

Brereton set out with Elizabeth's ring of betrothal about the same time; he met the earl of Richmond, who had returned to Bretagne, at Begar monastery; this was twenty-eight miles from Rennes, conveniently situate for intercourse with England, where there were two convents connected with that of Begar on the earl of Richmond's own estate in Yorkshire. Brereton found the earl of Richmond sitting at the butts in an archery-ground; he was dressed in a black velvet surcoat, which reached to the knees: he describes him as long-faced, and pale in complexion. He was in company with lord Oxford, who had just escaped to him from his tedious imprisonment in Hammes-castle, and lord Ferrers (of Groby), who was the same person as the marquis of Dorset, Elizabeth's half-brother: Richmond was likewise attended by a gentleman of the name of Lee. The French authors affirm that Henry was in love with Lee's daughter Katherine, but the girl gave up his promise for fear of ruining his fortunes.² Henry received Brereton civilly: he kissed the ring of rich stones that Elizabeth had sent him, but, with the characteristic caution which ever distinguished him, remained three weeks before he gave him an answer. Once more Henry was in imminent peril, from the treachery of the Breton government. Duke Francis fell dangerously ill, and his minister, Landois, covenanted to deliver the earl into the hands of Richard III.; as it was, Richmond, who was near the French border, had to ride for his life, and with only five persons arrived safely at Angers, from whence he visited the French court, and received promises of assistance from the lady-regent, sister to Charles VIII. He followed the royal family of France to Paris, where he renewed a solemn oath to marry Elizabeth of York if he could dispossess the usurper; and the day after this oath, all the English students at the university of Paris tendered him their homage as king of England.³ He likewise received a message from duke Francis, who, having recovered his health, disclaimed the iniquities of Landois, and promised Henry assistance for his fresh descent on England. The lady-regent of France advanced him a sum of money, but required hostages for its payment; upon which Henry very adroitly left in pledge the person of his intended brother-in-law, the marquis of Dorset, whose late communications with England had excited some suspicions.

¹ Camden.

² Prevost. One of Elizabeth's maids of honour was mistress Lee. In every page,

some curious coincidence with forgotten facts is to be found in Brereton's work.

³ Guthrie.

"The earl of Richmond told me," says Comines, "just before his departure, that from the time he was five years old he had been either a fugitive or a captive, and that he had endured a fifteen years' imprisonment from duke Francis, into whose hands he had fallen by extremity of weather. Indeed, I was at the court of Bretagne when he and his uncle were first seized." Edward IV. paid the duke of Bretagne a yearly sum for his safe keeping : and, if the extreme poverty of Richard III. had permitted him to continue the pension, it is to be feared the crown of England and the hand of its heiress, the "lovely lady Bessy," would never have been won by Henry Tudor.

Henry sailed with the united fleets of France and Bretagne from Harfleur, August 1, on his chivalric enterprise to win a wife and crown. His navy met with no interruption, for Richard's poverty kept the English ships inactive. The fleet safely made Milford-Haven in six days ; but Henry landed with his uncle Jasper at a place called Dale, some miles from his armament. When his uncle first set foot on his native soil, the people received him joyfully, with these significant words, "Welcome! for thou hast taken good care of thy nephew;"¹ a sarcastic reflection on the conduct of Richard III. to his nephews. Richmond was greeted everywhere on his route from Milford as a deliverer, and as far as Shrewsbury every town threw open its gates for his admittance. His old friend, lord Herbert, though not openly his partisan, secretly favoured his march ; but Gilbert Talbot, with the bold decision of character so well described by Brereton, joined him promptly at the head of the vassalage of his nephew, the earl of Shrewsbury :² so did Sir John Savage. Henry now pressed forward for the midland counties, suffering in mind doubts respecting the conduct of the Stanleys, although he received the most comforting messages from his mother. At last he arrived at Tamworth. Lord Stanley was encamped at Atherstone, and Richard III. was advancing to Leicester. On the evening of the 20th of August, Henry had a very narrow escape ; he went out from his camp at Tamworth, and met lord Stanley by assignation in the dark, in a field near Atherstone. Here Stanley explained to his son-in-law "how necessary it was for him to appear Richard's friend till the very moment when the battle joined, or the loss of his son's life would be the consequence, since Richard would not excuse him from his palace-duty without he left his heir, George lord Strange, as a hostage ; that the axe was even now suspended over George's head, and would fall on the slightest symptoms of revolt shown by the Stanleys." Had Richmond been wholly satisfied, he surely would have got a guide from Stanley back to his camp, for on his return he lost his path, and wandered in danger of capture by Richard's scouts : he dared not inquire his way, lest his foreign accent

¹ Gough's History of Myddle, edited by Sir Thomas Phillips, bart.

² Hall ; who strongly confirms Brereton's statement, without knowing anything of him.

should betray him. At last rendered desperate, he knocked at the door of a lone hut on Atherstone-moor, and finding therein the master, a simple shepherd, was by him refreshed, and afterwards kindly guided to Tamworth, where he rejoined his forces, not before his army¹ had been thrown into consternation-at his absence.

That very evening, at sunset, king Richard entered Leicester, mounted on a magnificent white courser, and clad in the same suit of burnished steel armour he wore at Tewkesbury; on his helmet was placed a regal crown, which he had worn ever since he joined his military muster at Nottingham. His countenance was stern and frowning, his manner that of high command, as he rode surrounded by the pomp of war in the van of the finest cavalry forces in Europe. His army, amounting to thirteen thousand men, was sufficient to have crushed Richmond's petty band, but that its strength was impaired by secret disaffection. King Richard slept at the principal inn at Leicester (known since by the name of the Blue Boar), because Leicester-castle was ruinous and uninhabitable. The room in which he passed the night is fresh in the memory of many persons: but the ancient historical inn has been destroyed for the erection of a row of small houses. Richard occupied a ghostly gothic chamber: he slept on his military chest, in the shape of a bedstead, and the discovery of his treasure, a hundred years afterwards, occasioned a horrid murder. Early in the morning of the day preceding Bosworth fight, Richard III. left Leicester by the south gate at the head of his cavalry. A poor old blind man, who had been a wheelwright, sat begging near the bridge: as the king approached he cried out, that "If the moon changed again that day, which had changed once in the course of nature that morning, king Richard would lose life and crown." He hinted at the secret disaffection of the Percy² who had married Henry of Richmond's old love, Maud Herbert. As Richard rode over Leicester-bridge, his left foot struck against a low wooden post: "His head shall strike against that very pile," said the oracular beggar, "as he returns this night."³

The two rival armies encamped on the appropriately named heath of Redmore, near Bosworth, September 21. Richard went out at twilight to reconnoitre: he found a sentinel fast asleep at the outposts; he promptly stabbed him to the heart, with these stern soldierly words—"I found him asleep, and I leave him so." Such was the usurper's preparation for that fearful night of unrest, of which Shakespeare has made such poetical use. Our chroniclers⁴ more briefly describe the troubled slumber of Richard on the last night of his existence, by saying that, in his sleep, he "was most terribly pulled and haled by *divels*." They report, moreover, that other agents were busy in the camp besides these diabolical phantasma of the tyrant's over-charged brain, for the morning

¹ Hutton's Bosworth.

² The Percy bears the crescent as crest.

³ Tracts, British Museum.

⁴ Speed. Holinshed. Hall.

light showed that some daring hand had placed a placard on the duke of Norfolk's tent, containing these lines :—

“Jockey of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold.”

Notwithstanding his ill-rest, Richard was the next morning energetically active, reckoning on overwhelming Richmond at once by a tremendous charge of cavalry. Richmond must have possessed great moral courage to risk a battle, for his stepfather was, till the moment of onset, dubious in his indications. At last lord Stanley and his brother Sir William wheeled round and joined Richmond's forces; thus the odds were turned against the usurper; yet the battle raged on Redmore-heath for more than two hours. King Richard made in person three furious charges, the last being the most desperate, after his friend the duke of Norfolk was slain, when, overthrowing all opposers, he cut his way to where Richmond's standard flew, in hopes of a personal encounter with his rival. After killing the standard-bearer, Brandon, “he was borne down by numbers at the foot of the hill near Amyon-lays.” His blood tinged the pretty brooklet which issues from the hill: it literally ran red that day, and to this hour the common people refuse to drink of its waters. The body of Richard was in a few minutes plundered of its armour and ornaments. The crown was hidden by a soldier in a hawthorn-bush, but was soon found and carried to lord Stanley, who placed it on the head of his stepson, saluting him by the title of Henry VII., who thus stood crowned, while the victorious army sang *Te Deum* on the blood-stained heath.

“Oh, Redmore! then it seemed thy name was not in vain.”

It was in memory of the picturesque fact of the red-berried hawthorn once sheltering the crown of England, that the house of Tudor assumed the device of a crown in a bush of the fruited hawthorn. To the same circumstance may be referred the loyal proverb—

“Cleave to the crown, though it hang on a bush.”

The local traditions of Leicestershire affirm, that when Richard's body was brought into Leicester, the town he had lately quitted with the utmost military pomp, it was stripped and gashed, and hanging, with the head downwards, across a horse ridden by one of his heralds, Blanch Sanglier. As the body was carried across Leicester-bridge, the head hanging like a thrum-mop, it (as was very likely) struck against the piece of wood projecting from the bridge, and thus the gossips found the blind wheelwright's saying fulfilled. The nuns of the Grey Friars begged the poor maltreated corpse of their benefactor, and interred it humbly, but decently, in their church.

While these events were transacting, the royal maiden who was to

prove the prize of the victor remained in the lonely halls of the Yorkshire castle of Sheriff-Hutton, with no companion but its young and imbecile owner, her cousin Warwick. A sudden outburst of joy throughout the country, and the thronging of the population of the district about the gates of her prison, told Elizabeth that her cause had prospered, and that Richard was overthrown. Soon after came Sir Robert Willoughby, sent by the new king, Henry VII., from Bosworth, with orders to bring the princess Elizabeth and her cousin to London with all convenient speed. The princess commenced her journey directly, and was attended by a voluntary guard of the nobility and gentry of the counties through which she passed; many ladies likewise came to wait upon her: in this state she was escorted to London, and consigned to the care of her mother, queen Elizabeth, at Westminster-palace.

Henry VII., in the mean time, set out from Leicester, and by easy journeys arrived in the metropolis. The lord mayor and citizens met him at Shoreditch, and recognised him as king of England.¹ He came, not invested with military terrors like a conqueror—not even as an armed and mounted cavalier, but made his entry, to the surprise of every one, in a covered chariot, a mode of travelling never before used, excepting by females, “without,” adds Bacon, “it was considered necessary so to convey a traitor or enemy of the state, dangerous for the people to recognise.” His own poet, Bernard Andreas, who had accompanied him from Bretagne, welcomed him to London at Shoreditch, with Latin verses written in his praise. The king went direct to St. Paul’s, where *Te Deum* was sung, and he offered his banners, not those taken at Bosworth, but three, on which were figured his devices of the fiery dragon of Cadwallader, a dun cow, and the effigy of St. George. He then retired to his lodging prepared at the palace of the bishop of London, close to St. Paul’s churchyard. While he remained the guest of the bishop, he assembled his privy council, and renewed to them his promise of espousing the princess Elizabeth of York. The discontents of the Yorkist party commenced from this era; they found with indignation that Henry chose to be recognised by parliament as the independent sovereign of England, without the least acknowledgment of the title he derived from his betrothment with their princess. His coronation took place soon after, without the association of the princess in its honours.

Elizabeth, it is said, suffered great anxiety from the reports of his intended marriage, either with the heiress of Bretagne or lady Katherine Herbert. In the course of her meditations she recalled to memory that her father had, in her infancy, offered her in marriage to “this comely prince;” perhaps she did not know the evil intentions of that treaty; at all events, she deemed herself Henry’s betrothed wife, not only from motives of political expediency, but according to the sanction of her

¹ Continuation of Hardyng.

deceased parent.¹ Yet it was near Christmas, and no preparations had been made for the marriage of the royal pair, when the house of commons, on their grant to the king of tonnage and poundage for life, added to it a petition "that he would take to wife and consort the princess Elizabeth, which marriage they hoped God would bless with a progeny of the race of kings." The members of the assembled houses of parliament then rose up and bowed to the king, as a sign of their earnest co-operation in this wish:² the king replied "that he was very willing so to do." He might have added, for the further satisfaction of all malcontent at the delay, that the prevalence of the two great plagues of poverty and pestilence were reasonable impediments to gorgeous and crowded ceremonies; for the private records of the exchequer prove that there was not a doit in the royal purse, and the public annals show how severely the new disease called "the sweating sickness," or *sudor Anglicus*, was devastating the metropolis.

The parliament was prorogued from the 10th of December till the 27th of January by the lord chancellor, who announced "that, before its re-assembling, the marriage of the king and the princess Elizabeth would take place;" from which time she was treated as queen. A great tournament was proclaimed, and magnificent preparations made for the royal nuptials. Elizabeth and Henry were within the prohibited degrees: to obtain a special dispensation was a work of time, but in order to indulge the wishes of the nation for their immediate union, an ordinary dispensation was procured from the pope's resident legate, by which licence the royal pair were united at Westminster, January 18, 1485-6. Their wedding-day was, in the words of Bernard Andreas, "celebrated with all religious and glorious magnificence at court, and by their people with bonfires, dancing, songs, and banquets, throughout all London." Cardinal Bouchier, who was at the same time a descendant of the royal house of Plantagenet and a prince of the church, was the officiating prelate at the marriage. "His hand held the sweet posie, wherein the white and red roses were first tied together."

CHAPTER II.

A LATIN epithalamium was written on the marriage of Elizabeth of York by a learned prebendary of St. Paul's, John de Gigli.³

"Hail! ever honoured and auspicious day,
When in blest wedlock to a mighty king—
To Henry.—bright Elizabeth is joined.
Fairest of Edward's offspring, she alone
Pleased this illustrious spouse.

¹ Bernard Andreas' Memoir Speed.

² Parliamentary History.

Bibl. Harl.

Then, the poet tells Henry that the fruit of war is won, the empire has descended upon him, the crown is on his head, the sceptre in his hand, peace smiles for England, and he only requires a spouse to complete his happiness, and thus calls his attention to Elizabeth:—

* So here the most illustrious maid of York,
Deficient nor in virtue nor descent,
Most beautiful in form, whose matchless face
Adorned with most enchanting sweetness shines.
Her parents called her name Elizabeth,
And she, their first-born, should of right succeed
Her mighty sire. *Her title will be yours,*
If you unite this princess to yourself
In wedlock's holy bond."

Alluding to Henry's tardiness in celebrating his nuptials, the royal *fiancée* is made to express the most passionate impatience. She says—

" Oh, my beloved ! my hope, my only bliss !
Why then defer my joy ? Fairest of kings,
Whence your delay to light our bridal torch ?
Our noble house contains two persons now,
But one in mind, in equal love the same.
Oh, my illustrious spouse ! give o'er delay
Your sad Elizabeth entreats ; and you
Will not deny Elizabeth's request,
For we were plighted in a solemn pact,
Signed long ago by your own royal hand."

Henry is then reminded that her youthful affections had been given to him, and that she had patiently cherished this idea for years :—

" How oft with needle, when denied the pen,
Has she on canvas traced the blessed name
Of Henry, or expressed it with her loom
In silken threads, or 'brodered it in gold.
* * * * *

Your hymeneal torches now unite,
And keep them ever pure. Oh ! royal maid,
Put on your regal robes in loveliness.
A thousand fair attendants around you wait,
Of various ranks, with different offices,
To deck your beauteous form. Lo ! this delights
To smooth with ivory comb your golden hair,
And that to curl and braid each shining tress,
And wreath the sparkling jewels round your head,
Twining your locks with gems : this one shall clasp
The radiant necklace framed in fretted gold
About your snowy neck, while that unfolds
The robes that glow with gold and purple dye.
And fits the ornaments, with patient skill,
To your unrivalled limbs ; and here shall shine
The costly treasures from the Orient sands.
The sapphire, azure gem, that emulates
Heaven's lofty arch, shall gleam, and softly there
The verdant emerald shed its greenest light,
And fiery carbuncle flash forth rosy rays
From the pure gold."

He predicts that a child shall shortly gambol in the royal halls, and grow up a worthy son of Richmond, emulating the noble qualities of his august parents, and perpetuating their name in his illustrious descendants for ever. Nor was the Latin composition of the learned De Gigli the only poetical tribute to these nuptials. An anthem was written for the occasion in the following words, in which a strong resemblance will be immediately traced to "God save the king:" the similarity of the music is still stronger.

"God save king Henrie whereso'er he be,
And for queene Elizabeth now pray wee,
And for all her noble progenye;
God save the church of Christ from any follie,
And for queene Elizabeth now pray wee."

Three successive dispensations were granted by pope Innocent, all dated subsequently to the royal marriage. He addresses the king and queen as "thou king Henry of Lancaster, and thou Elizabeth of York;" and proceeds to state, "that as their progenitors had vexed the kingdom of England with wars and clamours, to prevent further effusion of blood it was desirable for them to unite in marriage." He calls Elizabeth "the undoubted heir of that famous king of immortal memory, Edward IV.," thus effacing the brand her unnatural uncle had cast on her birth. Three bulls were obtained, one after the other, before Henry could find one to please him; at last a clause was introduced, declaring that if Elizabeth died without issue, the succession of the crown was to be continued in Henry's progeny by another wife—a great injustice to her sisters.

Elizabeth, very soon after the marriage, gave hopes that this injurious clause would prove of none effect. She retired to the city of Winchester to pass the summer, holding her court there, surrounded by her sisters, her mother, and her mother-in-law, Margaret Beaufort, for whom she appears to have cherished the greatest esteem. The king left his bride at Lent, for the purpose of making a long and dangerous progress through the northern counties, which had been so entirely devoted to Richard III. as to have upheld him on the throne by military force. It was impossible for Elizabeth, in her delicate and hopeful situation, to accompany her husband on this progress; for he had to suppress two dangerous insurrections on the road, and one notable plot prepared for his destruction. At last Henry got safely to the late usurper's favourite city of York, where the good people discreetly tried the effect of a little personal flattery. At his magnificent entry they made the air ring with shouts of "king Harry! king Harry! our Lord preserve that sweet and well-favoured face!" And so well was this compliment taken, that Henry reduced their crown-rents.

The queen had fixed her residence at Winchester by her husband's

express desire, as he wished her to give birth to his expected heir in the castle of that city, because tradition declared it was built by king Arthur, his ancestor. The queen's bedchamber was arranged according to ancient etiquette, which had been studied sedulously by the king's mother, the countess Margaret, who has favoured posterity with her written rules on the subject. The royal patient was enclosed, not only from air, but from the light of day. "Her highness' pleasure being understood as to what chamber she be delivered in, the same must be hung with rich cloth of arras—sides, roof, windows and all, except *one* window, where it must be hanged so that she may have light when it pleaseth her. After the queen had taken to her chamber," a peculiar ceremony in royal etiquette, now obsolete, she bade farewell to all her lords and court officers, and saw none but those of her own sex, "for," continues the countess Margaret, "women were made all manner of officers, as butlers, sewers, and pages, who received all needful things at the great chamber-door." The queen gave her family a surprise, by the birth of a son some weeks sooner than was expected; yet the child was healthy, and very lively. He was born September 20, 1486, at Winchester-castle. The health of the queen, it appears, was always delicate, and she suffered much from an ague that autumn. Her mother-in-law, lady Margaret, busied herself greatly at this time; for, besides regulating the etiquette of the royal lying-in chamber, she likewise arranged the pageantry of the young prince's baptism, and set forth the length and breadth of his cradle, "fair adorned with painter's craft."¹ Elizabeth of York had the satisfaction of seeing her mother complimented with the honour of standing godmother for this precious heir. Several cross-accidents attended his baptism: the day was violently stormy, and one of his godfathers, the stout earl of Oxford, most unaccountably kept his royal godchild waiting in the cold cathedral three hours for his appearance. Oxford came in when the ceremony was nearly over, but he was in time to perform his part, which was that of sponsor, at the confirmation; and, taking the royal babe on his arm, he presented him to the officiating prelate at Winchester high altar. Then, while the king's trumpeters and minstrels went playing before, the child was borne to the king and queen, and had the blessing of God, Our Lady, St. George, and his parents.² According to ancient custom, he was first called by his Christian name when his mother blessed him, and the king sat by the queen's bed-side, ready to give his benediction as the concluding ceremony of the royal baptism.

It cannot be denied that Henry VII., afterwards so cunning and worldly, was, at this epoch, imbued with all the dreamy romance natural to the studious and recluse life he had led in his prison-tower of Elvin, where his hours of recreation had no other amusement *than*

¹ Harleian MS.² Leland.

stories of Arthur and Uter Pendragon. He had hitherto spent his days in Wales or Bretagne, both Celtic countries, speaking the same language, and cherishing the same traditions. Much the royal brain was occupied with ballads of the "*Mort d'Artur*," with red dragons and green leeks, besides long rolls of Welsh pedigrees, in which Noah figured about midway. It was remarkable enough that a prince, educated on the coast of France, should have returned to England with tastes so entirely formed on the most ancient lore of our island—tastes which he now gratified by naming the heir of England Arthur, after his favourite hero and ancestor. It was a mercy he did not name the boy Cadwallader, whom, by the assistance of some painstaking Welsh heralds, he claimed as his hundredth progenitor. Cadwallader had prophesied on his death-bed the restoration of the British royal line as sovereigns of the whole island. The queen was lineal princess of Wales by virtue of her descent from Gladis, who had married one of her Mortimer ancestors, and their posterity was and is the nearest collateral line from Llewellyn the Great.¹ The memory of the Mortimers, as the conquerors and controllers of Wales, was little loved by the Welsh; yet the infant prince Arthur was the object of their adoration, and his perfections are still remembered in their national songs.

Elizabeth's churching was conducted with remarkable solemnity of etiquette, according to the following routine:—The queen received her officers of the household, and the officers of arms, reclining on a grand state-bed, "*richly beseen in tires*," being, we presume, a cap with borders, "*and with beads about her neck*." A duchess, or at least a countess, helped her down from the bed, and led her to the chamber-door, where two duchesses received her, and a duke led her to the chapel, where the ceremony of churching took place. One of her lords carried a taper burning before her to the altar, where she offered, and all her ladies and gentlemen offered, according to their degree. And that day the queen sat in the great chamber under the king's canopy, and also had her largess cried.² The queen's ague continued, and it was long before she recovered her health; when it was restored, she founded a Lady-chapel at Winchester cathedral, as a testimony of gratitude for the birth of her heir.

The dower of Elizabeth deviated in some particulars from those of the queens her predecessors: as she was heiress of the Mortimers, some of their possessions in Herefordshire, and part of the great patrimony of Clare, formed portions of it. Her grandmother, Cicely duchess of York, was very richly endowed on this inheritance; and as Elizabeth Woodville, the queen's mother, had likewise to be maintained, the funds were barely sufficient for all claimants. The king, "in consideration of the

¹ Blackstone. Gladis was sister to Llewellyn the Great.

² MS. of the Norroy herald, time of Henry Vth.

great expenses and charges that his most dear wife Elizabeth, queen of England, must of necessity bear in her chamber, and other divers *wises* by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament, and by the authority of the same, ordaineth that his dear wife the queen be able to sue in her own name, without the king."

The next year was agitated with the mysterious rebellion in behalf of the earl of Warwick, who was personated by a youth named Lambert Simnel. It was but a few months since the queen and young Warwick had been companions at Sheriff-Hutton: the public had since lost sight of him, and this rebellion was evidently got up to make the king own what had become of him. He had been kept quietly in the Tower, from whence, to prove the imposition of Lambert Simnel, he was now brought in grand possession through the city to Shene, where he had lived in childhood with Elizabeth of York, and her young brothers and sisters.¹ The queen received him with several noblemen, and conversed with him; but he was found to be very stupid, not knowing the difference between the commonest objects.² The king wrote to the earl of Ormond, chamberlain to the queen, the following May, commanding him to escort her and his mother, the lady Margaret to Kenilworth, where he then was. The people were discontented that the coronation of Elizabeth had not taken place after her wedlock, and rebellions followed each other with great rapidity. Lambert Simnel fell into the king's power this autumn; and when Henry found he was a simple boy, too ignorant to be considered a responsible agent, he very magnanimously forgave him, and with good-humoured ridicule promoted him to be turnspit in his kitchen at Westminster, and afterwards made him one of his falconers. This act of grace was in honour of Elizabeth's approaching coronation. She preceded the king to London; and, on the 3rd of November, 1487, she sat in a window at St. Mary's hospital, Bishopsgate-street, in order to have a view of his triumphant entry into the metropolis, after the victory of Stoke. The queen then went with Henry to their palace at Greenwich. On the Friday preceding her coronation she went from London to Greenwich, royally accompanied on the broad-flowing Thames: all the barges of the civic companies came to meet her in procession. The bachelors' barge, whose pageant surpassed all the others, belonged to the gentleman-students of Lincoln's-inn; "therein was a great red dragon," in honour of the Cadwallader dragon of the house of Tudor, "spouting flames of fire into the Thames," and "many other gentlemanly pageants, well and curiously devised, to do her highness sport and pleasure withal." This barge, rowed by the handsomest gentlemen of Lincoln's-inn, kept side by side with that of Elizabeth, playing the sweetest

¹ Wardrobe accounts of Edward IV., edited by Sir Harris Nicolas.

² Hall. Cardinal Pole says his uncle was as innocent as a child of a year old.

melody, and exciting the admiration of all the citizens assembled on the banks of the river, or in boats, by the activity of the gallant rowers and the vivacity of their dragon. "When the queen landed at the Tower, the king's highness welcomed her in such a manner and form as was to all the estates, being present, a very goodly sight, and right joyous and comfortable to behold."

The king then created eleven knights of the Bath; and the next day, Saturday, after dinner, Elizabeth set forth on her procession through the city to Westminster-palace. The crowd was immense, for it was Elizabeth's first public appearance in the metropolis as queen since her marriage, and all the Londoners were anxious to behold her in her royal apparel. She must have been well worth seeing: she had not completed her twenty-second year, her figure was, like that of her majestic father, tall and elegant, her complexion brilliantly fair, and her serene eyes and perfect features were now lighted up with the lovely expression maternity ever gives to a young woman whose disposition is truly estimable. The royal apparel, in which her loving subjects were so anxious to see her arrayed, consisted of a kirtle of white cloth of gold, damasked, and a mantle of the same, furred with ermine, fastened on the breast with a great lace of cordon, curiously wrought of gold and silk, finished with rich knobs of gold and tassels. "On her fair yellow hair, hanging at length down her back, she wore a caul of pipes [a piped net-work] and a circle of gold, richly adorned with gems." Thus attired, she quitted her chamber of state in the Tower, her train borne by her sister Cicely, who was still fairer than herself. She was preceded by four baronesses, riding grey palfreys, and her royal consort's uncle Jasper, as grand steward. Her old friend lord Stanley (now earl of Derby), was high-constable, and the earl of Oxford, lord chamberlain. Thus attended, she entered a rich open litter, with a canopy borne over her head by four of the new knights of the Bath. She was followed by her sister Cicely and Katherine Woodville, her mother's sister, who had married the king's uncle Jasper, in one car, and her father's sister, the duchess of Suffolk, mother to the unfortunate earl of Lincoln, lately slain fighting against Henry VII. at the battle of Stoke. The duchess of Norfolk rode in another car, and six baronesses on palfreys brought up the noble procession. The citizens hung velvets and cloth of gold from the windows of Cheap, and stationed children, dressed like angels, to sing praises to the queen as she passed on to Westminster-palace.

The next morning she was attired in a kirtle of purple velvet, furred with ermine bands in front. On her hair she wore a circlet of gold, set with large pearls and coloured gems. She entered Westminster-hall with her attendants, and waited under a canopy of state till she proceeded to the abbey. The way thither was carpeted with striped cloth, which sort of covering had been, from time immemorial, the perquisite of the

common people. But the multitude in this case crowded so eagerly to cut off pieces of the cloth, ere the queen had well passed, that before she entered the abbey several of them were trampled to death, and the procession of the queen's ladies "broken and distroubled." The princess Cicely was the queen's train-bearer; the duke of Suffolk, her aunt's husband, carried the sceptre; and the king's uncle, Jasper duke of Bedford, carried the crown. The king resolved that Elizabeth should possess the public attention solely that day: he therefore ensconced himself in a closely latticed box, erected between the altar and the pulpit in Westminster-abbey, where he remained with his mother, *perdue*, during the whole ceremony. The queen's mother was not present, but her son Dorset, who had undergone imprisonment in the Tower, on suspicion during the earl of Lincoln's revolt, was liberated, and permitted to assist at his sister's coronation.

A stately banquet was prepared in Westminster-hall, solely for the queen and those who had assisted at her coronation. The king and the lady Margaret, his mother, were again present as unseen spectators, occupying a latticed seat erected in the recess of a window on the left of the hall. When the queen was seated at her coronation-feast, the lord Fitzwalter, her sewer, "came before her in his surcoat with tabard-sleeves, his hood about his neck, and a towel over all, and sewed all the messes." A sewer seems to have been an officer who performed at the royal table the functions of a footman, or waiter, at a modern dinner-party; and "sewing all the messes" was presenting the hot meats in a manner fit for the queen to partake of them. "The lady Katherine Gray, and mistress Ditton, went under the table, and sat at the queen's feet; and the countesses of Oxford and Rivers knelt on each side, and now and then held a kerchief before her grace. And after the feast the queen departed with God's blessing, and the rejoicing of many a true Englishman's heart."¹

The next day Henry partook of the coronation festivities. The queen began the morning by hearing mass with her husband in St. Stephen's chapel; after which "she kept her estate" (sat in royal pomp, under a canopy) in the parliament-chamber; the king's mother, who was scarcely ever separated from her daughter-in-law, was seated on her right hand. At dinner they observed the same order, and the beautiful princess Cicely sat opposite to her royal sister, at the end of the board. After dinner there was a ball, at which the queen and her ladies danced. The following day the queen returned to Greenwich.

From the time of her coronation, Elizabeth appeared in public with all the splendour of an English queen. She assisted at a grand festival of the order of the Garter, attired in the robes of the order. She rode with the countess of Richmond in a rich car, covered with cloth of gold,

¹ Leland Coll.

drawn by six horses, whose housings were of the same. The royal car was followed by her sister, the princess Anne, in the robes of the order, and twenty-one ladies dressed in crimson velvet, mounted on white palfreys, the reins and housings of which were covered with white roses.

The queen's aunt Katherine, widow of Buckingham, had been previously married to the duke of Bedford, the king's uncle, in the presence of Elizabeth and Henry. The viscount Welles, who was uncle by the half-blood to the king, received the hand of the queen's sister Cicely: the heralds were given the bride's mantle and gown as fees and largess. The princess Katherine was married to the heir of the earl of Devonshire, and the princess Anne took the place of Cicely in attendance on the queen in public. She thus continued till her hand was claimed by Thomas earl of Surrey, for his heir lord Thomas Howard: this nobleman affirmed that the young pair had been betrothed in infancy in the reign of Richard III. by that king.¹ The marriage-settlement of the lady Anne and lord Thomas was made by queen Elizabeth on one side, in behalf of her sister, and the earl of Surrey for his son on the other. Henry VII. offered at the altar, and gave his sister-in-law away. She left no children.

"On Allhallows'-eve the queen took to her chamber at Westminster, royally accompanied; that is to say, with my lady, the queen's *moder*, the duchess of Norfolk, and many other *ganging* before her, and besides greater part of the nobles of the realm assembled at Westminster at the parliament. She was led by the earl of Oxford and the earl of Derby (the king's step-father). The reverend father in God the bishop of Exeter said mass in his pontificals in the beautiful chapel of St. Stephen, situate near the royal chambers of Westminster-palace. The earl of Salisbury held the towels when the queen received the Host, and the corners of the towels were golden. After *Agnus Dei* was sung, and the bishop ceased, the queen was led as before. When she arrived at her own great chamber, she tarried in the ante-room before it, and stood under her cloth of estate; then was ordained a *voide* of refreshments. That done, the queen's chamberlain, sir Richard Pole, in very good words, desired, in the queen's name, 'all her people to pray that God would send her a good hour,' and so she entered into her chamber, which was hanged and ceiled with blue cloth of arras, enriched with gold fleurs-de-lis." No tapestry on which human figures were represented, according to this document, was suffered to adorn the royal bedchamber; it was deemed inconvenient for ladies in such case, lest it might be supposed the royal patient should be affrighted by the "figures which gloomily glare." There was a rich bed and pallet in the queen's chamber: the pallet had a fine canopy of velvet of many colours, striped with gold and garnished with red roses. Also, there was an altar furnished with

¹ Buck and Hutton.

relics, and a very rich cupboard full of gold plate. When the queen had recommended herself to the good prayers of her subjects, her chamberlain drew the traverse, or curtain, which parted the chamber, and from "thenceforth no manner of officer came within the queen's chamber, but only ladies and gentlewomen, after the old custom." This etiquette was, however, broken by the arrival of the prince of Luxembourg, ambassador-extraordinary from France, who, most earnestly desiring to see the queen, was introduced into her bedchamber by her mother, queen Elizabeth Woodville, his near relative; no other man, excepting her lord chamberlain and garter king-at-arms, was admitted.

The queen's retirement took place on the 1st of November, and the royal infant was born on the 29th of the same month.¹ She was named Margaret, after the king's mother, and that noble lady, as godmother, presented the babe with a silver box full of gold pieces. At the christening festivals a play was performed before the king and queen in the white-hall of Westminster-palace. Subsequently at the Christmas-festival a court-herald complains "there were very few plays acted, on account of prevalent sickness; but there was an abbot of misrule, who made much sport." The queen's second son, Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., was born at Greenwich-palace, June 28, 1491. He was remarkable for his great strength and robust health from his infancy. During the temporary retirement of the queen to her chamber previously to the birth of her fourth child, the death of her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, occurred: the royal infant, proving a girl, was named Elizabeth, perhaps in memory of its grandmother.

Soon after Henry VII. undertook an invasion of France, in support of the rights of Anne of Bretagne to her father's duchy. But the queen wrote him so many loving letters, lamenting his absence and imploring his speedy return, that he raised the siege of Boulogne, and made peace. His subjects were preparing for him plenty of employment at home, by rebellions in behalf of Perkin Warbeck, who commenced his personification of Richard duke of York, the queen's brother, second son of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, at a very suspicious period for his identity, just after the death of his supposed mother. The remaining years of the century were involved in great trouble to the king, the queen, and the whole country; the lord chamberlain, Sir William Stanley (brother to the king's step-father), was executed, with little form of justice, for favouring the impostor, and the court was perturbed with doubt and suspicion. The bodies of the queen's brothers were vainly sought for at the Tower, in order to disprove the claims of the pretender; and when the queen's tender love for her own family is remembered, no doubt can exist that her mental sufferings were acute at this crisis.

¹ Speed. Afterwards Margaret Tudor, queen consort of James V., king of Scotland. See *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, by Agnes Strickland.

In the summer of 1495, Elizabeth accompanied the king to Latham-house, on a visit to his mother and her husband, Stanley earl of Derby. Perkin Warbeck was expected to invade England every day, and the king brought his consort with him to Lancashire, in order to regain for him the popularity he had lost by the execution of Sir William Stanley. Warrington-bridge was at this time built for the passage of the royal pair.¹ While a guest at Latham-house, the king's life was in danger from an odd circumstance:² the earl of Derby was showing him the country from the leads, when the family fool, who had been much attached to Sir William, the brother of his lord, lately put to death by the king, drew near, and pointing to a precipitous part of the leads undefended by battlements, close to which the royal guest was standing, said to his lord, in the deep low tone of vengeance, "Tom! remember Will." These three words struck the conscience of the king, and he hurried down-stairs to his mother and his consort with great precipitation. He returned with Elizabeth to London soon after this adventure, when they both attended the serjeants' feast at Ely-place: the queen and her ladies dined in one room, and the king and his retinue in another.

Elizabeth was this year so deeply in debt, that her consort found it necessary, after she had pawned her plate for 500*l.*, to lend her 2000*l.*³ to satisfy her creditors. Whoever examines the privy-purse expenses of this queen, will find that her life was spent in acts of beneficence to the numerous claimants of her bounty. She loved her own sisters with the fondest affection; they were destitute, but she could not bear that princesses of the royal line of York should be wholly dependent on the English noblemen (who had married them dowerless): she allowed them all, while single, an annuity of 50*l.* per annum for their private expenses, and paid to their husbands annuities for their board of 120*l.* each, besides perpetual presents. In her own person she was sufficiently economical: when she needed pocket-money, sums as low as 4*s.* 4*d.*, seldom more than 10*s.* or 20*s.* at a time, were sent to her from her accountant Richard Decons, by one of her ladies, as the lady Anne Percy, or the lady Elizabeth Stafford, or mistress Lee, to be put into her majesty's purse. Then her gowns were mended, turned, and new-bodied: they were freshly trimmed at an expense of 4*d.* to the tailor; they were newly hemmed when beaten out at the bottom, for which he was paid 2*d.* She wore shoes which only cost 12*d.*, with latten or tin buckles;⁴ but the rewards she proffered to her poor affectionate subjects, who brought her trifling offerings of early peas, cherries, chickens, bunches of roses, and posies of other flowers, were very high in proportion to what she paid for her own shoes. Notwithstanding the simplicity

¹ Song of the Lady Bessy; notes by Hayward.

² White Kennett's Collections.

³ Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VII.; *Excerpta Hist.*, edited by Sir H. Nicolas.

⁴ Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York; edited by Sir Harris Nicolas.

and economy of the queen's personal habits, all matters of her court-ceremonial were defined with precision rigorous as that of Chinese etiquette. Thus, on New-year's morning the reception of the New-year's gifts presented by the king and queen to each other, and by their household and courtiers, was reduced to a solemn formula. "On the day of the new year, when the king came to his foot-sheet, his usher of his chamber-door said to him, 'Sire, here is a New-year's gift coming from the queen:' then the king replied, 'Let it come in.' Then the king's usher let the queen's messenger come within the *gate*"¹ (meaning the gate of the railing which surrounded the royal bed, instances of which are familiar to the public in the state bed-rooms at Hampton-Court to this day, and it is probable that the scene was very similar), "Henry VII. sitting at the foot of the bed in his dressing-gown, the officers of his bedchamber having turned the top-sheet smoothly down to the foot of the bed when the royal personage rose. The queen, in the like manner, sat at her foot-sheet, and received the king's New-year's gift within the gate of her bed-railing. When this formal exchange of presents had taken place between the king and his consort, they received, seated in the same manner, the New-year's gifts of their nobles. And," adds the herald, assuming the first person, "I shall report to the queen's grace and them that be about her, what rewards are to be given to them that bring her grace New-year's gifts, for I trow they are not so good as those of the king."²

The queen lost her little daughter Elizabeth in September, 1495: this infant, if her epitaph may be trusted, was singularly lovely in person. She was buried in the new chapel, built by her father, at Westminster-abbey. A very tender friendship ever existed between the king's learned and accomplished mother, and her royal daughter-in-law: in her letters Margaret often laments the queen's delicate, or (as she terms it) *crazy* constitution. In one of them, written about this time, she thus mentions Elizabeth and her infants. It is written to the queen's chamberlain on occasion of some French gloves he had bought for the countess. "Blessed be God, the king, the queen, and all our sweet children be in good health. The queen hath been a little *crazed* [infirm in health], but now she is well, God be thanked. Her sickness not so much amended as I would, but I trust it shall be hastily, with God's grace." The countess declares, "the gloves be right good, excepting they were too much for her hand;" and adds, with a little sly pride in the smallness of her own fingers, "that she thinks the French ladies be great ladies altogether, not only in estates, but in their persons."

Elizabeth's infants were reared and educated either at Shene or Croydon. Erasmus visited the princely children when he was the guest of

¹ MS. of Henry VII.'s *Norroy* herald; in possession of Peter le Neve, Esq.

² *Ibid.*

lord Mountjoy ; the family-picture he draws is a charming one, and, oh ! how its interest is augmented when it is considered that Sir Thomas More and himself filled up the grouping ! He thus describes the queen's children : " Thomas More paid me a visit when I was Mountjoy's guest, and took me for recreation a walk to a neighbouring country palace, where the royal infants were abiding, prince Arthur excepted, who had completed his education. The princely children were assembled in the hall, and were surrounded by their household, to whom Mountjoy's servants added themselves. In the middle of the circle stood prince Henry, then only nine years old : he bore in his countenance a look of high rank, and an expression of royalty, yet open and courteous. On his right hand stood the princess Margaret, a child of eleven years, afterwards queen of Scotland. On the other side was the princess Mary, a little one of four years of age, engaged in her sports, whilst Edmund, an infant, was held in his nurse's arms." There is a group of portraits at Hampton-Court representing three of these children : they have earnest eyes and great gravity of expression, but the childish features of the princess Margaret, who is then about six years of age, look oddly out of the hood-coif, the fashionable head-dress of the era ; even the babies in arms wore the same head-dress.

For seven long years England was convulsed by the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck. The young king of Scotland, James IV., committed a great outrage against the English monarch, by receiving the impostor and bestowing on him the hand of the beautiful lady Katherine Gordon, who was not only a princess of the royal blood of Scotland, but, by descent from Joanna Beaufort, one of the nearest relatives Henry VII. and his mother had. Perkin invaded the English border, and Henry levied an army to give him battle, saying, " He hoped now he should see the gentleman of whom he had heard so much." Before the king departed, queen Elizabeth ornamented his basnet with her own hands with jewels ; he paid, however, the expenses of her outlay, which fact rather diminishes the romance of the queen's employment. Great danger impended, lest the queen and her children should finally be displaced by the impostor ; for as soon as the insurrections in his favour were subdued in one quarter, they broke out in an opposite direction. Perkin appeared as if by magic in Ireland, and then invaded the Cornish coast. His western partisans brought the war close to the metropolis : a sharp action was fought at Deptford-bridge and Blackheath. Henry VII. was nearly in despair of success, till the battle of Blackheath was decided in his favour,¹ June, 1497. Afterwards Perkin and his bride were severally taken prisoners. Lady Katherine Gordon was called " the white rose," from her delicate beauty and the pretensions of her husband to the rights of the house of York ; she loved him, and she had followed him in all

¹ Sir Henry Ellis's Coll., vol. i.

his adventures since her marriage, till he left her for security in the strong fortress of St. Michael's-mount, which was captured by the royalists, and lady Katherine brought prisoner to the king, who was then at Winchester-palace. When she entered his presence she blushed excessively, and then burst into a passion of tears. King Henry remembered the near kindred of the distressed beauty to himself; he spoke kindly to her, and presented her to his queen, who took her into her service, where she remained till her second marriage with Sir Matthew Cradock. The compassion shown by Henry to the disconsolate "white rose," raised some reports that he was captivated by her beauty; but he seems to have anticipated such gossip, by resigning her to the care of his queen.

There was no peace for England till after the execution of the adventurous boy who took upon himself the character of the queen's brother. For upwards of two years Henry VII. spared the life of Perkin, but, inspired with a spirit of restless daring, which showed as if he came "one way of the great Plantagenets," this youth nearly got possession of the Tower, and implicated the unfortunate earl of Warwick, his fellow-captive, in his schemes. It is reasonably supposed that Perkin was a natural son of Edward IV., for his age agrees with the time when that monarch took refuge in the Low Countries. Why Henry VII. spared his life so long is an historical mystery, unless he really was a merciful man, willing to abstain from blood if his turbulent people would have permitted him. That abstinence could no longer continue: Perkin, after undergoing many degradations, in the vain hope of dispelling his delusion of royalty, was hanged at Tyburn, November 16, and the less justifiable execution of the earl of Warwick followed. This last prince of the race of Plantagenet was beheaded on Tower-hill, November 28, 1499. The troubles and commotions of civil war entirely ceased with the existence of that unfortunate young man.

A plague so venomous broke out in England after this event, that Henry VII., fearing least the queen should be among its victims, took her out of the country in May, and the royal family resided at Calais for more than a month. Some say that the queen entertained the archduke Philip of Austria most royally while she remained at Calais; it is, however, certain that a marriage between her beautiful little daughter Mary,¹ and Charles, son of the archduke Philip (afterwards the great emperor Charles V.), was agreed on at this time, and the marriage-treaty between Arthur prince of Wales and the youngest daughter of Spain, Katharine of Arragon, was concluded, the parents of that princess, king Ferdinand of Arragon and queen Isabel of Castile, having previously demurred regarding its completion as long as the unfortunate earl of Warwick lived. The following January the queen presided at the betrothment of her eldest daughter Margaret with James IV. of Scotland, performed in her

¹ Lord Bacon's Henry VII.: the marriage was never completed.

palace and chapel of Shene, and publicly celebrated and announced at St. Paul's cathedral.¹ Lady Katherine, the widow of Perkin Warbeck, was in attendance on the queen at these "fiancialles," and took precedence next to the royal family.

Much has been said regarding the coldness and unkindness of Henry VII. to his gentle partner; but if he indulged in some public jealousy of her superior title to the crown of England, and permitted her not to govern the kingdom whose title she secured to him, at least he gave her no rival in her court or home. The nearer the private life of this pair is examined, the more does it seem replete with proofs of greater domestic happiness than usually falls to the lot of royal personages. Henry and Elizabeth were seldom apart, and many little traits may be quoted which evince unity of purpose when they were together. Among others, there is a pleasing union of their names in a valuable missal, once belonging to a lady of the queen, for this line is written in the hand of king Henry: "Madam, I pray you remembre me, your loving maister, Henry R." Directly underneath is added, in the queen's hand: "Madam, I pray you forget not me. Pray to God [in order] that I may have part of your prayers. Elysabeth the Quene."²

The conjugal affection between the king and queen was now to be tried by the most severe affliction. This was the death of their eldest son, Arthur prince of Wales, who died on the 2nd of April, 1502, five months after his marriage. Henry and Elizabeth were at Greenwich-palace when the news arrived of their heavy loss. The king's confessor, a friar-Observant, was deputed by the privy council to break the sad news to him. Somewhat before his usual time the confessor knocked at the king's chamber-door, and when admitted he requested all present to quit the room, and approached, saying, in Latin, "If we receive good from the hand of God, shall we not patiently sustain the ill he sends us?"—"He then showed his grace that his dearest son was departed to God. When the king understood those sorrowful heavy tidings, he sent for the queen, saying, 'that he and his wife would take their painful sorrow together.' After she was come, and saw the king her lord in that natural and painful sorrow, as I have heard say,³ she, with full great, and constant, and comfortable words besought him that he would, after God, consider the weal of his own noble person, of his realm, and of her. 'And,' added the queen, 'remember that my lady, your mother, had never no more children but you only, yet God, by his grace, has ever preserved you, and brought you where you are now. Over and above, God has left you yet a fair prince and two fair princesses;⁴ and God is still where he was, and we are both

¹ For the particulars of this marriage, see *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. i., by Agnes Strickland. ² Sir Harris Nicolas' *Memoir of Elizabeth of York*.

³ *Herald's Journal*; Leland Coll.

⁴ Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., Margaret queen of Scotland, and Mary.

young enough. As your grace's wisdom is renowned all over Christendom, you must now give proof of it by the manner of taking this misfortune.' Then the king thanked her for her good comfort. But when the queen returned to her own chamber, the natural remembrance of her great loss smote so sorrowfully on her maternal heart, that her people were forced to send for the king to comfort her. Then his grace in great haste came, and with true gentle and faithful love soothed her trouble, telling her what wise counsel she had given him before, and 'that, if she would thank God for her dead son, he would do so likewise.'"

This scene gives no great reason for the constant assertion that Elizabeth was the victim of conjugal infelicity, or that she was treated with coldness and dislike by her husband. But it was in this reign faction first employed domestic slander as a weapon against the sovereign on the throne, and in this, as in many other instances, when search is made into the silent but irrefragable witnesses of contemporary journals, household books, and letters, the direct contrary is often proved which has been reported by common rumour. Lord Bacon hints that the king's reserve was on political matters, because it extended to his mother, who was indisputably an object of his tender affection. "His mother he revered much, but listened to little. His queen, notwithstanding she presented him with divers children and a crown also, could do nothing with him. To her he was nothing uxorious; but if not indulgent, he was companionable, and without personal jealousy." It is most evident that Henry was neither governed by his wife nor his mother. But, when a man governs himself well, it is not often that his wedded partner endeavours to take upon herself that trouble. Henry was, in fact, a deeply reflective and philosophic character, wholly free from those starts of irrational passion which, above all other misdoings, degrade a man in the eyes of the females of his family. Every action of his monarch seems the result of calm deliberation; no decision was left to passion or accident, "For," says lord Bacon, "he constantly kept notes and memorials in his own hand, especially touching persons, as whom to employ, whom to reward, keeping, as it were, a journal of his thoughts. His monkey, set on, as it was thought, by one of his chamber, tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance he had left it about. Whereat the court, which liked not these pensive accounts, was much tickled with the sport." However pleased his courtiers and his monkey might be with the demolition of his royal journal, it was a great historical loss, and so must be ever considered.

The privy-purse accounts of his queen, brought to light by the inestimable labours of one of our greatest historical antiquaries,¹ contain many particulars of her life and manners, although they journalize but the last year of her life. She had musical tastes, and gave compara-

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, edited by Sir H. Nicolas

tively large sums for her instruments, which were of the piano or harpsichord species. Such was the clavichord, a keyed instrument of small size; the bass and treble were enclosed in two separate portable cases, and when played upon with both hands, were set side by side on a table before the performer. For a pair of clavichords, made or imported by a foreigner, the queen gave 4*l.*, all in crowns, by the hands of Hugh Denys. She caused her eldest daughter to be instructed in music, for there is an item of payment to Giles, the luter, for strings to the young queen of Scots' lute. The queen's first lady of the bedchamber, when her sisters, the princesses of York, were not in waiting, was her kinswoman lady Elizabeth Stafford, daughter to her aunt the duchess of Buckingham. This lady had a salary of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The queen had seven maids of honour, who were allowed 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each per annum. Dame Jane Guildford, who was governess to the princesses, received 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. Agnes Dean, the queen's laundress, had an allowance of 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and Alice Massey, the queen's midwife, was paid for the exercise of her office 10*l.*

It has been observed, that the queen devoted a large part of her income to the maintenance of her sisters; but, in the last year of her life, her expenses were increased by the charges of her sister Katherine's children, owing to the disgrace and consequent impoverishment of their father, the heir of Devonshire. It seems that the sons of Edward IV.'s sister and the duke of Suffolk, lord Edmund de la Pole and his brother Richard, fled to Flanders, supposing, not unreasonably, that their turns would come next, after the execution of the young earl of Warwick. Lord William Courtenay (husband to the princess Katherine) was accused of having aided and abetted these hapless brethren in their escape; for which offence he was imprisoned, and his property seized by the king. The queen placed her destitute sister in close attendance on her own person, and took charge of her little children, sending them to be nursed at her palace of Havering-Bower. The little lady Margaret Courtenay choked herself at Havering with a fish-bone, and her brother, lord Edmund, likewise died there: the queen was at the cost of their funerals. The eldest son lived to prove a splendid favourite of his royal kinsman, Henry VIII., and afterwards to fall a victim to his capricious malice. Some indications occur in the queen's privy-purse expenses, that her health was infirm during the summer of 1502; for she made offerings at Woodstock, and the shrines of other churches, for her recovery from sickness. In August she made a progress towards the borders of Wales. Her accounts at this time show tender remembrances of her family; she clothed an old woman, who had been *novice* (nurse) to my lord prince her brother¹ (the unfortunate Edward V.), and rewarded a man who had shown hospitable attention

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York.

to her uncle earl Rivers, in his distress at Pontefract, just before his execution.

The queen's seventh confinement was expected in February. She was staying at Baynard's-castle, a city palace of her own property through the earl of Clare. Here she conferred with a French nurse, but she dismissed her with a gratuity of 6s. 8d. Another nurse, one mistress Marcourt, was recommended to her by her niece lady Katherine Gray: she came and spoke to the queen at Westminster Palace, but was dismissed with the same sum. It was agreed that the queen's accouchement was to take place at the royal apartments of the Tower of London, and all things were prepared there for her reception. If ladies at that era had given way to nervous depression arising from association of ideas, the remembrance of the mysterious disappearance of her hapless brothers from that gloomy den of assassination was enough to have destroyed Elizabeth when sojourning at such an abiding-place. It is certain she did not remain there longer than she could help; for, instead of taking her chamber and secluding herself in close retirement, according to custom, for a month or more previously to her accouchement, she spent that time in visits to her country palaces, and in excursions on the Thames, though the season was the depth of winter. The Christmas she passed at Richmond, her gifts are recorded as if she had shared in the usual festivities. She presented her own minstrels (of whom the chief was called by the fanciful title of marquis of Lorydon) with 20s.; to him and his associates, Janyne Marcourse and Richard Denouse, she allowed each a salary of 46s. 8d.

Elizabeth spent much of her time in listening to minstrels and *disars*, or reciters; and these *disars* sometimes took upon themselves the office of players, since she rewarded one of them, who had performed the part of a shepherd greatly to her satisfaction, with 5s. She gave William Cornish the sum of 13s. 4d. for setting the carol on Christmas-day, and presented 40s. to the king's minstrels with the "psalms." She gave a Spanish girl (perhaps belonging to the household of her daughter-in-law, Katharine of Arragon), who danced before her, a reward of 4s. 4d. The fools of the royal household were not forgotten: Elizabeth bestowed on Patch, her own fool, 6s. 8d., and she gave gratuities to a fool belonging to her son Henry, a functionary who bore the appropriate name of Goose. A hundred shillings were put into her royal purse for her "disport at cards" this same Christmas. She likewise made some purchases, as of a small pair of enamelled knives, for her own use; and of mistress Lock, the silkwoman, she bought "certain bonnets [caps] frontlets, and other stuff of her occupation for her own wearing, giving her 20*l.* in part payment of a bill formerly delivered," which remittance the queen signed with her own hand. She paid Hayward, the skinner (furrier), for furring a gown of crimson velvet she had caused to be

made for her young daughter the queen of Scots, the cuffs of which were made of pampelyon, a sort of costly fur then fashionable. Among these items is a curious one, showing Elizabeth's personal economy: her tailor, Robert Addington, is paid sixteen-pence "for mending eight gowns of divers colours, for the queen's grace, at 2*d.* a-piece." She paid, however, the large sum of 13*s.* 4*d.* to a man who brought her a popinjay (a parrot). Eight-pence is charged for an ell of linen cloth "for the queen's sampler," perhaps a pattern-piece for her embroidery: Elizabeth kept embroiderers, who were chiefly Frenchwomen, constantly at work on a great state-bed, which was a perpetual expense to her for silks and gold twist. During the chief part of the year 1502 the queen was in mourning for her eldest son Arthur: all her *new* garments were black; these were a gown of black velvet, and a cloak of damask. She was in debt, and though receiving occasional benefactions from her husband, she had at times pawned some of her plate; but her embarrassments certainly did not arise from any personal extravagance.

After Christmas, the queen was with her ladies rowed by her barge-man, Lewis Walter, and his watermen, in a great boat from Richmond to Hampton-Court: the day she went there is not named, but on the 13th of January they all came back in the same manner to Richmond. She stayed at Hampton-Court eight days, for the man who had the care of her barge charged for that time. It is worth noticing, that Hampton-Court was a favourite residence of Elizabeth of York long before cardinal Wolsey had possession of it, for in the spring of this year there is a notation that she was residing there, when she gave a poor woman a reward for bringing her a present of almond butter. "The queen's said grace and her ladies" were finally rowed by Lewis Walter and his crew from Richmond to the Tower, apparently very late in January: each of the rowers was paid 8*d.* No intimation is recorded of the ceremonial of her taking her chamber in the Tower. Her finances were low, for she borrowed 10*l.* of one of the king's gentlemen ushers, in order to pay the officers of the Mint their fees, which they craved as customary on account of a royal residence at the Tower. William Trende received 10*s.* for making a chest and "armoire," in the queen's council-chamber at the Tower, for her books and papers. The queen's sister Katherine (lady Courtenay) was in attendance at the Tower at this time, for late in January the royal purse received a supply by the hands of that lady of 46*s.* 8*d.* The queen gave a poor woman, who brought a present of fine capons on the last day of January, a reward of 3*s.* 4*d.*; and she gave 6*s.* 8*d.* to her fool Patch, who presented her with pomegranates.¹

Elizabeth of York was the last queen who made choice of the Tower of London for accouchement. She was certainly unaccompanied by

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, edited by Sir H. Nicolas.

the king, as it was etiquette for queens, after "taking their chamber," to remain in the deepest seclusion. Yet it must be owned that, as no queen of England had had an accouchement there since queen Philippa, and as the Tower had been fatal to some of Elizabeth's nearest relatives, the fact of her residence there is unaccountable. On Candlemas-day (February 2) the queen brought into the world a living princess, who was named Katherine, after lady Courtenay. The fatal symptoms which threatened Elizabeth's life did not appear till a week afterwards, and must have been wholly unexpected, since the physician on whom the king depended for her restoration to health was absent at his dwelling-house beyond Gravesend. The king sent for this person, but it was in vain that Dr. Hallyswurth travelled through the night, with guides and torches, to the royal patient in the Tower: the fiat had gone forth, and the gentle, the pious, the lovely Elizabeth expired on her own birthday, February 11, 1502-3, the very day when she completed her thirty-seventh year. A manuscript,¹ describing her death, says that her "departing was as heavy and dolorous to the king as ever was seen or heard of," and that he took with him "some of his servants, and privily departed to a solitary place to pass his sorrow, and would that no man should resort to him;" but he "sent Sir Charles Somerset and Sir Richard Guildford to afford the best comfort they could to the queen's servants, with good and kind words."

When the news of Elizabeth's decease spread through the city, the utmost sorrow was manifested among all ranks of her subjects. The bells of St. Paul's tolled dismally, and were answered by those of every church and religious house in the metropolis or its neighbourhood. Meantime the queen was embalmed at the Tower; for this purpose were allowed "sixty ells of holland cloth, ell broad; likewise gums, balms, spices, sweet wine, and wax; with which, being cered, the king's plumber closed her in lead, with an epitaph likewise in lead, showing who and what she was. The whole was chested in boards covered with black velvet, with a cross of white damask." The day after the queen's demise, Sunday, February 12, her corpse was removed from the chamber where she died to the chapel within the Tower, under the steps of which then reposed, unknown to all, the bodies of the queen's two murdered brothers, Edward V. and Richard duke of York. Far different was the order of their sister's royal obsequies to that dark and silent hour when the trembling old priest, who had belonged to this very chapel, raised the princely victims from their unconsecrated lair, and deposited them secretly within its hallowed verge. Could the ladies and officers of arms, who watched around the corpse of their royal mistress in St. Mary's-chapel within the Tower during

¹ *Herald's Journal.*

the long nights which preceded her funeral, have known how near to them was the mysterious resting-place of her murdered brothers, many a glance of alarm would have fathomed the beautiful arches of that structure,¹ and many a start of terror would have told when the wintry wind from the Thames waved the black draperies which hung around.

The Tower-chapel was on this occasion rendered what the French call a *Chapelle ardente*. The windows were railed about with burning lights, and a lighted hearse stood in the quire of the chapel. In this hearse was deposited the royal corpse, which was carried by persons of the highest rank, with a canopy borne over it by four knights; followed by lady Elizabeth Stafford and all the maids of honour, and the queen's household, two and two, "dressed in their plainest gowns," or, according to another journal, "in the saddest and simplest attire they had, with *threadden* handkerchiefs hanging down and tied under their chins." The princess Katherine, led by her brother-in-law the earl of Surrey, then entered the chapel, and took her place at the head of the corpse: a true mourner was she, for she had lost her best friend and only protectress. When mass was done and offerings made, the princess retired. During the watch of the night, an officer-at-arms said, in a loud voice, a paternoster for the soul of the queen at every *kyrie eleison*, and at *oremus* before the collect.

On the twelfth day after the queen's death, mass was said in the chapel early in the morning. "Then the corpse was put in a carriage covered with black velvet, with a cross of white cloth of gold, very well fringed. And an image exactly representing the queen was placed in a chair above in her rich robes of state, her very rich crown on her head, her hair about her shoulders, her sceptre in her right hand, her fingers well garnished with rings and precious stones, and on *every end* of the funeral car was a kneeling gentlewoman leaning on the coffin, which was in this manner drawn by six horses, trapped with black velvet, from the Tower to Westminster. On the fore-horses rode two chariot-men; and on the four others, four henchmen in black gowns. On the horses were lozenges with the queen's escutcheons; by *every* horse walked a person in a mourning hood. At each corner of the car was a banner of Our Lady of the Assumption, of the Salutation, and of the Nativity, to show the queen died in child-bed; next, eight palfreys saddled with black velvet, bearing eight ladies of honour, who rode singly after the corpse in slops and mantles; every horse led by a man on foot, bareheaded but in a mourning gown, followed by many lords. The lord mayor and citizens, all in mourning, brought up the rear, and at every door in the city a person stood bearing a torch. In Fenchurch and Cheapside were stationed groups of thirty-seven

¹ Since the Record-office.

virgins—the number corresponding with the queen's age, all dressed in white, wearing chaplets of white and green, the Tudor colours, and bearing lighted tapers. From Mark-lane to Temple-bar alone were 5000 torches, besides lights burning before all the parish churches, while processions of religious persons singing anthems and bearing crosses met the royal corpse from every fraternity in the city." The earl of Derby, the queen's old friend, led a procession of nobles, who met the funeral at Temple-bar. The abbots of Westminster and Bermondsey, in black copes and bearing censers, met and censed the corpse, and then preceded it to the churchyard of St. Margaret, Westminster. Here the body was removed from the car and carried into the abbey. It was placed on a grand hearse streaming with banners and banneroles, and covered with a "cloth of majesty," the valance fringed and wrought with the queen's motto, HUMBLE AND REVERENT, and garnished with her arms. All the ladies and lords in attendance retired to the queen's great chamber in Westminster-palace to supper. In the night, ladies, squires, and heralds watched the body in the abbey.

The next morning the remains of Elizabeth were committed to the grave; her sister Katherine attended as chief mourner. The queen's ladies offered thirty-seven palls, first kissing them, and then laying them on the body. Four of these palls were presented by her sisters, who were all present as mourners. A funeral sermon was preached by Fitzjames, bishop of Rochester, from the text of Job—*Miseremini mei*: "Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me," from the 19th chapter of the book of Job. "These words," he said, "he spake in the name of England, on account of the great loss the country had sustained of that virtuous queen, her noble son the prince Arthur, and the archbishop of Canterbury." The palls were then removed from the coffin, the queen's effigy placed on St. Edward's shrine, and the ladies quitted the abbey. The prelates, with the king's chaplains, approached the hearse, and the grave was hallowed by the bishop of London: after the usual rites the body was placed in it.

Astrologers had been consulted that year on the queen's behalf, and had predicted that great good fortune would befall her in 1503. Sir Thomas More wrote an elegy for the queen, in which, with his usual sagacity, he alludes at the same time to this circumstance, and to the folly and vanity of such divinations:—

"Yet was I lately promised otherwise,
This year to live in weal and in delight;
Lo! to what cometh all thy blandishing promise,
O false astrology and divinitrice,
Of God's secrets vaunting thyself so wise!
How true for this year is thy prophecy?
The year yet lasteth, and lo! here I lie.

Adieu ! mine own dear spouse, my worthy lord !
 The faithful love, that did us both combine
 In marriage and peaceable concord,
 Into your hands here do I clean resign,
 To be bestowed on your children and mine ;
 Erst were ye father, now must ye supply
 The mother's part also, for here I lie.

Where are our castles now ? where are our towers ?
 Goodly Richmond, soon art thou gone from me :
 At Westminster, that costly work ¹ of yours,
 Mine own dear lord, now shall I never see,
 Almighty God vouchsafe to grant that ye,
 For you and children well may edify ;
 My palace builded is, for lo ! now here I lie.

Farewell, my daughter, lady Margarete,
 God wot full oft it grieved hath my mind
 That ye should go where we might seldom meet ;
 Now I am gone, and have left you behind.
 O mortal folk ! but we be very blind,
 What we least fear full oft it is most nigh,
 From you depart I first, for lo ! now here I lie.

Farewell, madame ! ² my lord's worthy mother ;
 Comfort your son, and be of good cheer,
 Take all at worth, for it will be no other.
 Farewell, my daughter Katharine ! ³ late the *phere*
 Unto prince Arthur, late my child so dear ;
 It booteth not for me to wail and cry,
 Pray for my soul, for lo ! now here I lie.

Adieu, lord Henry ! ⁴ loving son, adieu !
 Our lord, increase your honour and estate ;
 Adieu, my daughter Mary ! ⁵ bright of hue,
 God make you virtuous, wise, and fortunate :
 Adieu, sweetheart, my little daughter Kate !
 Thou shalt, sweet babe, such is thy destiny,
 Thy mother never know, for lo ! now here I lie.

Lady Cicely, lady Anne, and lady Katherine,
 Farewell ! my well-beloved sisters three.
 Oh, lady Bridget ! ⁶ other sister mine,
 Lo here the end of worldly vanity !
 Now are you well who earthly folly flee,
 And heavenly things do praise and magnify,
 Farewell, and pray for me, for lo ! now here I lie.

Adieu, my lords ! adieu, my ladies all !
 Adieu, my faithful servants every one !
 Adieu, my commons ! whom I never shall
 See in this world : wherefore to Thee alone,
 Immortal God, verily three in one,
 I me commend ; thy infinite mercy
 Show to thy servant, for now here I lie !"

As Sir Thomas More mentions the little daughter Kate, whose birth cost the queen her life, as in existence, this elegy must have been written

¹ Henry the Seventh's chapel.

² Margaret, countess of Richmond, who survived her.

³ Katharine of Arragon.

⁴ Afterwards Henry VIII.

⁵ Princess Mary, her second daughter.

⁶ The nun-princess, Elizabeth's sister, who attended the funeral.

at the very time of Elizabeth's funeral, for her babe died soon afterwards. Henry VII. survived his consort seven years: his character deteriorated after her loss. The active beneficence and the ever-liberal hand of the royal Elizabeth had probably formed a counteracting influence to the avaricious propensities of Henry VII., since it was after her death he became notorious for his rapacity and miserly habits of hoarding money. A short time after her death, the king lost his two virtuous and fearless counsellors, Sir Reginald Braye, his prime minister, and the good bishop Morton, his chancellor, who did not scruple to reprove him if he felt inclined to commit an act of injustice. The royal widower frequently entered into negotiations for a second marriage, and he appears to have been remarkably particular in the personal qualifications of a consort. It was not very easy to find one who could bear comparison with the beautiful heiress of the Plantagenets. Henry VII. died in the spring of 1509, like his ancestors, worn down with premature old age, and was laid by the side of his queen in the magnificent chapel at Westminster-abbey, which bears his name. The portraits of Henry VII. are well known; they have a singularly wasted and woful physiognomy, which excites surprise when compared with the extreme praises his contemporaries bestowed on his beauty. The portraits were, however, chiefly taken from the cast of his face made after his death for the statue seen on his monument, therefore the sad expression is easily explained. Lady Braye possesses a portrait of this prince from the royal collection at Audley-End, in which he appears very comely, lively in expression, with his complexion bright and florid; a golden-haired Celt.

The monument of Henry and Elizabeth, which occupies the centre of his noble chapel, is the work of Torregiano, who likewise cast the effigies of the royal pair reclining thereon. Elizabeth's statue is exquisitely designed, but its merits can scarcely be appreciated by those who are not empowered to have the bronze gates of the stately sepulchre unclosed, to gaze upon the divine composure of the royal matron's beauty, serene in death. The statue strikingly resembles the portraits of the queen, many of which remain. The sweet expression of the mouth and the harmony of the features agree well with the soft repose that pervades the whole figure. The proportions are tall; the figure is about five feet six in length; yet is considerably less than the stature of the king, who must have been more than six feet in height.

On a little white marble table, let into the bronze frieze on the queen's left hand, is the following inscription, the Italian having very oddly mis-spelled the queen's name *Hellisabect*.

"Here rests queen Elizabeth,
Daughter of Edward IV., sometime monarch of this realm,
Sister of Edward V., who bore the title of king,
Wedded to King Henry VII.,

The illustrious mother of Henry VIII.,
Who closed her life
In the [palace of the] Tower of London,
On February 11, 1502 [1503],
Having completed her 37th year."

In the person of Elizabeth of York were united delicacy of features and complexion, with elegance and majesty of stature. Her portraits are numerous, and extremely like her monumental statue. Her usual costume was a veil or scarf richly bordered with gems, put on like a hood, hanging down on each side of the face as low as the breast, the hair parted and banded on her forehead. Several contemporaries quoted in the course of this narrative describe her as fair in complexion, with hair of pale gold like her mother, the beautiful Elizabeth Woodville. The heavenly serenity of expression in all her portraits is still more remarkable than her beauty, and leads to the conclusion that, when her subjects universally called her "the good queen Elizabeth," they spoke but the truth.

KATHARINE OF ARRAGON,

FIRST QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

AT a time when joy and prosperity were swelling in a flood-tide for her native Spain, Katharine of Arragon first saw the light; her renowned parents, king Ferdinand of Arragon, and donna Isabel queen of Castile, had made every city possessed by the Moors bow beneath their victorious arms, with the exception of Granada and Malaga, which alone bore the yoke of the infidel. Donna Isabel, the mother of Katharine, had been raised to the throne of Castile by a revolutionary act of the cortes, disgusted at the imbecile profligacy of her brother, king Enrico, who was by them deposed and degraded from his regal rank. The Castilian cortes likewise illegitimated his only child and heiress, donna Juanna, because of the shameless character of the queen, her mother, and bestowed the inheritance on Isabel, who was carefully educated from girlhood with reference to the regal station she afterwards so greatly adorned. She was at the age of fourteen demanded in marriage by our Edward IV., and capriciously rejected on account of his passion for Elizabeth Woodville, an insult which left a lasting impression on the mind of the royal Castilian maid. Finally, the young queen Isabel was wedded to don Ferdinand, heir of the kingdom of Arragon; and though the married sovereigns each continued to sway an independent sceptre, they governed with such connubial harmony, that the whole peninsula of Spain was strengthened and benefited by their union.

The ancient Moorish city of La Ronda had just fallen beneath the victorious arms of queen Isabel, and several other strongholds of the infidel had accompanied its surrender, when she set out from her camp in order to keep her Christmas at Toledo, then the metropolis of Spain. On the road the queen was brought to bed of a daughter,¹ at the town of Alcala de Henares, December 15, 1485. This child was the youngest of a family consisting of one prince and four princesses. The new-born

¹ André Bernaldes.

infanta, though she made her appearance in this world some little time before she was expected, was, nevertheless, welcomed with infinite rejoicings by the people, and the cardinal Mendoza gave a great banquet to the maids of honour on occasion of her baptism. She was called Catalina, as the name of Katharine is unknown in Spain, excepting in Latin writings.

The early infancy of Katharine of Arragon was passed amidst the storms of battle and siege ; for queen Isabel of Castile herself, with her young family, lodged in the camp with which her armies for years beleaguered Granada. Nor was this residence unattended with danger : once in particular, in a desperate sally of the besieged Moors, the queen's pavilion was set on fire, and the young infantas rescued with great difficulty from the flames. The little Katharine accompanied her parents in their grand entry, when the seat of Moorish empire succumbed to their arms, and from that moment Granada was her home. The first objects which greeted her awakening intellect were the wonders of the Alhambra, and the exquisite bowers of the Generalife ; for in those royal seats of the Moorish dynasty Katharine of Arragon was reared. Queen Isabel, herself the most learned princess in Europe, devoted every moment she could spare from the business of government to the personal instruction of her four daughters, who were besides provided with tutors of great literary attainments.

It was from Granada, the bright home of her childhood, that Katharine of Arragon derived her device of the pomegranate, with its noble motto, "*Not for my crown.*" The crown of that fruit is always cast away as worthless, a symbol the young infanta afterwards found was but too true.¹ The pomegranate was at once the production of the beautiful province to which it gave name, and the armorial bearings of the conquered Moorish kings. How oft must Katharine have remembered the glorious Alhambra, with its pomegranates and myrtles, when drooping with ill-health and unkind treatment under the grey skies of the island to which she was transferred !

Ferdinand and Isabel were wealthy monarchs ; they gave liberal dowers to their daughters, and expected suitable equivalents, the only return they could possibly receive for the large sums sent out of their country. Isabel had not been well treated by the queen of England's father, and her ambassador, Puebla, was charged to look very closely to the English treaty, opened by bishop Fox, Henry VII.'s favourite minister, who, on the matter of dowry, asked 1,000,000 crowns. Puebla, with a bitter scowl, held up his hands, and gave sundry hints on the uncertainty

¹ This device is still to be seen among the ornaments of the well of St. Winifred, to which building Katharine of Arragon was a benefactress.—Pennant. It is likewise frequent in the ancient part of Hampton-Court,

particularly in the richly ornamented ceiling of cardinal Wolsey's oratory, now in private occupation, but shown to the author through the kindness of Mr. Wilson, surveyor of the palace.

of royalty in England, and asked how the three or four last kings came by their deaths; he marvelled that their royal lady, Isabel, could think of giving the little infanta to a prince of Wales even if taken without dote. Of course, Fox had plenty to say on the facts of queen Isabel's elective royalty in Castile; of her deposed uncle and his daughter. Then 200,000 crowns marriage portion was agreed upon, but Fox wanted to see the small infanta. Prince Arthur had been shown liberally by his father and mother. He was certainly not so large as might be expected from his descent by his tall father, from John of Gaunt, and by his mother from gigantic Edward IV. his grandsire, for Arthur was a seven-months' child, and always delicate. At that time he was a pretty baby of twenty months, fat and fair, and full of smiles and little tricks. The dark Spaniards, as fairness was just then most fashionable in Moor-expelling Spain, were eloquent on his charms and wit; but queen Isabel, who had been in her childhood inspected by Edward IV.'s ambassador Warwick, refused to submit her Katharine to any such ordeal. However, she permitted the English commissioner to see her at a bull-fight, which came off at the nursery-palace of Castilia de la Mota. In the midst of the brilliant scene queen Isabel held up Katharine, then nearly three years old. The liveliness and pleasant appearance of the child satisfied the English commissioner. From the year 1489, March 28, infanta Catalina was betrothed to Arthur, and called princess of Wales. Her education began by times under skilful preceptors, when she was seven years of age, at Castilia de la Mota, and she soon corresponded with her promised *sposo* in Latin. For in that learned language the love-letters were composed which passed between the Alhambra and Ludlow-castle. Katharine could read and write Latin in her childhood, and she was through life desirous of improvement in that language. She chiefly employed her knowledge in the diligent perusal of the Scriptures, a fact which Erasmus affirms, adding, "that she was imbued with learning, by the care of her illustrious mother, from her infant years."

Of course the letters were subjected to the *surveillance* of the two armies of tutors, preceptors, confessors, bishops, lady-governesses, and lord-governors, who were on guard and on duty at the said seats of royal education; therefore the Latin letters of Arthur and Katharine no more develop character than any other school epistles. This extract is a fair specimen:¹—"I have read the sweet letters of your highness lately given to me," says prince Arthur in his Latin epistle, dated Ludlow-castle, 1499, "from which I easily perceived your most entire love to me. Truly those letters, traced by your own hand, have so delighted me, and made me so cheerful and jocund, that I fancied I beheld your highness, and conversed with and embraced my dearest wife. I cannot

¹ Bernaldes.

tell you what an earnest desire I feel to see your highness, and how vexatious to me is this procrastination about your coming." Arthur endorses his letter—"To the most illustrious and excellent princess, the Lady Katharine, princess of Wales, duchess of Cornwall, and my most entirely beloved spouse." Dr. Puebla was then the resident minister in England from the united crowns of Spain; according to poor Katharine's subsequent experience, he proved the evil genius of her young days. At this period he was very active in penning despatches in praise of Arthur, urging that he would soon be fourteen, and that it was time that the "señora princess" should come to England: nevertheless, a twelvemonth's further delay took place. "Donna Catalina," says the manuscript of her native chronicler, Bernaldes, "being at Granada with the king and queen, there came ambassadors from the king of England, demanding her to be sent to the prince of England, his son, called Arthur; and she set off from Granada to England, parting from the Alhambra on the 21st of May, in the year 1501. There went with her the count de Cabra, and the countess his wife, the commander-mayor Cardenas, and donna Elvira Manuel, chief lady of honour, and three bishops. The princess-infanta had likewise four young ladies as attendants. She embarked at Corunna, August 17. Contrary winds forced her vessel back on the coast of Old Castile, which occasioned great illness to donna Catalina."

On convalescence, the bridal party, princess, prelates, governess, duenna, and all the other donnas, re-embarked at Corunna on board the 'Vera Cruz,' commanded by don Juan del Rias, on the 26th of September, in the best ship they had, of 300 tons.¹ After a good voyage, they landed at Plymouth, on the 2nd of October, "where the señora princess Catalina was grandly received, with much feasting and rejoicing."² The nobility and gentry of the neighbouring counties crowded to do honour to their future queen, and entertain her from the time of her arrival with west-country sports and pastimes. The steward of the royal palace, lord Broke, was sent forward by Henry VII. directly the news was known of the infanta's arrival, in order "to purvey and provide" for her. The duchess of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey likewise came to attend on her.

King Henry himself, November 4, set forward from his palace of Shene on his progress to meet his daughter-in-law; the weather was so very rainy, and the roads so execrably bad, that the royal party were thoroughly knocked up when they had proceeded no further than Chertsey, where they were forced to "purvey and herbage" for their repose that night. "Next morning, however, the king's grace and all his company rose betimes, and strook the sides of their coursers with

¹ If that was the best royal ship of Spain, matters changed in some few years when golden Peru and argent Mexico poured their treasures into the lap of Spain. Queen Isabel

having pawned her jewels to send out the Columbus discovery ships, her country had afterwards a royal fleet.

² Leland's Collectanea. Herald's Journal.

their spurs, and began to extend their progress towards East Hampstead, when they pleasantly encountered the pure and proper presence of prince Arthur, who had set out to salute his sage father." It does not appear that the prince knew that his wife had arrived. Certainly royal travellers moved slowly in those days, for Henry never thought of proceeding further than his seat at East Hampstead, "but full pleasantly passed over that night-season" in the company of his son. Next morning the royal personages set forth again on a journey which was truly performed at a snail's gallop, and proceeded to the plains (perhaps the downs), when the prothonotary of Spain and a party of Spanish cavaliers were seen pacing over them, bound on a most solemn errand: this was no other than to forbid the approach of the royal bridegroom and his father to the presence of the infanta, who, in the true Moorish fashion, was not to be looked upon by her betrothed till she stood at the altar—nay, it seems doubtful if the veil of the princess was to be raised, or the eye of man to look upon her, till she was a wife. This truly Asiatic injunction of king Ferdinand threw the whole royal party into consternation, and brought them to a dead halt. King Henry was formal and ceremonious enough in all reason, but such a mode of proceeding was wholly repugnant to him as an English-born prince. Therefore, after some minutes' musing, he called round him, in the open fields, those nobles who were of his privy council, and propounded to them this odd dilemma. Although the pitiless rains of November were be-pelting them, the council delivered their opinions in very wordy harangues. The result was, "that as the Spanish infanta was now in the heart of this realm, of which king Henry was master, he might look at her if he liked."

This advice Henry VII. took to the very letter; for, leaving the prince his son upon the downs, he made the best of his way forthwith to Dogmersfield, the next town, where the infanta had arrived two or three hours previously. The king's demand of seeing Katharine put all her Spanish retinue into terrible perplexity. She seems to have been attended by the same train of prelates and nobles enumerated by Bernaldes; for a Spanish archbishop, a bishop, and a count opposed the king's entrance to her apartment, saying, "the lady infanta had retired to her chamber." But king Henry, whose curiosity seems to have been thoroughly excited by the prohibition, protested that "if she were even in her bed, he meant to see and speak with her, for that was his mind, and the whole intent of his coming." Finding the English monarch thus determined, the infanta rose and dressed herself, and gave the king audience in her third chamber. Neither the king nor his intended daughter-in-law could address each other in an intelligible dialect; "but," pursues our informant, who was evidently an eye-witness of the scene, "there were the most goodly words uttered to each other in the

language of both parties, to as great joy and gladness as any persons conveniently might have. . . . After the which welcomes ended, the king's grace deposed his riding garments and changed them, and within half an hour the prince was announced as present"—Arthur, as it may be supposed, was tired of waiting in a November evening on the downs. "Then the king made his second entry with the prince into the next chamber of the infanta, and there, through the interpretation of the bishops, the speeches of both countries, by the means of Latin, were understood." Prince Arthur and the infanta had been previously betrothed by proxy; the king now caused them to plight their troth in person, which ceremony over, he withdrew with the prince to supper. After the meal, "he with his son most courteously visited the infanta in her own chamber, when she and her ladies called for their minstrels, and with great goodly behaviour and manner solaced themselves with dancing." It seems that prince Arthur could not join in the Spanish dances, but, to show that he was not without skill in the accomplishment, "he in like demeanour took the lady Guildford (his sister's governess), and danced right pleasantly and honourably." Upon the morrow, the infanta set out for Chertsey, and lodged all night at the royal palace situate there, and the next day she set out for Lambeth; but before ever she came to that town, met, beyond a village called Kingston-on-Thames, the duke of Buckingham on horseback, the earl of Kent, the lord Henry Stafford, and the abbot of Bury, with a train of knights and gentlemen to the number of four hundred, all mounted and dressed in the Stafford livery of scarlet and black. After the said duke had saluted her grace, the abbot of Bury pronounced in goodly Latin "welcome to this realm." At Kingston the lady infanta lodged all night, and in the morning was escorted by Buckingham and his splendid train to her lodgings at Kennington-palace, close to Lambeth. Here she continued till her own Spanish retinue, as well as the nobility of England who were appointed by king Henry as her attendants, could prepare themselves for presenting her with due honour to the English people, "who always," adds our quaint informant, "are famous for the wonderful welcomes they give to acceptable and well-beloved strangers"—a proof that lionizing is no new trait in the English character.

While the infanta was thus escorted to Kennington, king Henry made the best of his way to his queen at Richmond, to whom he communicated all his proceedings, "and told her how he liked the person and behaviour of their new daughter-in-law." The royal pair remained till the 10th at Richmond, when the king rode to Paris garden, in Southwark, and thence he went in his barge to Baynard's-castle, "situate right pleasantly on Thames side, and full well garnished and arranged, and encompassed outside strongly with

water." This situation was by no means likely to prove so agreeable in a wet November as the worthy author supposed to a princess of the sunny South, reared among the bowers of that enchanting Alhambra, whose restoration is implored by the Moors in their evening prayer to this hour. While Henry-VII. was occupied in orders for the arrangement of this alluvial abode, his queen came down the Thames in her barge, accompanied by noble ladies, and welcomed her son's bride to England.

Arthur prince of Wales, with a grand retinue, on the 9th of November, came through Fleet-street to the Wardrobe-palace at Blackfriars, where he took up his abode till the day of his nuptials. Three days afterwards the infanta came, with many lords and ladies, from Kennington to Southwark, and entered the city by London-bridge. She rode on a large mule, after the manner of Spain; the young duke of York rode on her right, and the legate of Rome on her left hand. She wore on her head a broad round hat, the shape of a cardinal's hat, tied with a lace of gold, which kept it on her head; she had a coif of carnation colour under this hat, and her hair streamed over her shoulders, "which is a rich auburn,"¹ adds the herald. The saddle on which the princess Katharine rode is described like a small arm-chair, with staves crossing, richly ornamented. The governess of the princess, donna Elvira, called "the lady-mistress," rode near her charge, dressed all in black, with a kerchief on her head, and black cloths hanging down beside her cheeks, like a religious woman. Four Spanish ladies followed, riding on mules; they wore the same broad hats as their mistress. An English lady, dressed in cloth of gold and riding on a palfrey, was appointed to lead the mule of each Spanish damsel; but as those ladies did not sit on the same side in riding as the fair English equestrians, each pair seemed to ride back to back, as if they had quarrelled, according to the observation of the herald,² who records the circumstance with evident tribulation.

The citizens prepared to welcome the infanta's entrance into the city with a grand pageant of St. Katharine, her name-saint; likewise St. Ursula, the British princess, with many virgins. At St. Paul's-gate was the grandest pageant, through which the lady infanta was conducted to the place of her destination—the bishop's palace, close to the sacred edifice where the bridal was to be celebrated. Through the body of St. Paul's cathedral a long bridge of timber, six feet from the ground, was erected from the west door to the first step of the choir; in the midst of the bridge a high stage, circular like a mount, and ascended on all sides by steps, was raised, large enough for eight persons to stand on; the marriage ceremony was performed there: it was railed round, and

¹ This, in fact, is the genuine colour of her hair in all her portraits.

² *Antiquarian Repertory*, where is edited a fuller copy of Leland's *Herald's Journal*.

covered with scarlet cloth. On the north side of the mount was a closely latticed box for the king and queen, and on the south a stage for the lord mayor and civic dignitaries.

On the day of St. Erkenwald, November 14, the young duke of York (afterwards Henry VIII., her second husband) led the infanta from the bishop's palace to St. Paul's. "Strange diversity of apparel of the country of Hispania is to be *descriven*," says the herald, "for the bride wore, at the time of her marriage, upon her head a coif of white silk, with a scarf bordered with gold, and pearl, and precious stones, five inches and a half broad, which veiled great part of her visage and her person." This was the celebrated Spanish mantilla. "Her gown was very large, both the sleeves and also the body, with many plaits; and beneath the waist, certain round hoops, bearing out their gowns from their bodies after their country manner." Such was the first arrival of the famous farthingale in England. Prince Arthur, likewise attired in white satin, made his appearance on the other side of the mount; and the hands of the princely pair were joined by the archbishop of Canterbury, nineteen bishops and mitred abbots assisting. The king, the queen, and the countess of Richmond, privily witnessed the ceremony from the latticed box. The bride and bridegroom then followed the archbishop and prelates to the high altar, the princess Cicely, bore the infanta's train, followed by a hundred ladies in costly apparel.¹ After mass, prince Arthur, according to the ancient custom of England, at the great door of the cathedral, in the presence of the multitude, endowed his bride with one-third of his property.² The princess was then led by her brother-in-law, young Henry, to the bishop's palace at St. Paul's, in the grand banqueting-room of which was the nuptial dinner prepared; she was served in gold plate, ornamented with precious stones and pearls, valued at 20,000*l*. The prince and princess of Wales remained at the bishop's palace that night. The next morning Henry VII. and the queen came in grand pomp by water from Baynard's-castle, and carried Katharine and her husband back to that watery abode.³ There she was closely secluded with her ladies for some days. In the pageantry which celebrated these espousals, the descent of the Spanish bride from the legitimate line of Lancaster by Katharine queen of Castile, daughter of John of Gaunt, was not forgotten. King Alphonso the astronomer, Katharine's learned ancestor, too, was introduced with all the paraphernalia of astrology, telling a brilliant fortune for her and her short-lived bridegroom. This princely pair were very prettily allegorized, she as "the western star, lady Hesperis," and he as "Arcturus."⁴

Upon Thursday the bride, accompanied by the royal family, came in barges to Westminster. The large space before Westminster-hall was gravelled and smoothed, and a tilt set up the whole length from the

¹ Hall.² Rymer³ Hall.⁴ Lord Bacon.

water-gate to the gate that opens into King-street, leading to the Sanctuary. On the south side was a stage hung with cloth of gold, and furnished with cushions of the same: on the right side entered the king and his lords; on the left, the queen, the bride, and their ladies. "And round the whole area were stages built for the honest common people, which at their cost was hired by them in such numbers, that nothing but visages presented themselves to the eye, without any appearance of bodies! And eftsoons, when the trumpets blew up goodly points of war, the nobility and chivalry engaged to tilt, appeared in the arena, riding under fanciful canopies, borne by their retainers." These shall serve as specimens for the rest: "Bourchier, earl of Essex, had a mountain of green carried over him as his pavilion; and upon it many trees, rocks, and marvellous beasts, withal, climbing up the sides: on the summit sat a goodly young lady, in her hair, pleasantly beseen. The lord marquis of Dorset, half-brother to the queen,¹ had borne over him a rich pavilion of cloth of gold, himself always riding within the same, drest in his armour." Lord William Courtenay, brother-in-law to the queen, made his "appearance riding on a red dragon led by a giant, with a great tree in his hand." Attended by similar pageantry, twenty or thirty of the tilters rode round the arena, to the delight of the commonalty, who had all their especial favourites among the noble actors in the scene, and had, moreover, the infinite satisfaction of seeing them "tilt with sharp spears, and, in great jeopardy of their lives, break a great many lances on each other's bodies," though the ultimatum of pleasure was not afforded by any of these sharp spears effecting homicide. Plenty of bruises and bone-aches were the concomitants of this glorious tilting, but no further harm ensued to the noble combatants.

When the dusk of a November eve closed over this chivalrous display, the bride and all her splendid satellites transferred themselves to the more comfortable atmosphere of Westminster-hall. At its upper end the royal daïs was erected, and among other magnificence is noted a cupboard, which occupied the whole length of the chancery, filled with a rich treasure of plate, most of which was solid gold. The queen, the lady bride, and the king's mother took their places on elevated seats at the king's left hand; the ladies and the royal children were all stationed on the queen's side. Prince Arthur sat at his father's right hand, and the nobility of England who were not engaged in the pageants and ballets that followed, sat in their degrees on the king's side of the hall. Thus, in the ancient regime of the court, the sexes were divided into two opposite parties; the king and queen, who were the chiefs of each band, were the only man and woman who sat near each other. When any dancing was required that was not included in the pageantry, a lady and a cavalier went down, one from the king's and the other from the

¹ Eldest son of queen Elizabeth Woodville, by her first husband.

queen's party, and figured on the dancing space before the royal platform. The diversions began with grand pageants of a mountain, a castle and a ship, which were severally wheeled in before the royal daïs. The ship was manned by mariners, "who took care to speak wholly in seafaring terms." The castle was lighted inside gloriously, and had eight *fresh*¹ gentlewomen within, each looking out of a window. At the top of the castle sat a representative of Katharine of Arragon herself, in the Spanish garb. The castle was drawn by "marvellous beasts," gold and silver lions harnessed with huge gold chains; but, lest the reader should be dubious regarding the possibility of such lions, the narrator (who must have been behind the scenes, and would have been a worthy assistant to master Snug the joiner) explains discreetly, "that in each of the marvellous beasts were two men, one in the fore and the other in the hind quarters, so well hid and apparelled, that nothing appeared but their legs, which were disguised after the proportion and kind of the beast they were in." Meantime, the representative of Katharine was much courted "by two well-behaved and well-beseen gentlemen, who called themselves Hope and Desire," but were treated by the bride's double with the greatest disdain. At last all differences ended, like other ballets, with a great deal of capering; for the ladies came out of the castle, and the gentlemen from the ship and mountain, and danced a grand set of twenty-four, with "goodly roundels and divers figures, and then vanished out of sight and presence."

Then came down prince Arthur and the princess Cicely, his aunt, "and danced two *base* dances; and then departed up again, the prince to his father and lady Cicely to the queen her sister." Eftsoons came down the bride, the princess Katharine, and one of her ladies with her apparelled likewise in Spanish garb, and danced other two *base* dances, and then both departed up to the queen. These "*base*' dances are explained by etymologists to be slow and stately movements, and were called *base* or low dances, in opposition to the *la volta* dance, which, from the lofty leaps and capers cut by the performers, was termed in English the *high* dance. Perhaps Katharine's "*base*" dance resembled the minuet in its slo, gliding step. All the English dances described by our herald seem to have been quick and lively, for he proceeds to say, "Henry duke of York, having with him his sister lady Margaret, the young queen of Scots, in his hand, came down and danced two dances, and went up to the queen." The dancing of this pretty pair gave such satisfaction, that it was renewed; when the young duke, finding himself encumbered with his dress, "suddenly threw off his robe, and danced in his jacket with the said lady Margaret in so goodly and pleasant a manner, that it was to king Henry and queen Elizabeth great and singular pleasure. Then the duke departed up to the king,

¹ This term means that they were dressed in new clothes, or new fashion.

and the princess Margaret to the queen." The parental pride and pleasure at the performance of their children manifested by Henry VII. and his queen, slightly as it is mentioned here, affords some proof of their domestic happiness.

"On the Sunday was laid out a royal dinner in the white-hall, or parliament chamber. The king sat at the side-table, next to his own chamber, with Katharine of Arragon at his right hand. At the same table sat the prothonotary of Spain, and Katharine's Spanish duenna. The queen sat at the table at the bed's feet, which was the table of most reputation of all the tables in the chamber." It seems, from this passage, that some partition had been removed, and the king's chamber and bed thrown into view—a practice frequent in gothic castles. The evening refreshment, called the *voide*, was brought in by fourscore earls, barons, and knights, walking two and two, the ceremony of serving the *voide* being precisely as coffee is now presented after dinner; but instead of coffee and biscuits, ipocras and comfits were offered. One noble servitor presented the golden spice-plate, a second the cup, while a third, of lower rank, filled the cup from a golden ewer. At this *voide* Katharine of Arragon distributed the prizes won in the tilt-yard. To the duke of Buckingham she gave a diamond of great *virtue* and price; the marquis of Dorset received from her hands a ruby, and to the others were given rings set with precious stones. The court departed the next Sunday for Richmond, where, after an exordium on the proper way of spending the Sabbath, our informant tells us that, "after divine service, the king sped with the court through his goodly gardens to his gallery, upon the walls, where were lords ready set to play; some with *chesses* [chess-boards], some with tables [or backgammon], and some with cards and dice. Besides, a framework with ropes was fixed in the garden, on which went up a Spaniard, and did many wondrous and delicious points of tumbling and dancing." In the evening the pageant of a rock, drawn by three sea-horses, made its appearance at the end of the hall; on either side of the rock were mermaids, one of them being a "man-mermaid" in armour. But these mermaids were but cases or shells, in which were perched the best-voiced children of the king's chapel, "who sung right sweetly, with quaint harmony" while the pageant was progressing to the dais, where sat the royal bride and the king and queen. "Instead of dancers, there were let out of the rock a great number of white doves¹ and live rabbits, which creatures flew and ran about the hall, causing great mirth and disport. Then were presented to the lords and ladies of Spain rich gifts of plate from king Henry, with thanks for the care they had taken of the princess Katharine, and they took leave for their return to Spain."

¹ This seems a Spanish custom, for white doves were let loose at a festival in honour of the young queen of Spain, Isabel II.

King Henry, observing that his daughter-in-law was sad and pensive after bidding them farewell, courteously desired that she should be called to him, with her ladies. He then took them to his library, wherein he "showed them many goodly pleasant books of works full delightful, sage, merry, and also right cunning, both in English and Latin." His prudent highness had likewise provided there a jeweller, "with many rings and huge diamonds and jewels of the most goodly fashion, and there desired her to *avise* and behold them well, and choose and select at her pleasure." When she had taken those she preferred, the king distributed the rest among her remaining Spanish ladies and her newly appointed English maids of honour. Thus she assuaged her grief and heaviness. Great misrepresentation has taken place regarding the age of Katharine at the time of her first marriage, one historian¹ even affirming she was nineteen; but as the day of her birth was at the close of the year 1485,² it stands to reason that when she wedded Arthur, November, 1501, she had not completed her sixteenth year; while prince Arthur, who was born September 20, 1486, had just completed his fifteenth year. Katharine, therefore, instead of four years, was but ten months older than her husband.

Before Shrovetide, Katharine and Arthur departed for Ludlow-castle, in Shropshire, where they were to govern the principality of Wales, holding a miniature court, modelled like that at Westminster. Katharine performed the journey to Ludlow on horseback, riding on a pillion behind her master of horse, while eleven ladies followed her on palfreys. When she was tired, she rested in a litter borne between two horses. Such was the mode of travelling before turnpike-roads had made the country traversable by wheel-carriages, for the horses which bore the litter made good their footing in paths where a wheel-carriage could not be kept upright. Prince Arthur visited Oxford on the road to Ludlow: in the memorials of that city are particulars of his entertainment at Magdalen college, but no mention made of his princess.

At Ludlow their residence was of short continuance; for the prince, whose learning and good qualities made him the hope of England, although his health was very frail, was taken ill, and expired April 2, 1502. Some historians declare he died of a decline: amidst conflicting opinions, it is, perhaps, worth while to quote the assertion of the Spanish historian, as it certainly arose from the information of Katharine herself. "Prince Arthur died of the plague, a little while after his nuptials, being in the principality of Wales, in a place they call *Pudlo* [Ludlow]. In this house was donna Catalina left a widow, when she had been married scarcely six months."³ This assertion is completely borne out by an observation in the herald's journal; for, after describing the whole detail of the magnificent progress of the prince's funeral to the city of

Guthrie.

* Both Mariana and Bernaldes.

* Bernaldes.

Worcester (where he was buried), it declares, that few citizens were assembled in the cathedral, because of the great sickness that prevailed in Worcester.

The herald present at prince Arthur's funeral wrote the journal occurring in Leland's *Collectanea*; it is replete with curious costume. "On St. Mark's-day, the procession commenced from Ludlow church to Bewdley chapel. It was the foulest cold, windy, and rainy day, and the worst way [road] I have seen; and in some places the car [with the prince's body] stuck so fast in the mud, that yokes of oxen were taken to draw it out, so ill was the way." Such was part of the progress to Worcester, where "with weeping and sore lamentation prince Arthur was laid in the grave." The clothiers' company at Worcester is in possession of a rich pall, or mortuary cloth, which is supposed to have covered the corpse of Arthur prince of Wales on the occasion of his funeral in the cathedral of that city, and was probably placed over his bier by Katharine of Arragon. It is formed of alternate stripes of purple velvet and cloth of gold, emblazoned with the royal arms of England and the effigies of St. Katharine with her wheel, and many other curious devices, the pomegranate, the castle for Castile, and the imperial eagle—all emblematic of Katharine of Arragon. This curious relic of the fifteenth century, has been used ever since as the pall of the brethren of the clothworkers' fraternity of Worcester, to which it now belongs. The altar-cloth in Winchcombe church is of similar material and pattern, and was probably presented by Katharine.

Arthur was interred with royal pomp on the right side of the chancel of Worcester cathedral. The tomb which covers his remains is enshrined within the walls of a beautiful little chapel, designed by that distinguished statesman Sir Reginald Braye. Sorely as this exquisite gem of ecclesiastical sculpture has been maltreated by the fanatic destructives who stabled their steeds in the holy fane after the battle of Worcester, there is much left to interest the historical antiquary in the curious series of the statuettes of kings and queens of England, escutcheons, and other carvings with which the walls are covered. The coronet and shield of Arthur prince of Wales, the royal arms of England, is upheld by two angels, represented by Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York. The figure of the virgin widow, Katharine of Arragon, appears in several compartments of the sculpture, wearing the coronet of princess of Wales, with flowing hair, lightly covered with wimple and veil: she holds the castle, emblematical of Castile, in her right hand. In another place she is introduced in the character of St. Katharine, with a wheel, and holding the pomegranate.

There could have been no familiarity, and very little intimacy, between Arthur and the young foreign princess who lived in his house, only conversing with him through the stiff medium of Latin. In-

deed, his last act proved that she was nothing to him. Sudden as his death seemed, he had time to make the bequest of all his personal property, not only jewels and plate, but all his wearing apparel, to his favourite sister Margaret, then married and away, queen of the ever hostile realm of Scotland.¹ Very few widows, if really such, are cut off from all claim on personals. No gift or testamentary memorial did Arthur leave to her.

Queen Elizabeth, the mother-in-law of Katharine, though overwhelmed with grief for the sudden loss of her eldest-born and best-beloved child, had sympathy for the young girl, thus left desolate in a strange land, whose tongue had not become familiar to her ear. The good queen sent for Katharine directly to London, and took the trouble of having a vehicle prepared for her accommodation. She ordered her tailor, John Cope, to cover a litter with black velvet and black cloth, trimmed about with black valances; the two head-pieces were bound with black riband, and festooned with black cloth. Such was the hearse-like conveyance sent by Elizabeth of York to bring Katharine to London. Queen Elizabeth received her with all maternal kindness, and settled her at Croydon-palace.

Of Katharine's marriage-portion, consisting of 200,000 crowns,² but half of the sum had been paid down with her. Her widow's dower comprised one-third of the prince of Wales' revenue, but she was not put in possession of it. There was an attempt on Henry's part, after the death of his wife, to open a treaty for his own marriage with the nominal widow of his son Arthur, rejected with aversion both by Katharine and her mother; and this rejection, no doubt, led to the estrangement which ever after existed between Henry VII. and Katharine. Isabel of Castile had received solemn assurances that there was no real reason to prevent the marriage of her Katharine with any near relative of young Arthur. In her letter of instructions to the marriage-ambassador, the duke del Estrada, she thus affirms: "It is known for a certainty that the princess of Wales our daughter remains as she was here [in Spain], for so Elvira has written to us."³ Henry VII. had an extreme desire to touch the rest of his daughter-in-law's portion; her parents naturally did not wish to have her returned to them destitute; to obviate this difficulty, marriage was proposed between her and Arthur's brother. The sovereigns of Spain, her parents, finally agreed, that, on obtaining a dispensation from the pope, Katharine should be married to her young brother-in-law, prince Henry. Katharine herself seems to have been very unhappy at this time. She

¹ Lindsay of Pitscottie. The particulars of Arthur's legacy and its disastrous results are related in the *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, by Agnes Strickland. (Margaret Tudor, consort of James IV.)

² Sir Harris Nicolas' *Memoir of Elizabeth*

of York, and *Privy-purse Expenses of that queen*.

³ This paper, translated from cypher by Herr Berrgenroth, is printed in the *Kimbolton Papers*.

wrote to her father, "that she had no inclination for a second marriage in England;¹ still she begged him not to consider her tastes or inconvenience, but in all things to act as suited him best." It is here evident that Katharine, a sensible young woman of eighteen, felt a natural aversion to vow obedience to a boy more than five years younger than herself; yet she does not plead, as an excuse for not fulfilling so disagreeable an engagement, that she considered it repugnant to the laws of God or man. Surely, as she mentions in her home letters that her will was averse to any second English marriage, she would have likewise urged that her conscience would be outraged could she have done so with truth, but distaste and inconvenience are the strongest terms she uses. She was, notwithstanding these remonstrances, betrothed to Henry prince of Wales on the 25th of June, 1504, at the house of the bishop of Salisbury, in Fleet-street,² still existing, and now restored, to mark it as an historic locality. Queen Isabel of Castile, who was declining in health, was troubled with doubts regarding her daughter's future prosperity; she sent a piteous entreaty to Rome for a copy of the bull of dispensation, as she could not die peaceably without reading it, and she had her wish. Of course, like all legal instruments, it provides for contingencies, probable or possible. It has been made public lately, and for what it is worth may be consulted.³ Isabel expired a few months after the betrothment, and Katharine, thus unhappily deprived of her admirable mother, was left a passive victim at the disposal of the two wily diplomatists, her father king Ferdinand and Henry VII.

The pecuniary distresses of Katharine of Arragon, the nominal widow of one prince of Wales, and the nominal wife of another, become manifest in a letter, September 8, 1505,⁴ addressed to her father, Ferdinand king of Arragon. The letter relates to the projected marriage of one of her ladies, donna Maria de Salazar, whom there is every reason to suppose is the same as the lady called by our antiquaries the lady Mary de Saluces, whose mother was of the princely house of De Foix, nearly related to the imperial family and most royal lines in Europe. "It is known to your highness," says Katharine, "how donna Maria de Salazar was lady to the queen my lady [mother], who is in blessed glory, and how her highness [queen Isabel of Castile] sent her to come with me; and in addition to the service which she did to her highness, she has served me well, and in all this has done as a worthy woman. Wherefore I supplicate your highness that, as well as on account of the one service as the other, you would command her to be paid, *since I have nothing wherewith to pay her*; and also because her sister, the wife of monsieur d'Ayméria, has in view for her a marriage in Flanders, of which she cannot avail

¹ Mariana's History of Spain.² Speed, p. 973.³ Kimbolton Papers.⁴ Wood's Letters of Royal and illustrious Ladies.

herself without knowing what the said donna Maria has for a marriage-portion." The letter continued to urge Ferdinand to pay to donna Maria the arrears he owed her father, captain Salazar (her high-born mother, related to Katharine herself, having wedded the captain of Ferdinand's guard). Donna Maria, however, gave up her intended marriage in Flanders, and clave to the forlorn princess as faithfully in her troublous youth, as in the woful remnant of her latter days; for donna Maria remained in England, having won the heart, portionless as she was, of the heir of the illustrious house of Willoughby d'Eresby. Katharine dates her letter, and one or two others relative to the unpaid salaries of her Spanish ladies, from Durham-house (Strand). This ecclesiastical palace was probably her "inn," or London residence, as it was afterwards that of queen Elizabeth when princess. An ancient mansion on the Twickenham side of Richmond bridge still bears the name of Arragon-house, and is pointed out as the dwelling place of Katharine between her two marriages. She often dates her letters from Richmond.

Katharine became most wretched when her troubles were aggravated by severe illness. She attributed all the vexations of her painful situation to the meanness with which Dr. Puebla, the Spanish resident minister in England, yielded to the despotism of Henry VII. She writes to her father:—"Your highness shall know, as I have often written to you, that since I came to England I have not had a single maravedi, except a certain sum which was given me for food, and this is such a sum, that it did not suffice without my having many debts in London; and that which troubles me more is, to see my servants and maidens so at a loss, and that they have not wherewithal to get clothes. This I believe is all done *by hand of the doctor*,¹ who, notwithstanding your highness has written, sending him word 'that he should have money from the king of England, my lord, that their costs should be given them,' yet, in order not to trouble him, will rather intrench upon and neglect the service of your highness. Now, my lord, a few days ago donna Elvira de Manuel² asked my leave to go to Flanders, to get cured of a complaint that has come into her eyes, so that she lost the sight of one of them, and there is a physician in Flanders who cured the infanta Isabel of the same disease with which she is afflicted. She laboured to bring him here, so as not to leave me, but could never succeed with him; and I, since if she were blind she could not serve me, durst not hinder her journey. I begged the king of England, my lord, that, until our donna Elvira should return, his highness would command that I should have as companion an old English lady, or that he should take me to court. And I imparted all this to *the doctor*, thinking to make of the rogue a true man; but it did not avail me, because though he drew me to court (in which I have some pleasure, because I had sup-

¹ Puebla.

² Her governess, or first lady.

plicated the king for an asylum), yet he [the doctor] negotiated that the king should dismiss all my household, and take away my chamber [her establishment for the service of her chamber, as ladies and chamberwomen], and place it in a house of his own, so that I should not in any way be mistress of it.”

The gist of Katharine's afflictions appears that, by Puebla's contrivance, she was to be deprived of the privilege of maintaining her little separate household, that her Spanish ladies and officers were to be dismissed, and she mixed up with the English court as a mere dependent on Henry VII., eating at his table. To the English living she had the objection of most foreigners. She was astonished that Wednesdays as well as Fridays were fast-days in England—an infliction derived from the martial piety of the Conqueror. But her tastes were for salads, not raw meat, and salads were not to be had until she re-introduced their cultivation in this country. The poor princess surmises that her father paid little heed to her complaints, and thus continues earnestly to supplicate him: —“I entreat your highness that you will consider that I am your daughter, and that you consent not that, on account of Puebla, I should have such trouble; but that you will command some ambassador to come here who may be a true servant of your highness, and for no interest will cease to do that which pertains to your service. And if in this your highness trusts me not, do you command some person to come here who may inform you of the truth. As for me, I may say to your highness, that seeing this man, Dr. Puebla, do so many things not like a good servant of your highness, I have had so much pain and annoyance that I have lost my health in a great measure, so that for two months I have had severe tertian fevers, and this will be the cause that I shall soon die.” Katharine evidently writes under the depression of spirits and irritation of mind consequent to her painful indisposition. Although she has dwelt on the sins of this unbeloved doctor throughout her letter, she cannot close it without reiterating her request for his removal. “I presume to entreat your highness to do me so great favour as to command that *this doctor* may not remain, because he certainly does not fulfil the service of your highness, which he postpones to the worst interest which can be. Our Lord guard the life and most royal estate of your highness, and ever increase it as I desire. From Richmond, the second of December.”¹

This letter is provided with a postscript, which still further develops the tribulations of Katharine of Arragon, by showing that there was a controversy between the princess and her hard father-in-law Henry VII. regarding the arrear of her dowry. King Ferdinand, and even the late queen Isabel, had reckoned Katharine's plate and jewels as part of her portion, and had set off their value from the sum total, to the large

¹ Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

amount of 33,000 crowns, which they meant to deduct from this arrear. "The king of England, my lord," continues Katharine, "will not receive anything of the plate nor of the jewels which I have used, for he told me 'that he was indignant that it should be said in his kingdom that he took away my ornaments.' And as little may your highness expect that he will take them on account, and return them to me; because I am certain he will not do so, nor is any such thing customary here. The king would not take them in the half of the value, as all these things are esteemed much cheaper here; and the king [Henry VII.] has so many jewels, that he desires money rather than them. I write thus to your highness, because I know that there will be great embarrassment if he will not receive them, except at a less price. It appears to me that it will be better that your highness should take them for yourself, and should give to the king of England, my lord, his money." No doubt this shrewd business arrangement would have suited Henry VII. well, but it is a chance whether the letter ever reached its destination, for a translation of it exists in the Chapter-house, and the original Spanish, in Katharine's writing, is likewise in this country.¹ It only travelled into the hands of Henry VII. and his supple tool, Puebla, who must have given his master, Ferdinand, a general intimation, that the princess, his daughter, was malcontent, and with her Spanish household murmuring against her father-in-law, Henry VII.: for there exists an answer from Ferdinand, sending a stern message through this very Puebla, the object of Katharine's indignant complaints, bidding her "and her household be conformable to Henry VII., since God willing, she has always to be in that land with this king of England, my brother her father, and with the prince of Wales [Henry], my son, and it is to be believed that he will regard his honour, and that of the princess, my daughter."² There is no reply to individual detail in the piteous letter of Katharine, but how could Ferdinand reply to a despatch which to the present moment has remained in England?

The death of Isabel of Castile, without male heirs, had called her eldest daughter Joanna to the throne of Castile, and she embarked with her husband, Philip the Fair of Austria,³ to take possession of her inheritance. They were driven in their voyage from the Netherlands by a tempest on the western coast of England, and detained, exceedingly against their inclination, to receive the designing hospitalities of Henry VII. They were invited to Windsor-castle, where Katharine of Arragon came to meet them. The royal visit is thus described in one of those herald's journals,⁴ which have preserved many other valuable details of personal traits and national customs. Queen Joanna was not sufficiently

¹ Cott. Coll.² Cott. MS.³ Son of Mary of Burgundy, heiress of the Low Countries, and Maximilian emperor of Germany.⁴ Cott. MS.

recovered from the effects of sickness to travel, and her husband arrived without her. King Philip passed with Henry VII. through the royal apartments at Windsor-castle "into an inner chamber, where was my lady princess [Katharine], and my lady Mary, the king's daughter, and their ladies. And after the king of Castile had kissed them, and communed with them, they went into the king's dining-chamber, where my lady princess Katharine danced in Spanish array, with a Spanish lady for her partner: then danced the lady Mary with an English lady." Katharine was desirous that her brother-in-law should show himself a pleasant and agreeable chevalier, and much she importuned him to join in the dance; but Philip was ill at ease in mind and body. He was, according to the English chroniclers, far from well, and indeed his cross answer to Katharine seems like it: "Ever and anon my lady princess Katharine desired the king of Castile to dance; he answered, after he had excused himself once or twice, 'that he was a mariner, and yet,' added he, 'you would have me dance;' and then he continued to commune with king Henry. Katharine's seat was under the king's canopy, placed on the carpet belonging to it. After the lady Mary had tired herself with dancing, she sat down by her sister-in-law, near where the kings stood," and played on the lute and clavichords; she was a child of only nine or ten years old, yet her manner pleased everyone.

Queen Joanna arrived at Windsor ten days afterwards, February 10, 1505-6. She came accompanied (besides her own servants) by the earl of Arundel and lord Mountjoy; they entered by the little park, and came privately to the back of the castle to the king's new tower, where, "at the stair-foot, king Henry met with her, kissed her, and embraced her,—howbeit her husband, the king of Castile, that was present with our king, had divers times desired him 'not to have taken the pains to have gone so far.'" It was now Katharine's turn to welcome her sister, and she advanced, accompanied by the little lady Mary, to kiss and embrace her. The royal infantas had not met for several years, and it seemed cruel that the first time they looked on each other after such an absence should be when their feelings were restrained by all the incrustations of court etiquette. At last they all went up into the apartments of king Philip, where Katharine was left with her sister Joanna. The morning of February 11 was devoted by the two kings to an inspection of their genealogies, for the purpose of noting the nearness of their relationship. Katharine, with the lady Mary, went back to Richmond; the next day Henry VII. followed them, and the queen of Castile, February 12, commenced her journey back to Plymouth in the rich litter of the late queen Elizabeth. She slept at Reading-palace by the way. Contrary winds, or the policy of Henry VII., detained the royal guests till the middle of April on the English coast.

Short as was the time of conference between Joanna and Katharine,

it appears that the latter took encouragement from the sight of her near relatives, to place urgently before her father Ferdinand the miserable state in which the crowned miser, her father-in-law, kept her. The poor young princess was in debt, and in want of everything at this period. It is likely that her averseness to become the wife of her young brother-in-law, Henry, continued in full force, since she made no effort to learn English.

“Now I supplicate your highness, for the love of our Lord, that you consider how I am your daughter, and that after Him (our Saviour) I have no other good or remedy, except in your highness; and how I am in debt in London, and this not for extravagant things, nor yet by relieving my own people [her Spanish ladies and household remaining with her], who greatly need it, but only [for] food; and how the king of England, my lord, will not cause them [the debts] to be satisfied, although I myself spoke to him and all those of his council, and that with tears. But he said, ‘that he is not bound to give me anything,’ and ‘that even the food he gives me is of his goodwill, because your highness has not kept promise with him in the money of my marriage-portion.’ I told him ‘that in time to come your highness would discharge it.’ He [Henry VII.] told me ‘that was yet to see,’ and ‘that he did not know it.’ So that, my lord, I am in the greatest trouble and anguish in the world, on the one part seeing all my people that they are ready to ask alms; on the other, the debts that I have in London. About my own person I have nothing for chemises; wherefore, by your highness’s life, I have now sold some bracelets to get a dress of black velvet, for I was all but naked; for since I departed thence [from Spain], I have had nothing but two new dresses, for till now those I brought from thence have lasted me, although now I have got nothing but dresses of brocade.”¹ The black velvet, which had been thus procured with difficulty, was as mourning for her mother; and the two new dresses she had since her arrival from Spain, must have been her widow’s mourning for her young spouse Arthur.

“I likewise supplicate your highness,” she continues, “to do me so great a favour as to send me a friar of the order of St. Francesco de Osservancia, who is a man of letters, for a confessor, because, as I have written at other times to your highness, *I do not understand the English language, nor know how to speak it*, and I have no confessor. And this should be, if your highness will so command it, very quickly, because you truly know the inconvenience of being without a confessor—especially me, who for six months have been near to death; but now, thanks to our Lord, I am somewhat better, although not entirely well; this I supplicate your highness may be as soon as possible. Calderon, who brings this letter, has served me very well. He is now going to be

¹ Wood’s Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

married: I have not wherewith to recompense him. I supplicate your highness to do me so great a favour as to command him to be paid there [in Spain], and have him recommended; for I have such care for him, that any favour that your highness may do him, I should receive as most signal. Our Lord guard the life and royal estate of your highness, and increase it as I desire. From Richmond, the 22nd of April."

The detail by which Katharine strives to awaken pity in the heart of her father, reveals deprivations as calamitous as at any subsequent period of her life. Her illness, even unto danger of death; her difficulty of obtaining linen, and mourning for her mother; her debt and destitution in a foreign land, the language of which remains strange to her ear; and then her dialogue with Henry, the royal miser of England, and his taunting her with the very food she ate, presents an almost overcharged page of the woes of royalty. The illness of Katharine was one of those painful and long-abiding intermittents, which were the severest scourges to this country until the great benefit of the Jesuits' bark was introduced into our *materia medica* by Charles II. The residences of Katharine, whether at Durham-house in London, at Richmond, or at Arragon-house, Twickenham, were always on the banks of the Thames; therefore she had little chance of speedy recovery from ague. In the course of the autumn of 1506, Katharine mentioned, in a brief note, the state of her health to her sister, Joanna queen of Castile.

"MOST HIGH AND POWERFUL LADY,

"Since I wrote the other day to your highness from here, I have had more attacks of fever; but they have left me as you desire, so that, thanks to God, I am somewhat better now, and in better spirits. It appears to me that it is right to let your highness know, whose life, and the royal estate of your highness, our Lord prosper.

"From the humble servant of your highness, who kisses your hands,

"THE PRINCESS OF WALES."

Indorsed, To the Queen my lady, from the lady Princess of Wales, 17th of October, 1506

At the date of this letter, Joanna was a widow: she had lost her husband the preceding month. The news had evidently not reached the sick-room of Katharine of Arragon when she wrote this bulletin to the queen, who was then in an unconscious state, labouring under that long delirium brought on by her grief for the loss of Philip.

The widowhood of her sister Joanna now added another entanglement to the perplexed situation of Katharine of Arragon at the court of her father-in-law. At the time of the Spanish visit to Windsor, Henry VII. had treated for his second marriage with Philip's sister, the celebrated Margaret of Austria, widow of the duke of Savoy. For reasons best known to himself, Henry dropped all pursuit of that marriage after he had seen Joanna of Castile. Hall, the English contemporary historian, declares that the vexatious detention of Philip in England on his impor-

tant voyage to Spain had broken his heart, and caused his early death ; the explanation of which is, that Philip was in declining health, not amended by detention during the severest part of an English winter. The mysterious protest which Henry VII. obliged his son to make, apparently the day after his fifteenth birthday, against the betrothment he had previously contracted with Katharine, either must have been connected with his own intention to become the second spouse of queen Joanna, or it must have been a positive act of insanity. It is dated, it is true, a few weeks before Joanna's widowhood ; but are we certain that the date was the same as the execution of the instrument ? The archives of England to this day show that Henry VII. had previously contrived to further his own purposes by tampering with documents.¹ The protest itself was literally conducted in a hole-and-corner manner, being executed by bishop Fox, the wily minister of Henry VII., and a few officials, in an unfrequented room at the basement of Shene-palace.² The boy-prince who signed it probably knew not at the time what the ceremonial meant, or, as he fancied himself in love with Katharine, he would never have kept the secret—and secret the transaction remained until many years afterwards, when it astounded the English public. It was, indeed, very needful to conceal it from king Ferdinand's spies, or he would not have paid the instalments of his daughter's dower, neither to Henry VII. nor Henry VIII.

The measure, mysterious as it is, must have been prompted by some scheme of selfishness on the part of Henry VII., or he would never have thrown such a mischievous stigma on the legitimacy of the heirs of his only son, while the struggle regarding the legitimacy of the children of Edward IV. was fresh in memory. As for prince Henry marrying his brother's widow if his father married her sister, no person who has the capacity to note the under-currents of history can deem, for a moment, that Henry VII. contemplated such outrages on public decorum. He knew that archbishop Warham had objected in council to prince Henry's marriage with Katharine, as it was, and if the confusion of alliances and descents became more complicated, neither archbishop Warham nor the English people would have been long quiet on the subject. Henry VII.'s evident intention was, to obtain the hand of the queen-regnant of Castile, and the remainder of Katharine's portion. He then meant to break the betrothal with his son Henry, playing off the protest by which the boy was made to renounce it—urging, withal, the disgust of the English people, and the objections of Warham.

¹ Some entry in the Parliamentary rolls, relative to the connection of his grandmother Katharine of Valois and his grandfather Owen Tudor, he found it convenient to destroy. At the cancelled pages, all the dates of the memorances have been altered by a clumsy forgery, still apparent to the historical an-

tiquary. This information was communicated to the author by the late lamented Sir Harris Nicolas.

² This intelligence is gathered from one of archbishop Warham's conversations with cardinal Wolsey, which took place at the time of Katharine's divorce.

Neither Katharine nor her fortune would have been returned ; he would have kept the money as personal assets due to his deceased son Arthur, pleading that the lady was to spend her income as Arthur's widow in England, according to the custom of dowagers on royal demesnes in this country. It was not easy, by any species of finesse, to induce Ferdinand of Arragon (impoverished as he was by the death of his queen and partner) to pay the whole of his daughter Katharine's portion, at the risk of her being treated merely as Arthur's widow ; but the English monarch, with deliberate ruthlessness, pursued the plan he had already commenced, as described in her letters, of subjecting the poor young princess in his power to every personal deprivation short of actual starvation, in order that her complaints to her surviving parent might prevail on him to remit the remainder of her portion, to obviate the plea that she could have no income from her settlement till the payments were completed.

The unfortunate queen of Castile had not permitted her beloved husband's body to be buried, before the king of England commenced his wooing by embassy. It was in vain king Ferdinand sent word that his daughter Joanna was fearfully insane, and not fit to be married ; Henry protested that he knew the lady, and was convinced that her illness was but temporary. Meantime, Henry prince of Wales began to give his astute sire some trouble in traversing his fine-drawn schemes. Suspecting that he was to be deprived of Katharine, young Henry's boyish will was immediately set on obtaining her ; so that Henry VII. debarred them from meeting, lest they should form a clandestine union.¹

Yet the lapse of years produced change in Katharine's mind regarding her marriage with young Henry : he was attached to her, and the difference between their years seemed to vanish as he attained his majestic stature, while his mind assumed the cultivated tone produced by a learned education. In 1507 Katharine allowed to her father that the marriage with the prince of Wales was better for her than the miserable state of dependence and poverty with which her father-in-law had afflicted her. Katharine was totally unconscious that most of her letters to Spain were intercepted by Henry VII., and never reached the hands of her sire : such must have been the case, since she continually complains that her father never replies to the points she urgently pressed on his attention. Some of her letters were translated for the information of her persecutor, and of course her remarks and complaints raised against her infinite ill-will in his cold heart. Two letters in particular were calculated to displease him. One written for his inspection, and by his desire, warmly recommending his suit to her father for the hand of her "lady-queen and sister, Joanna of Castile," of whose woful state Katharine betrays no consciousness, either in this letter or in the private one

¹ Lingard.

written at the same time. The news had reached Katharine, in July, 1507, that her father had resolved on a journey to Castile, in order to induce the states there to pay the remainder of her dowry, which they had stopped after the deaths of Arthur, and her mother queen Isabel. The sanguine spirits of youth immediately raised in the heart of Katharine lively hopes that all her troubles would be at an end when the payments of her portion were fulfilled. "So much," she writes to her father,¹ "did the cyphers of your highness avail here, that I have by them passed three or four days in such spirits as are unearthly; and they were much needed at the time they came, for not two days before the king [Henry VII.] had said to me 'that the journey of your highness was postponed, according to report.' I felt it was said to do me fresh displeasure, so that, on all accounts, the letters of your highness were necessary to me at the conjuncture at which they arrived. I gave the credence of your highness to the king of England, my lord, and he had shown to him clearly that which came in cypher. He rejoiced so much to see them, that he told me of his great satisfaction thereupon; and commanded me, 'that I should write on his part to your highness, the pleasure he had of your highness's good-will.'" Without following the tedium of Henry VII.'s formal message to Ferdinand of Arragon, which Katharine transmits literally, with all its tautology, it suffices to say that its tenour was, that if, on king Ferdinand's arrival in Castile, all was found consonant to that which he desires (*his marriage to the queen Joanna*), he will forthwith send ambassadors with power to treat. Katharine was likewise charged by her father-in-law to transmit to her sire the jealous displeasure he felt at a recent report that the queen of Castile, her sister, was about to marry the count de Foix, through the interest of the king of France. De Foix being a peer of France, and, moreover, nearly related to Ferdinand's young queen, Germaine de Foix, inspired the ancient suitor with great alarms, for queen Germaine, having a young wife's influence with her husband, would naturally avail herself of it to advance her own family. On this point, however, the astute king of England kept silence, as it was no part of his policy to exasperate the queen of Arragon. But his orders to Katharine were, to say to her father "that the French match for queen Joanna would be a great inconvenience to him, the queen herself, and her sons;² for that with Frenchmen entering into the kingdom, there could be no security for Castile, and many other things," adds Katharine, "about this which I do not say, because they are more to his purpose than to that of your highness."

Thus Katharine, placed between these two diplomatists, had no choice

¹ Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

² Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, then infants.

left but to deceive one or the other. Henry VII. dictated to her that she was to advise her father to favour his own views, as if it were her private opinion for the best. Katharine chooses to tell the truth to her father, and asks him to do, in regard to the count de Foix, what he thinks most conducive to his own service, as she thinks advice of the kind offered from her to him improper. But in regard to herself, she expresses her wish that her father, at least, would not sanction the marriage between Henry VII. and her sister, and is very urgent that a person of dignity and responsibility may be sent, instead of the shuffling minister Puebla, to whom she attributes all her misfortunes since the death of Arthur. Her letter raises curiosity, which her detail does not gratify, regarding her treatment in England. "I believe," she says, addressing her father, "your highness would be frightened at that which I have passed through, were it only considering whose daughter I am, that I should be in this kingdom with such a company in my house as I am indignant to think of it; for, in comparison with this, all the other things I have passed through I think little of. And thus I am doubly desirous on this account for my remedy, that I may not see myself as never knight's daughter was seen in the kingdom of your highness." Katharine proceeds to mention some conversations which she had had with Henry VII. She describes, with vivacity, how much he rejoiced in the expectation of the speedy coming of her dowry. "May it please God that it may come at the time that it is hoped for," continues the princess, very emphatically. She explains to her father, that the letter he would find in the king of England's packet was written at his requisition.

Henry VII. expired at his favourite palace of Shene, he was but in his fifty-third year, April 22, 1509. When he found that this world and all its deceits were fading away, his conscience made itself heard, and he entreated his son to marry Katharine of Arragon,¹ which he could not have done at such a moment if such marriage had involved the commission of crime. However, his wish well agreed with that of his successor, whose first steps were, that his dubious engagement with Katharine of Arragon should be solemnly ratified by actual marriage. The privy council debated the marriage very earnestly. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, considered the relationship in which Katharine stood to the king, as his sister-in-law, was too near. Bishop Fox argued for the marriage, with many reasons of expediency, although he was the very person who had presided over the secret protest against it: at last, the council recommended that it should take place, if Katharine's sister, queen Joanna, and their father, would agree that the marriage-portion of the princess should never be reclaimed, on any pretence

¹ Henry VIII.'s letter to Margaret of Savoy, announcing his marriage. Published by the duke of Manchester

whatever. Fuensalida, the new Spanish ambassador, signed a deed to this effect on the part of Ferdinand as king of Arragon, and of Joanna as queen of Castile: this instrument was signed by Katharine herself as princess of Wales, June 7, 1509, a circumstance which entirely invalidates the assertion of the historians who declare she was married to Henry on the 3rd of June. A most uncandid mystery is made of the time and place of this marriage by the earlier historians.¹ Both, however, we have satisfactorily discovered in the pages of Katharine's native chroniclers. "Donna Catalina," says Bernaldes,² "wedded the brother of her first lord, who was called Enrico, in a place they call Granuche, [Greenwich], on the day of St. Bernabo [June 11], and was crowned afterwards, on the day of St. John, with all the rejoicings in the world."

Evidence has been discovered since our former editions, in the entries of Henry's household-books, kept by John Heron, treasurer of his chamber, that the royal pair were married at the Friar Observants' Church, Greenwich-palace, on the day mentioned by our Spanish historians. Heron has entered the king's offering upon Monday, St. Barnaby's day, June 11, first year of Henry VIII., at the king's marriage, 10s., and the queen's offering, the same day, the same sum.³

King Henry and queen Katharine came to the Tower from Greenwich, attended by many of the nobility, June 21.⁴ After creating twenty-four knights, Henry, accompanied by Katharine, on the 23rd of June, proceeded in state through the streets of London, which were hung for the occasion with tapestry. The inhabitants of Cornhill, as the richest citizens, displayed cloth of gold. From Cornhill and the Old Change the way was lined with young maidens dressed in virgin white, bearing palms of white wax in their hands; these damsels were marshalled and attended by priests in their richest robes, who censed the queen's procession from silver censers as it passed. Of all the pageants ever devised for royalty, this was the most ideal and beautiful. At that time Katharine was pleasing in person. "There were few women," says lord Herbert, "who could compete with queen Katharine when in her prime." She had been married but a few days, and was attired as a bride in white embroidered satin; her hair, which was very beautiful, hung at length down her back, almost to her feet; she wore on her head a coronal set with many rich orient stones. The queen, thus attired as a royal bride, was seated in a litter of white cloth of gold, borne by two white horses. She was followed by the female nobility of England, drawn in whirlicotes, a species of car that preceded the use of coaches.

¹ From Speed's account, the reader would suppose no other marriage had taken place except the betrothment in 1503; Hall names an evident wrong date, and gives no place; Burnet follows Speed, and no English author names the place of the marriage. Pollin, the Italian historian, asserts that Katharine

was married on the day of St. John, June 25 at the monastery of St. Benedetto, to the infinite joy of the people of London.

² Middle-Hill MS. cap. 163, f. 236.

³ Brit. Museum. Printed in the Kimbolton Papers, published by the duke of Manchester

⁴ Hall.

Thus she proceeded to the palace of Westminster, where diligent preparation was making for the coronation next day. Cavendish asserts, that all the orders for the king's coronation as well as the funeral of Henry VII. were given by Katharine: the illness of the king's grandmother and the youth of the king were, perhaps, the reasons that she had thus to exert herself.

After the coronation, the banquet was spread in Westminster-hall. The king and queen proceeded from the abbey to an elevated stage at the upper end of the hall: several ladies of high rank sat under the table at the queen's feet, holding her pocket-handkerchief, table-napkins, fan, and purse. The pageantry on the occasion of this royal marriage and coronation was most elaborate and tedious. One of the sports in honour of the gentle and benevolent Katharine was remarkably barbarous and savage: a miniature park was railed in before Westminster-palace; deer and dogs were turned in; the deer overleaped the fences and escaped into the palace, where the hunters pursued and killed them, and presented the slaughtered creatures, warm and palpitating, to the royal bride. The sudden illness and death of the king's grandmother, Margaret of Richmond, who had been regent till two days before the coronation, broke up the festivities.

Henry put the date of his wedding-day out of all doubt by his own words in his letter announcing it to his friend, and his wife's near relative, Marguerite of Savoy. "True it is, very high and excellent princess, our very dear and beloved cousin, that in consideration that we have had for the treaty made long time ago, promised, accorded and sworn between the king my late lord and father, and your father-in-law and mother-in-law, the king of Arragon and queen of Spain defunct, his consort, regarding the marriage of the lady Katharine, their daughter, and the fiancailles made between us and her by word of mouth, we being come to full age also, the many admirable, wise, discreet, and honourable instructions that the king our late father gave us when we came before him, he then on his death-bed gave us express commands to take in marriage the said lady Katharine, in fulfilment of the treaty and our said betrothment. For these causes, on the eleventh day of this present month of June, were made espousals between us and the said lady Katharine at present our consort; and the day of St. John the Baptist last past, we both were consecrated and crowned in the abbey of Westminster." "He writes," he says, "because he knows this news will give her pleasure, and he wishes her to inform her father the emperor of the event." He signs, and dates June 27, at Westminster-palace.

Few royal ladies ever received such entire conviction of the free choice and true love of a husband as Katharine of Arragon. It was easy for him to have released himself from his engagement at the death of his father, instead of eagerly fulfilling it, and describing the state of

his affections thus, addressed more than a month after the event to the father of his wife : "Your serene highness greatly commends ourself in having completed this marriage so liberally, and in having rejected all other ladies in the world that have been offered to us, showing hereby our singular love which we bear to your majesty, as well as to the most serene lady herself, our very well-beloved consort. . . . And as regards that sincere love which we have to the most serene queen our consort, her eminent virtues daily more shine forth, blossom, and increase so much, that if we were still free, her we would yet choose for our wife before all other." Then follows a fraternal message to Katharine's sister, the unfortunate Joanna. "All these things, of course, you will be pleased to relate in our name to the most illustrious lady the queen of Castile, your daughter, our very dear kinswoman, and to commend ourself to her in singular degree."¹

Katharine herself soon wrote confidentially a letter to her father—this time, however, expressing all the exultation of unbounded happiness. Her father, when he found that she would be really raised to the rank of queen of England, had exerted himself to liquidate the arrears of her dowry, one instalment of which had been received in the preceding May, and the other was on its way to England. The young queen's heart was overflowing with gratitude to her father : "I know," she says, "that in this life I have no other good than in being your daughter, by your highness so well married that more cannot be said, except that it may well appear that it is the work of those hands of your highness, which I kiss for so signal a favour. As to the king my lord, amongst the reasons which oblige me to love him much more than myself, the one most strong, although he is my husband, is his being so true a son of your highness, with desire of greater obedience and love to serve you than ever son had to his father. I have performed the office of ambassador, as your highness sent to command,²" Katharine continues to view, in this happy frame of mind, all matters connected with England and her bridal, telling her father that these kingdoms were entirely at peace, and devoted in love to her husband and herself. "Our time," she adds, "is ever passed in continual feasts."

Katharine was nevertheless difficult to be suited in envoys from Spain. Fuensalida, although a grandee, was not much higher in her esteem than the unbeloved doctor-of-laws Puebla. She puts in cypher some secret matter to her father, and then proceeds to blame the Spanish ambassador for his blunders and want of tact, in discussing topics which concerned her honour and estate at the same time that he attacked her confessor. This person must have been the Spaniard Atequa, a priest who had been in her service from the period of her landing in England. He

¹ Dated from Greenwich-palace, July 26, 1509.—Egerton MSS.

² Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.

was subsequently her almoner, and through her favour was made bishop of Llandaff. "It could not be thought," wrote Katharine, addressing her father, "how much disservice the ambassador did me, having said what he did, and by taking up the topics he did." Katharine, like every other queen of England who retained around her a large colony from her native country, prepared for herself sources of life-long troubles. At her marriage with Henry VIII., however, she sent away her duenna, donna Janina de Cuer, who had succeeded donna Elvira Manuel; likewise several others of her Spanish household, paying them their long arrears of from six to eight years' wages. She asks as a favour from her father, that he will send the king her lord three horses, one a jennet, the other a Neapolitan, and the third a Sicilian steed, because he desired them much, and had entreated her to beg for them. Katharine returned to Greenwich-palace after her coronation, for this remarkable letter is dated from thence, July 29.

The mutual affection expressed in the letters written by the newly wedded king and queen of England, is confirmed by their autograph avowal of fidelity to each other still to be seen in queen Katharine's missal.¹ The book itself had belonged to Henry's mother, Elizabeth of York. The costume of the figures, the profusion of white roses and emblems of the house of York, indicate the era of Edward IV. Queen Katharine was subsequently its possessor. There are entries in the calendar, in common writing, of several Spanish saints, whom the English illuminator had forgotten, or was ignorant of their anniversaries; among others, Telesforo, pope and martyr. Katharine had been blamed for her neglect of the English language; but when actually queen of England, she made considerable progress in its literary composition, as her able letters will show. In the missal above mentioned is written, in her hand, a first attempt at versification, transcribed beneath the miniature of a saint of the English royal family, Margaret Atheling.

"Be daly *probe*,² you shall me fynde,
To be to you both loving and kynde."

The queen's attempt at English verse is probably in answer to Henry's rather elegant protestation written there, to all appearance, when he gave his royal mother's mass-book to his queen: "*Si silon mon affection la sufenance [souvenance] sera in voz prieres ne seray gers oblié, car vre suis Henry R. à jamais.*" Meaning, "If your remembrance is according to my affection, I shall not be forgotten in your daily prayers, for I am yours, Henry R. for ever."

It was at the Christmas festivals at Richmond, the same year, that Henry VIII. stole from the side of the queen during the jousts, and re-

¹ King's MS. Brit. Mus

² *Proof.*

turned in the disguise of a strange knight, astonishing all the company with the grace and vigour of his tilting. At first, the king appeared ashamed of taking a public part in these gladiatorial exercises, but the applause he received on all sides soon induced him openly to appear on every occasion in the tilt-yard. Katharine kindly humoured the childish taste of her husband for disguisings and masquings, by pretending great surprise when he presented himself before her in some assumed character. On one occasion, he came unexpectedly into her chamber with his cousin, Bouchier earl of Essex, and other nobles, in the disguise of Robin Hood and his men; "whereat," says Hollinshed, "the queen and her ladies were greatly amazed, as well for the strange sight as for their sudden appearance." At Shrovetide soon after, the foreign ambassadors were invited to partake with the court of a goodly banquet in the parliament chamber at Westminster, when the king, after conducting the queen to her throne, and having saluted the visitors, suddenly disappeared; but speedily returned with the earls of Essex, Wiltshire, and Fitzwalter in the costume of Russia, with furred hats of grey, each of them having a hatchet in hand, and wearing boots with peaks turned up. Next came Sir Edward Howard and Sir Thomas Parr, after the fashion of Persia, followed by torch-bearers with black faces, who were intended to represent Moors. The king's beautiful young sister, the princess Mary, accompanied by some of Katharine's ladies, danced a masquing ballet before her; but the princess hid her fair face under a black gauze mask, having assumed the character of an Ethiop queen.¹ In all these masquings and pageants, the queen's device, the pomegranate, was seen mingled with the roses of York and Lancaster, and the Tudor device of the hawthorn with its scarlet fruit.

The queen's situation promising an heir to the throne, she took to her chamber at the close of the year 1510, with the usual ceremonies, at Richmond-palace. On New-year's day she brought into the world a prince, whose welcome appearance gave rise to fresh rejoicings and pageantry. He was named Henry, at a splendid christening, the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Surrey, and the king's favourite aunt, Katharine countess of Devonshire, were the sponsors to the royal babe. Before the queen's churching, the king rode on a pilgrimage to the Lady-shrine of Walsingham, in order to return thanks for the birth of his heir. On his return, grand tournaments were held in honour of the queen at Westminster. At the opening of the tournament appeared the king's favourite, Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards created duke of Suffolk, who came before Katharine disguised like "hermit poor," with grey gown and lowly weeds, craving permission to tilt in her honour. When leave was given, Brandon flung off his hermit's grey, and appeared armed as a champion of proof. This was considered by the populace

¹ Hall

as a most brilliant surprise.¹ In the evening, when the queen was set in glorious state in the white-hall at Westminster, a nobleman entered to inform her, "How that in a garden of pleasure was an arbour of gold, full of ladies, who were very desirous of showing pastime for the queen's diversion." Katharine answered, very graciously, "I and my ladies will be happy to behold them and their pastime." Then a great curtain of arras was withdrawn, and the pageant moved forward. It was an arbour made with posts and pillars, covered with gold, about which were twined branches of hawthorn, roses, and eglantines, all made of satin and silk, according to the natural colours of the flowers. In the arbour were six fair ladies in gowns of white and green satin, covered with gold letters of **H** and **K**. Near the bower stood the king himself, and five lords dressed in purple satin, likewise covered with the same monograms in solid bullion; and every one had his name in letters of bullion. The king's name was *Cœur-loyal*, and all the rest bore some such appellations. Then the king and this company danced before Katharine's throne.

While this fine fancy ball was performing, a very different scene was transacting at the lower end of the white-hall. The golden arbour, which was intended to receive again the illustrious performers, had been rolled back to the end of the hall, where stood a vast crowd of the London populace, who were the constant witnesses of the grand doings of the English court in the middle ages, and, indeed, on some occasions, seem to have assimilated with the chorus of the Greek drama.² Their proceedings this evening were, however, not quite so dignified; the arbour of gold having been rolled incautiously within reach of acquisitive fingers, the foremost began to pluck and pull at its fine ornaments; at last they made a regular inbreak, and completely stripped the pageant of all its ornaments, nor could the lord steward of the palace repel these intruders without having recourse to a degree of violence which must have disturbed the royal ballet. Meantime, the king and his band having finished their stately "pavons" and "corantos high" with the utmost success, his majesty, in high good-humour, bade the ladies come forward and pluck the golden letters and devices from his dress and that of his company. Little did the young king imagine what pickers and stealers were within hearing; for scarcely had he given leave for this courtly scramble, when forward rushed the plebeian in-

¹ Hall, lord Herbert.

² See an instance in the curious metrical description of Henry V.'s farewell to the city of London before his French expedition, in which scene the populace certainly took their part as chorus:—

"Hail, comely king!" the mayor 'gan say:
"Amen!" cried all the commonalty."

Whoever looks closely into the manners and customs of the middle ages, will find that the English subjects were permitted to hold very

close intercourse with their monarchs, who almost lived in their presence till the reign of William III.

truders, and seizing not only on him, but his noble guests, plucked them bare of every glittering thing on their dresses with inconceivable celerity; what was worse, the poor ladies were despoiled of their jewels, and the king was stripped to his doublet and drawers. As for the unfortunate Sir Thomas Knevet, who climbed on a high place and fought for his finery, the mob carried off all his clothes. At last, the gentlemen-at-arms succeeded in clearing the hall without bloodshed. The king, laughing heartily, handed the queen to the banquet in his own chamber, where the court sat down in their tattered condition, treating the whole scramble as a frolic; the king declaring that they must consider their losses as *largess* to the commonalty.¹ This strange scene throws light on the state of society at that time; for the outrage was not committed by a posse of London thieves, but by people in respectable stations of middle life, since Hall says, "One shipmaster of the port of London gat for his share in the scramble some letters of beaten gold, which he afterwards sold for 3*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*"

The royal infant, whose birth had caused all this uproarious joy, died February 22, 1511; indeed, he had never been well since his elaborate christening, when the tender creature had taken some cold or injury. His death is thus prettily recorded in one of the manuscript folios at the Chapter-house, Westminster: "In the second year of our lord the king, her grace the queen bore a prince, whose soul is now among the holy innocents of God." The queen, according to Hall, "like a natural woman, made much lamentation; howbeit, by the king's persuasion, she was comforted, but not shortly." Katharine could not foresee what a fatal shade the loss of her son was to throw on her after-life, when she mourned in unconscious anticipation of all her future sorrow.

A war soon after broke out with France, in which Scotland furtively joined. Sir Edward Howard, one of England's earliest naval heroes, distinguished himself in this war by his victory over Sir Andrew Barton, a Scottish commander of equal valour. The gallant Howard fell gloriously in a desperate attack on the French galleys in Conquest bay. He was a friend of queen Katharine and her parents, having served as a volunteer at the siege of Granada; he bequeathed to her in his will a beautiful relic of antiquity, the grace-cup of Thomas à Becket. The queen subsequently restored the cup to the noble family of Howard, in whose possession it still is. Sir Edward Howard had likewise, in his sailor-like will, left his whistle, then the insignia of his command, to the king; but he was seen to throw it into the sea just before he sank, while boarding the French commander's galley.²

¹ Hall.

² The king invested his naval captains with this insignia, as may be proved from the narrative by Sir Peter Carew of the loss of the 'Mary Rose,' commanded by his brother Sir George. "And first the kin" had secret talks

with the lord admiral, and then with Sir George Carew. The king took his chain from his neck, with a great whistle of gold, and did put it about the neck of Sir George." This happened not above an hour before Sir George went on board; a few minutes after the 'Mary

When Henry VIII. invaded France in person, he intrusted his queen with the highest powers that had ever been bestowed on a female regent in England; for he not only placed the reins of government in her hands, but made her captain of all his forces,¹ with the assistance of five of his nobles. She was likewise empowered to raise loans for the defence of the kingdom. The queen accompanied her royal lord to Dover, where she was invested with this high trust. The king and troops embarked June 30. The earl of Surrey, to whom had been confided the care of the north of England, accompanied the queen home from Dover, comforting her as well as he might.

Katharine's letters, soon after her regency, begin to form interesting features of history; she had made herself sufficiently mistress of the English language to express her thoughts, and issue her commands with clearness and decision. The following appears to be one of her earliest English letters, as it is avowedly written during the lifetime of her father. It relates to the misconduct of one of her Spanish attendants, and is addressed to Wolsey,² who was certainly the factotum of the royal family; it appears to have been written on her homeward journey from Dover:—"Mr. Almoner, touching Francesca de Casseris' matter, I thank you for your labour therein; true it is she was my woman before she was married, but now, since she cast herself away, I have no more charge of her. For very pity to see her lost, I prayed you in Canterbury to find the means to send her home to her country. Now ye think, that with my letter of recommendation to the duchess of Savoy, she shall be content to take her into her service. This, Mr. Almoner, is not meet for her, for she is so perilous a woman, that it shall be dangerous to put her in a strange house; an' ye will do so much for me to make her go hence by the way, with the ambassador of the king, my father, it should be to me a great pleasure, and with that, ye shall bind me to you more than ever I was." Here is benevolence, mingled with prudential forecast, arising from accurate judgment of character. She pities "the perilous woman, who has cast herself away," and wished that care might be taken of her, without danger of doing mischief in the household of another princess.

The situation of queen Katharine during her husband's absence was exactly similar to that of queen Philippa, when left regent by Edward III. Like Philippa, Katharine had to repel a Scottish invasion; and it is no little honour to female government, that the two greatest victories won against the Scots, those of Neville's-Cross and Flodden-field, were gained during the administration of queens. Katharine's correspondence with

Rose' heeled and went down, while her crew were in a state of mutiny. The gold chain and whistle are, therefore, with the bones of Sir George, still in the 'Mary Rose;' and as the diving-bells are now bringing many curiosities from this antique wreck, this treasure may be

well be sought for.

² Ellis's Letters; first series. Wolsey, who was then a rising person, accompanied the king to France, ostensibly as his almoner, but in reality as his private secretary.

¹ Rapin.

Wolsey at this juncture is cheerful and friendly. She views the coming storm with intrepidity, worthy the daughter of that great and victorious queen, Isabel of Castile, and only regrets that her removal nearer the seat of war will prevent her from hearing as speedily as usual of her husband's welfare. The following letter was written by her to Wolsey just a month before the invasion of the Scots:—

“MAISTER ALMONER,

“I received both your letters by Coppinger and John Glyn, and I am very glad to hear how well the king passed his dangerous passage, the Frenchmen being present.Ye be not so busy with the war as we be here encumbered with it—I mean, touching mine own self, for going where I shall not so often hear from the king. All his subjects be very glad (I thank God) to be busy with the Scots, for they take it for pastime. My heart is very good to it, and I am horribly busy with making standards, banners, and badges.

: “At Richmond, 13 day of August.

“KATHARINA THE QWENE.”

Henry won the battle of the Spurs,¹ August 16, 1513. It was a rout of cavalry at Guinegate, and was thus jestingly named by the French themselves, in satirical remembrance of the only weapons they used on that day. Henry VIII. sent to his queen an illustrious prisoner, Louis d'Orleans, duc de Longueville, taken at the skirmish of Guinegate, one of the few of the French cavalry who did not make an inglorious use of his spurs. It was Henry's wish that queen Katharine should entertain Longueville hospitably in her household, to which she had for some reason an objection, ostensibly the want of security; the letter addressed to Wolsey is extremely curious, as being interwoven with conciliatory passages, which the queen deemed needful to soothe some affronts the rising favourite had taken.

“QUEEN KATHARINE TO THOMAS WOLSEY.²

“September 2, 1513.

“Maister Almoner,—I received your letter by the post, whereby I understand the coming of the duc [de Longueville], and how the king is content that he shall be in my household. Touching this matter, I have spoken with the council, to look and appoint what company shall be meet [proper] to attend on him. Here is none that is good for it but my lord Mountjoy, who now goeth to Calais as chief captain of the 500 men. And for this cause, and also that I am not so well *accompanied* [guarded] as were convenient for his keeping here, it is thought by me and my council that it should be better the said duc be (as soon as he cometh) conveyed to the Tower; especially as the Scots be so busy as they now

¹ Sir Thomas Boleyn, Sir John Seymour, and Sir Thomas Parr, all knights of the king's household, and fathers of three of his succeeding queens, were engaged in this battle.

² Ellis's Historical Letters; third series, vol. i. p. 152.

be, and I looking for my departing every hour, it shall be a great encumbrance to me to have this prisoner here, seeing that, according to the king's mind, he must be conveyed to the Tower at my going forward. I pray you show this to the king, and with the next messenger send me an answer of his pleasure. Mr. Almoner, I am sorry, knowing that I have been always so bound unto you, that now ye shall think that I am discontent without a cause, seeing that my servant asked no letter of you, nor brought none from me. The cause was, that two days before I wrote unto you by Coppinger, and this time I had no further thing to write, and with my servant's unwise demeanour I am nothing well content."

Thus did the royal Katharine condescend to soothe the jealousy of her husband's favourite, who had expressed uneasiness because her messenger had neither brought him a letter from her, nor asked for an epistle from him.

"For," continues the queen, "one of the greatest comforts that I have now is, to hear by your letters of the king's health, and of all your news; so I pray you, Mr. Almoner, to continue as hitherto ye have done, for I promise you that from henceforth ye shall lack none of mine, and before this ye shall have had many more, but that I think that your business scantily giveth you leisure to read my letters. From hence I have nothing to write to you more than I am sure the council informeth the king. Praying God to send us as good luck against the Scots as the king hath there,—

"At Richmond, the 2nd day of September.

"KATHARINE THE QWENE.

"*To Maister Almoner.*"

The king was at this time besieging Terouenne, in concert with the emperor Maximilian, who was fighting under the English banners. Katharine alludes to this emperor, her family ally, in the following letter, which is her answer to a despatch of Wolsey announcing the victory :—¹

"MAISTER ALMONER,

"What comfort I have with the good tidings of your letter I need not write to you. The victory hath been so great, that I think none such hath ever been seen before. All England hath cause to thank God of it, and I especially, seeing that the king beginneth so well, which is to me a great hope that the end shall be like. I pray God send the same shortly; for if this continue so, still I trust in Him that everything shall follow thereafter to the king's pleasure and my comfort. Mr. Almoner, for the pain ye take to write to me so often, I thank you with all my heart; praying you to continue still sending me word how the king

¹ Ellis, first series

doeth, and if he keep still his good rule that he began. I think, with the company of the emperor, and with his good counsel, his grace shall not adventure himself too much, as I was afraid of before. I was very glad to hear of the meeting of them both, which hath been, to my seeming, the greatest honour to the king that ever came to prince. The emperor hath done everything like himself. I trust to God he shall be thereby known for one of the excellentest princes in the world, and taken for another man than he was before thought. Mr. Almoner, I think myself that I am so bound to him for my part, that in my letter I beseech the king to remember it."

The queen was at Richmond when she wrote this, August 25, 1513. She was preparing to make a pilgrimage to the Lady shrine at Walsingham, in Norfolk, when the news of her Flodden victory reached her. The letter in which she announced it to Henry commences formally, but soon falls into the tender and familiar style of an affectionate wife:—

"SIR,

"My lord Havard [Howard] hath sent me a letter open to your grace within one of mine, by the which you shall see the great victory¹ that our Lord hath sent your subjects in your absence, and for this cause it is no need herein to trouble your grace with long writing; but to my thinking, this battle hath been to your grace, and all your realm, the greatest honour that could be, and more than should you win all the crown of France. Thanked be God for it, and I am sure your grace forgetteth not to do this; which shall be cause to send you many more such victories as, I trust, He shall do.

"My husband,—For hastiness with Rouge-crosse, I could not send your grace the piece of the king of Scott's coat, which John Glyn now bringeth. In this your grace shall see how I can keep my promise, sending you for your banners a king's coat. I thought to send himself to you, but our Englishmen would not suffer it. It should have been better for him to have been in peace, than to have this reward. All that God sendeth is for the best. My lord of Surrey, my Henry, would fain know your pleasure in burying the king of Scott's body; for he hath written to me so. With the next messenger, your grace's pleasure may be herein known; and with this I make an end, praying God to send you home shortly; for, without this, no joy here can be accomplished, and for the same I pray. And now I go to Our Lady at Walsingham, that I promised so long ago to see. At Woburn, xvi of September.

"I send your grace herein a *bill* [a note], found in a Scottish man's purse, of such things as the French king sent to the said king of Scott's

¹ From Patrick Fraser Tytler's *History of Scotland*, and the gazette of the battle at the Colliere-at-arms.

to make war against you. Beseeching you to send Matthew hither, as soon as this messenger cometh to bring me tidings from your grace,

"Your humble wife and true servant,

"1513.

"KATHARINE."

Skelton, the poet-laureate of Henry VIII.'s court, composed verses of the most ungenerous exultation over the fall of the Scottish monarch. In part of this poem he thus addresses the deceased king, in allusion to the absence of Henry:—

"Ye were stark mad to make a fray,
His grace being then out of the way.
Ye wanted wit, sir; at a word
Ye lost your spurs, ye lost your sword :¹
Ye might have boune to Huntley Branks,
Your pride was peevish to play such pranks."

He then breaks into the most vulgar taunts on the unconscious hero, "who laid cold in his clay." After the battle of Flodden, queen Katharine performed her vow of pilgrimage to the Walsingham shrine; she returned time enough to welcome the king, who landed privately at Dover the latter end of September, and rode post, *incognito*, to surprise the queen at Richmond, "where," observes Hall, "there was such a loving meeting, that everyone rejoiced who witnessed it." But notwithstanding this tender greeting, Henry had permitted his heart to wander from his queen during his absence, for it was during his sojourn at Calais, in this campaign, that he first saw the beautiful wife of Sir Gilbert Tailbois. This lady, after the death of her husband, bore Henry a son in 1519, to whom he gave the name of Henry Fitzroy. For several years this was the only instance of Henry's infidelity to Katharine: his connection with lady Tailbois was carried on with little publicity. They met at a place devoted to Henry's pleasures, which he called Jericho, situate near Newhall, in Essex.

The insulting neglect of the brave king of Scotland's remains was the first evil trait of character publicly shown by Henry VIII. Katharine had the corpse embalmed, to wait the orders of her husband; therefore the fault lies not with her. Under pretence that he died under the pope's excommunication, it was left unburied many years in a lumber-room at Shene monastery, and appears never to have been decently committed to the earth.

The French war concluded with a marriage between Louis XII. and the king's beautiful young sister Mary, whose heart was devoted to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Katharine accompanied the royal bride to Dover, October, 1514, and bade her an affectionate and tearful

¹ This assertion of Skelton shows that the sword of James was among the trophies of the field. It fell into the hands of lord Surrey, and after being long in the possession of the Howard family, was sent by the directions of the unfortunate lord Stafford to the Herald's

college, where it was shown to the author of this work by Sir G. C. Young, garter king-at-arms, together with the turquoise ring, supposed to have been sent to James V. by the queen of France.

farewell ; with Mary went, as attendant, Anne Boleyn, then a girl. The November following, the queen again became the mother of a living prince, but the infant died in a few days, to her infinite sorrow.¹ To celebrate her recovery, the king on New-year's night performed a ballet with the duke of Suffolk, and two noblemen and four ladies, all dressed in cloth of silver and blue velvet, after the mode of Savoy, as Suffolk was ambitiously wooing the duchess of Savoy. The masquers entered the queen's presence by a great light of torches, and after dancing a long time, put off their vizors ; and when they were known, the queen heartily thanked the king's grace for her good pastime, and kissed him. On the very day this ballet was danced the king of France died, and his lovely bride was left a widow after eighty-two days' marriage. In a very short time she stole a match with the duke of Suffolk at Paris, who had been sent by the king to take care of her and her property. All the influence of queen Katharine, who called Wolsey to her assistance, was needful to appease the wrath of king Henry at the presumption of his favourite. The married lovers were, however, favourably received at Greenwich-palace by the queen, and publicly married after the Easter of 1515. Suffolk bore as his motto, at the festival on this occasion, the well-known couplet he wrote on his marriage :—

“Cloth of gold, do not despise,
Though thou hast wedded cloth of frise.”

The May-day after this royal love-match was distinguished by a most picturesque and poetical festival, such as never again was witnessed in England. Katharine and the royal bride rode “a-maying” with the king, from the palace of Greenwich to Shooter's-hill. Here the archers of the king's guard met them, dressed like Robin Hood and his outlaws, and begged that the royal party “would enter the good greenwood, and see how outlaws lived. On this Henry, turning to the queen, asked her “If she and her damsels would venture in a thicket with so many outlaws?” Katharine replied, “That where he went she was content to go.” The king then handed her to a sylvan bower, formed of hawthorn-boughs, spring flowers and moss, with apartments adjoining, where was laid out a breakfast of venison. The queen partook of the feast, and was greatly delighted with the lodge in the wilderness. When she returned towards Greenwich with the king, they met on the road a flowery car, drawn by five horses ; each was ridden by a fair damsel. The ladies and their steeds personated the attributes of the spring. The horses had their names lettered on their head-gear, and the damsels theirs on their dresses. The first steed was Caude, or “heat,” on him sat the lady Humid ; the second was Memeon, on which rode the lady Vert, or “Verdure ;” on the third, called Phaëton, was the lady Vegetive ; on the steed named Rimphon, sat the lady Plesaunce ; on the fifth, Lampace,

¹ Hall.

sat lady Sweet-odour. In the car was the lady May, attended by Flora. All these damsels burst into sweet song when they met the queen at the foot of Shooter's-hill, and preceded the royal party, carolling hymns to the May, till they reached Greenwich-palace. The amusements of the day concluded with the king and his brother-in-law, the duke of Suffolk, riding races on great coursers, which were like the Flemish breed of dray-horses. Strange races these must have been, but this is the first mention of horse-racing made in English history.¹

Katharine again became a mother, and this time her hopes were not blighted. She brought into the world a girl, February 18, 1516, who was likely to live. The infant was baptized Mary, after her aunt the queen of France. At the same time the death of the queen's father, Ferdinand of Arragon, took place, and solemn requiems were sung for him at St. Paul's. Nothing can show the disposition of Katharine, in its truly beautiful character, more than the motives which led to her intimacy with the daughter of Clarence. When Ferdinand demurred on the marriage of his daughter to prince Arthur, his excuse was, that while a male heir bearing the name of Plantagenet existed, the crown of England was not secure in the Tudor family. Whereupon Henry VII. had the innocent Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, led out to execution, without a shadow of justice. The conscience of the excellent Katharine was infinitely grieved at this murder, of which she considered herself the cause, though innocently so. As far as was in her power, she made every reparation to the relatives of the unfortunate son of Clarence. She cultivated the friendship of his sister Margaret, countess of Salisbury, who was first lady in her household at Ludlow. She gave her infant Mary to be suckled by Katharine Pole, the relative of the countess; she treated her son Reginald Pole as if he had been her own, and it is said that she wished this gentleman to become her son-in-law.² The great talents of Reginald, his beauty and noble courage, distinguished him from all his brothers: he was, however, brought up to the church. Queen Katharine welcomed at her Greenwich-palace queen Margaret (lately widow of James IV.), who had taken refuge with Henry VIII. from the troubles in Scotland. The Scottish queen brought her daughter by her second husband, the earl of Angus. This infant was a few months older than the princess Mary, and was in after-life her companion, being regarded with affection by king Henry, and usually treated as his favourite niece. Her name is of some consequence in history as lady Margaret Douglas.

The national jealousy of the Londoners regarding foreigners broke out into that formidable insurrection of the apprentices in London, which is called in our domestic history the "Ill May-day" of 1517. There is no evidence that the queen unduly patronised foreigners, yet the popular

: Hall.

² Speed.

fury was directed against her countrymen. Several Spanish merchants' houses were sacked and burnt, and the inhabitants murdered. The duke of Norfolk, who had been incensed at the recent murder of a priest of his household by the citizens, was sent to quell the uproar, and dispense martial law in the turbulent metropolis. This he did with such vengeance, that great numbers of the unfortunate boys who had raised the riot were soon seen hanging over their masters' sign-posts. As several hundred apprentices remained captives to the vengeful duke, their mothers supposed all were to be immolated in the same manner. Calling together all their female relatives, they went to the palace, and with streaming eyes raised such a piteous wail for mercy, that the queen heard the cry of maternal agony in the retirement of her chamber. She summoned her sister-queens, Margaret of Scotland and Mary of France, to aid her; they flew with dishevelled hair to the king, and kneeling before him, begged for pity on the misguided boys. Every one was struck with the benevolence of queen Katharine, because the rioters had directed their fury against her nation. This incident is commemorated to her honour in a ballad-poem of her times, which preserves many curious traits of that era.¹

“ ‘What if’ (she said) ‘by Spanish blood
Have London’s stately streets been wet,
Yet I will seek this country’s good,
And pardon for their children get;

Or else the world will speak of me,
And say queen Katharine was unkind
And judge me still the cause to be,
The young men did misfortunes find.’
And so disrobed of rich attires,
With hair unbound she sadly hies,
And of her gracious lord requires
A boon, which hardly he denies.

‘The lives’ (quoth she) ‘of all the blooms
Yet budding green’ (these youths) ‘I crave;
Oh, let them not have timeless tombs,
For nature longer limits gave.’
In saying so the pearled tears
Fell trickling from her princely eyes,
Whereat his gentle queen he cheers,
And says, ‘Stand up, sweet lady, rise.

The lives of them I freely give,
No means this kindness shall debar;
Thou hast thy boon, and they may live
To serve me in my Boulogne war.’
No sooner was this pardon given,
But peals of joy rang through the hall,
As though it thundered down from heaven
The queen’s renown amongst them all.

¹ It is most likely by Churchyard, who was the contemporary of Katharine, and an *habitué* of her court.

For which, kind queen, with joyful heart
 She heard their mothers' thanks and praise;
 And so from them did gently part,
 And lived beloved all her days.
 And at the siege of Tours,¹ in France,
 They showed themselves brave Englishmen;
 At Boulogne, too, they did advance
 St. George's lofty standard then.

But ill May-day, and ill May-games,
 Performed in young and tender years,
 Can be no hindrance to their fames,
 Or stains of valour any ways.
 But now the watch, ordained by law,
 We see on May-day's eve at night
 Is kept, to fill the youth with awe,
 By London bands in armour bright."

The fact that Katharine brought the king five children has been disputed, but evidence exists in a letter written by Henry VIII. to his council² eighteen months after the birth of the princess Mary, in which he announces that the queen was likely to bring him an heir. Richard Pace soon after wrote to Wolsey that, on the king's return to Windsor, the queen met him at her chamber-door, and gave him information that confirmed his hopes; she brought him a third son, who died as soon as he saw the light. After this disappointment, the king created Henry Fitzroy (the son he had by lady Tailbois) duke of Richmond, and owned him with a degree of parade which showed Katharine how earnestly desirous he was of male offspring. This circumstance seems to have given the queen more uneasiness than any jealousy ever occasioned by the boy's mother.

Queen Katharine had the satisfaction of welcoming to England her nephew, who afterwards made his name so illustrious as the emperor Charles V.; he was the eldest son of the insane queen Joanna, Katharine's sister, and was regent of Spain and possessor of Holland and the Low Countries: he had been recently elected emperor of Germany. According to bishop Goodwin, the emperor arrived at Dover May 26, on his return from Spain. Katharine awaited her nephew at the archbishop's palace at Canterbury, while Henry rode by torch-light to Dover-castle, "where he arrived in the middle of the night, when the emperor, sea-weary, was fast asleep; but, awakened with the bustle of the king's entrance into the castle, he rose and met him at the top of the stairs, where Henry embraced and welcomed him. The next morning the king brought the emperor to queen Katharine, who received him joyfully." After three days' banqueting at Canterbury, the emperor went to his navy at Sandwich, while Henry and Katharine embarked at Dover, the emperor having appointed a second meeting with them on the opposite coast. Henry and Katharine, with their court, then pro-

¹ Perhaps Terouenne.

² State-Paper office, July 5, 1518.

ceeded to that congress with the king and queen of France, between Ardres and Guisnes, which has been called for its magnificence "the Field of Cloth of Gold." Katharine had here the satisfaction of forming an intimacy with a royal lady, whose mind was a kindred one with her own; this was Claude queen of France, surnamed the Good. The chroniclers who dwell on this epoch notice that the queens of France and England visited each other every day in familiar intercourse. One morning, when cardinal Wolsey officiated at high mass before the assembled courts at Guisnes, the kings, Henry and Francis, received the eucharist as a pledge of the peace they so soon broke. When the cardinal advanced to the separate oratory where queen Katharine of England and queen Claude of France were kneeling side by side, these royal ladies, before they communicated, tenderly embraced and kissed each other, in token of mutual amity and good-will. Katharine fully participated in all the tedious splendours of the "Field of Gold," for even the foot-carpet of her throne was embroidered with pearls. Lord Herbert declares that queen Claude certainly brought Anne Boleyn in her train as one of her maids of honour; but the presence of this young lady was as yet of no moment to the royal Katharine, although her mind had already been somewhat troubled by the coquetries of the other sister, Mary Boleyn, with king Henry. The emperor joined the congress of the "Field of Cloth of Gold" towards its conclusion. Katharine and her court then went to meet her imperial nephew at Gravelines, and he accompanied them to Calais. Henry invited him to a grand entertainment at that town, where an amphitheatre was built in imitation of a firmament. But an unfortunate storm happening the night of the festival, it blew out a thousand wax-tapers, overturned the thrones erected for Henry, Katharine and the emperor, and rendered the sun, moon, and stars unfit for use. The court looked grave, and began to whisper regarding the presumption of making a firmament. Notwithstanding this mishap, Katharine entertained her nephew for six days at Calais, till he departed to Gravelines, mounted on a beautiful English horse, with a foot-cloth of gold-tissue bordered with precious stones, which Katharine had given him.

The emperor Charles often spoke of his aunt's happiness, who was wedded to so magnificent a prince as Henry VIII.¹ With her name was connected the revival of horticulture in England. We use the term *revival*, because there is ample proof in the pages of Matthew Paris, Chaucer and James Stuart, that many plants were cultivated in England which were totally lost after the long course of warfare, foreign and domestic, had agonized the land, and perverted her energetic population into mischievous destructives. The cherry, the plum, and the peach, the laurel and the bay-tree, are familiarly mentioned by

¹ Bishop Goodwin's *Life of Henry VIII.*

the earlier historians, and by Chaucer ; but they had disappeared from the land in 1500, and had to be re-imported. When Katharine of Arragon wished for salads (an important article of food in Spain), the whole fair realm of England could not furnish one for her table, till king Henry sent for a gardener from Flanders to cultivate them for her. There were no carrots, and not an edible root grown ; all the cabbages were imported from Holland ; an old rhyme, often quoted, preserves the memory of the introduction of some other useful things :—

“Hops and turkeys, carps and beer,
Came to England all in one year.”

Wherefore the hop was cultivated is rather enigmatical, since Henry VIII., who interfered in all the concerns of his subjects, from their religion to their beer-barrels, forbade them to put hops in their ale : perhaps the above sapient distich means to imply, that malt-liquor was first called *beer* when brewed with hops. The rhyme is right enough regarding the turkeys, since they were first brought from North America by William Strickland,¹ the lieutenant to Sebastian Cabot, in the expeditions of discovery he undertook under the patronage of Henry VII. And this recalls to memory a curious article in the privy-purse expenses of that monarch : “To the man in reward who found the new isle, 10*l*.”—“The *man*” was the illustrious Cabot ; “the isle,” Newfoundland. Scanty is the reward of the benefactors of the human race, dim are their records, “and few there be that find them ;” while those of the destroyers are blazoned before all eyes.

CHAPTER II.

BEFORE the sad record of Katharine’s sufferings is unrolled, let us present to the reader a description of her husband, ere his evil passions had marred his constitutional good-humour, and even his animal comeliness. It is drawn by Sebastian Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador, then resident in England. “His majesty is about twenty-nine years of age, as handsome as nature could form him above any other Christian prince—handsomer by far than the king of France. He is exceedingly fair, and as well-proportioned as possible. When he learned that the king of France wore a beard, he allowed his also to grow ; which, being somewhat red, has at present the appearance of gold. He is an excellent musician and composer, an admirable horseman and wrestler. He

¹ The founder of the Boynton branch of his paternal house ; he was granted new armorial bearings, in remembrance of his American discoveries, by the style of Strickland of Boynton-on-the-Wold, Yorkshire, and assumed the turkey for his crest, instead of

the warlike holly of the elder line. The representative of Cabot’s comrade is Sir George Strickland, bart., M.P. The portrait of this officer is still in good preservation at Boynton-hall.

possesses a good knowledge of the French, Latin, and Spanish languages, and is very devout. On the days on which he goes to the chase, he hears mass three times; but on the other days as often as five times. He has every day service in the queen's chamber at vespers and complin. He is uncommonly fond of the chase, and never indulges in this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses. These are stationed at the different places where he purposes to stop. When one is fatigued he mounts another, and by the time he returns home they have all been used. He takes great delight in bowling, and it is the pleasantest sight in the world to see him engaged in this exercise, with his fair skin covered with a beautifully fine shirt. He plays with the hostages of France, and it is said they sport from 6,000 to 8,000 ducats in a day. Affable and benign, he offends no one. He has often said to the ambassador, he wished that every one was content with his condition, adding, 'we are content with our islands.'"

Katharine was about thirty-four. The difference of years is scarcely perceptible between a pleasing woman of that age, and a robust and active man of twenty-nine. In the portrait most commonly recognised as Katharine of Arragon, she appears a bowed-down and sorrow-stricken person, spare and slight in figure, and near fifty years old. But, even if that picture of Holbein really represents Katharine, it must be remembered that she was not near fifty all her life; therefore she ought not to be entirely identified with it, especially as all our early historians, Hall among them (who was present at the Field of Gold), mention her as a handsome woman. Speed calls her "beauteous," and Sir John Russell, one of Henry's privy council, puts her in immediate comparison with the triumphant beauties Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, declaring¹ she was not to be easily paralleled when in her prime. The Versailles portrait of Katharine of Arragon represents her as a serene-looking lady of thirty-three or four; the face oval, the features regular, with a sweet, calm look, but somewhat heavy, the forehead of the most extraordinary height, occupying half the face—phrenologists would say with benevolence greatly developed. Contrary to the general idea of Spanish ladies, Katharine had auburn hair and a light complexion. The hood-cap of five corners is bordered with rich gems; the black mantilla veil depends from the back of the cap on each side, for she never gave up wholly the costume of her beloved Spain; clusters of rubies are linked with strings of pearl round her throat and waist, and a cordelière belt of the same jewels hangs to her feet. Her robe is dark blue velvet, terminating in a graceful train bordered with fur; her sleeves are straight, with ruffles, and slashed at the wrists. Over them are great hanging sleeves of miniver fur, of the shape called *rebras*. She draws up her gown with her right hand; the petticoat is gold-coloured satin, barred

¹ Lord Herbert, *Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 196, W. Kennet's edit.

with gold. Her figure is stately, but somewhat column-like and solid. It realized very well the description of an Italian contemporary, who said that her form was *massive*.¹ She holds in her hand sprigs of lavender, for every one carried odoriferous herbs when pestilence was rife in the land, and in the reign of Henry VIII. it was seldom absent.

The routine of Katharine's life was self-denying. Her contemporaries held her in more estimation for her ascetic observances, than for her brightest practical virtues. She rose in the night to prayers, at conventual hours; she dressed herself for the day at five in the morning; beneath her regal attire she wore the habit of St. Francis, of the third order of which community she was an admitted member.² She was used to say, that she considered no part of her time so much wasted as that passed in dressing and adorning herself. She fasted on Fridays and Saturdays, and on the vigils of saints' days; she confessed at least weekly, and received the eucharist every Sunday; for two hours after dinner one of her attendants read to her books of devotion. Notwithstanding this rigorous self-discipline, Katharine delighted in conversation of a lively cast; she often invited Sir Thomas More to her private suppers with the king, and took the utmost pleasure in his society. The English were, for more than a century afterwards, very proud of queen Katharine's proficiency in needlework, rich specimens of which, according to the domestic poet, Taylor, who wrote in the reign of James I., were shown in the royal apartments at the Tower:—

" I read that in the seventh king Henry's reign,
Fair Katharine, daughter to the Castile king,
Came into England with a pompous train
Of Spanish ladies, which she thence did bring.
She to the eighth king Henry married was,
(And afterwards divorced,) where virtuously
(Although a queen) yet she her days did pass
In working with the needle curiously.
As in the Tower, and places *moë* beside,
Her excellent memorials may be seen,
Whereby the needle's praise is dignified
By her fair ladies and herself a queen.
Thus, for her pains here, her reward is just:
Her works proclaim her praise though she be dust."

It may be observed, in Katharine's whole line of conduct, that she identified herself with the interests of England in all things, as if she had been a native-born queen. But she did not comply—and who can blame her?—with the customs of English women, who at that era

¹ The miniature of Katharine of Arragon, sold at Strawberry-hill, is one of this class of portraits, drawn for her when she was between thirty and forty, dressed in the costume of the pointed hood: it is exactly the same as Burnett's engraving.

² The third order of St. Francis of Assisium, instituted in 1221 for those living in the world, either single or married; the members were not bound by any vow, but performed certain exercises of piety.

scrupled not to accompany their husbands and brothers to cruel field-sports. The destructive excitement of seeing ferocious creatures, whether biped or quadruped, tearing their living prey, afforded no delight to the generous mind of Katharine. She pleaded that Spanish ladies were not brought up to mount on horseback and follow hawk and hound, when Henry expressed displeasure that she did not join him in his violent exercises;¹ nevertheless, she was willing to divert him by partaking in the amusements then reckoned among courtly accomplishments. For these attainments she was thus commended by a contemporary English versifier belonging to the court:—

"With stole and with needle she was not to seek,
And other practisings for ladies meet,
For pastimes—as tables, tric-trac and gleeek,²
Cards and dice."

The great Erasmus, in some emphatic words addressed to Henry VIII., to whom he dedicated his Exposition of St. Luke, bears witness that the queen did not suffer these vain pursuits to divert her mind from duties. "Your noble wife,"³ says he, "spends that time in reading the sacred volume, which other princesses occupy in cards and dice." The queen had expressed a wish to become the pupil of Erasmus in the Latin language, if he would have resided in England; he dedicated to her his treatise entitled Christian Matrimony, and always cited her as an example to her sex. He gives a brilliant list of the great and virtuous men who were patronised at the English court when Katharine presided as queen of Henry VIII., declaring the residence of the royal couple "ought rather to be called a seat of the Muses than a palace." Erasmus added another sentence, which was wofully contradicted by Henry's after-life: "What household is there, among the subjects of their realms, that can offer an example of such united wedlock? Where can a wife be found better matched with the best of husbands?" The conduct of a man is almost invariably influenced by the moral qualities of the woman who has his heart in her keeping; and as Henry deserved these encomiums in a season of life so trying, that even the prophet of God prays that "the sins of youth" may not be reckoned against him, can we believe that women of equal worth had his moral guidance in the meridian and decline of life?

For the first time in her life Katharine had, after her return from France, manifested some symptoms of jealousy, which was excited by Henry's admiration for Mary Boleyn. She reasoned with the young lady, and brought her to confession that she had been in fault;⁴ court scandals declare she acknowledged her guilt to the queen, but this is scarcely consistent with the disinterested love Mary then cherished for

¹ French ambassador.

² Chess, backgammon, and whist.

³ To the great honour of Erasmus, this panegyric occurs after Katharine's misfortunes began.

⁴ Sanders affirmed she had confessed her guilt to the queen.

an honourable gentleman at court, whom she directly after married. Sir Thomas Boleyn renounced Mary as his daughter, because she persisted in marrying this lover, whose name was William Carey.¹ He was a younger brother and wholly without fortune, yet he was a near kinsman of king Henry by descent from the Beauforts. In all probability the discussion between the queen and Mary Boleyn led to the result of that young lady marrying the man she loved, January, 1521-22. If king Henry had provided his kinsman as a husband to rid him of Mary Boleyn, would he not have rewarded him so amply as to have satisfied her father? Instead of which, it is incontestable from Henry's own statement, that the young pair were destitute. At Mary Boleyn's marriage the court were present, and there is every reason to believe that the queen made the usual offerings at the altar.

The duke of Buckingham, whose sad tragedy takes fatal precedence in the long list of executions in the reign of Henry VIII., had been one of Katharine's earliest friends in England, and they were always on terms of amity. He ordered a costly present to be prepared for her against New-year's day, a large pomander or globe of gold,² perforated, and formed to open and enclose a ball of perfumed paste. The pomander had the king and queen's badges embossed thereon, and was suspended by a gold chain to hang at the queen's girdle. This jewel was presented to her majesty by Buckingham's confidential servant, Mr. Scott. Queen Katharine and cardinal Wolsey had lived in the greatest harmony till this time, when his increasing arrogancy wholly deprived him of the queen's esteem. One day, the duke of Buckingham was holding the basin for the king to wash, when it pleased the cardinal to put in his hands. The royal blood of the duke rose in indignation, and he flung the water in Wolsey's shoes, who, with a revengeful scowl, promised Buckingham "that he would sit on his skirts." The duke treated the threat as a joke, for he came to court in a jerkin; the king demanded the reason of this odd costume, he replied, that "it was to prevent the cardinal from executing his threat, for if he wore no skirts they could not be sat upon." As Wolsey could find no crime to lay to the charge of Buckingham, he had recourse to the example of the preceding century, and got up, among other charges against the high-spirited noble, an accusation of treasonable sorcery, which speedily brought his head on the block. The just and generous queen, after uselessly pleading for him with the king, did not conceal her opinion of Wolsey's conduct in the business.

The next year, the emperor Charles V. landed at Dover, and came

¹ Love-letters of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. For Carey's illustrious descent, see Milles's Catalogue of Honour; articles Boleyn and Beaufort. Carey is named as of Henry's

privy-chamber in a list of his household in 1522. — Rutland Papers, p. 102: Camden Society. ² Ellis's Historical Letters, third series, vol. i. 221.

with king Henry by water to Greenwich-palace, Queen Katharine received him standing at the hall-door, holding the princess Mary by the hand. Charles bent his knee and craved his aunt's blessing, which she gave him, perhaps in the character of mother-in-law, for his ostensible errand was to betroth himself with her daughter Mary, a little girl of six years old.¹ The emperor stayed six weeks in England. During his visit a bon-mot of his was circulated at court, which obtained for him and his aunt the active enmity of Wolsey. When Charles heard of the execution of Buckingham, he said, in allusion to Wolsey's origin and Buckingham's title, "Then has the butcher's dog pulled down the fairest buck in Christendom."²

Queen Katharine passed the Christmas holidays of 1523 at Eltham-palace, where Longland, bishop of Lincoln, undertook to show and explain to her the plan of the noble foundation of Christ's college, Oxford, just then established by cardinal Wolsey. It was the eve of the Epiphany, the queen's dinner was done, when the bishop (who is well known in history as the king's confessor) entered with the other lords into the queen's chamber. Henry himself, with Katharine, approached the place where bishop Longland stood, and said to her these words: "Madame, my lord of Lincoln can show of my lord cardinal's college at Oxford, and what learning there is and shall be."—"And so the king departed, and I," wrote the bishop to Wolsey,³ "showed the queen's grace the effect of all, and what great good should come of the same, likewise in the exposition of the Bible; and expressed to her grace the number of the house, the divine service of your college, and of the great suffrages of prayer ye have made her participant of." Wolsey had not been in favour with queen Katharine since the death of the duke of Buckingham, but he took the opportunity of thus informing her, by his friend, that she was particularly prayed for in the chapel of his new college. The queen was mollified by this attention. "I thank my good lord," she said, "for his remembrance, and that it please him for to make me *partivor* of that good prayers." Here is a little instance of Katharine's broken English—perhaps quoted on purpose to prove to Wolsey that the conversation had taken place.

The war with France, which followed the emperor's visit to England, occasioned the return of Anne Boleyn to her native country,⁴ when she received the appointment of maid of honour to queen Katharine, of whose court she became the star. The queen rejoiced much at the triumphs of her nephew Charles V. in Italy over Francis I. Just before the disastrous battle of Pavia, news-letters were brought to her court from Pace, the king's envoy, which anticipated a signal reverse to the French. "The king," says Sir Thomas More, in a letter to Wolsey

¹ Hall.² Speed.

Cott. MS., letter of Longland to Wolsey.

⁴ Lord Herbert, confirmed by Dr. Lingard, vol. v. p. 110.

"fell merrily to reading the letters of maister Pace, the contents of which highly contented him; and forthwith he declared the news on every material point, which he well noted, reading aloud to the queen's grace and those about him, who were marvellous glad to hear it." Queen Katharine, with some national pride, observed, "I am glad the Spaniards have done somewhat in Italy, in return for their departure out of Provence."¹ The court was at that time, November, 1524, at Hertford-castle. The recent passion of Henry for Mary Boleyn probably blinded the queen to the fact, that he had transferred his love, with increased vehemence, to her more fascinating and accomplished sister. His love for Anne Boleyn was nevertheless concealed even from its object, till his jealousy of young Percy caused it to be suspected by the world. Meantime the queen's health became delicate, and her spirits lost their buoyancy; her existence was long in a precarious state. The expectation of the queen's speedy demise possibly prevented the king from taking immediate steps for a divorce after he had separated Anne Boleyn and young Percy. Katharine herself thought the end of her life was near. This is apparent in a letter she wrote to Wolsey, concerning the settlement in marriage of one of her ladies, who had been very attentive to her during her long affliction:—

"MY LORD,

"It hath pleased the king to be so good lord unto me, as to speak unto Arundel,² the heir, for a marriage to be had between him and one of my maids; and upon this I am agreed with him, having a sum of money which, being offered unto him, he shall make her sure jointure during her life, the which she cannot be sure of without the licence and goodwill of his father, being *on live* [alive]. For the which cause I beseech you to be good and gracious lord to the said Arundel for business which he hath now to do before you, to the intent that he may have time to go to his father, and make sure of her jointure in this present term time. And if this be *painful* [inconvenient] to you, I pray you my lord pardon me, for the *uncertainty of my life* and the goodness of my woman causeth me to make all this haste, trusting that she shall have a good husband and a sure living; *and if God would call me the next day after*, the surer it shall appear before him that I intend to help them that be good, and taketh labour doing me service. And so I make an end, recommending me unto you.

"KATHARINE THE QWENE.

"At Ampthill, the xxv day of January."

Katharine is scarcely mentioned in history during the time of her

- Ellis's Letters.

² Cavendish mentions Thomas Arundel as one of the gentlemen of cardinal Wolsey's

privy-chamber since the queen's request of leave of absence for him; the name of the queen's lady does not occur.

lingering malady, and to this period certainly belongs the above letter, in which she shows her usual gratitude and consideration for those who had served her. The style of the letter is different from the confidential manner of those she formerly wrote to Wolsey, yet it is in a far more friendly strain than she would have indited to him after the events which took place in the year 1527, when the king's long-meditated divorce from her was publicly agitated¹ by Wolsey's agency. The first indications of the king's intentions were his frequent lamentations to his confessor, Dr. Longland, that his conscience was grieved by his marriage with his brother's widow, mixed with regrets for the failure of male offspring, and of the queen's hopeless state of ill health. Wolsey's enmity to the queen and her nephew caused him to be an inciter of the divorce; he had always, for the promotion of his power, kept a circle of court spies about Katharine, and all his insidious arts were redoubled at this juncture. "If the queen was intimate with any lady, to that person he was familiar in conversation and liberal in gifts, in order to make her reveal all she said and did. . . . I know one lady," adds Tindal, the celebrated scriptural translator, "who left the court for no other reason than that she would no longer betray her majesty." As a means of introducing the subject of the invalidity of his marriage with Katharine to his privy council, Henry asserted that, at Easter, the bishop of Tarbes, French ambassador, had questioned the legitimacy of the princess Mary.² Of course the most confidential of the king's advisers suggested cautiously the expediency of a divorce. These particulars reached the queen about a month after, but how, notwithstanding all the activity of their spies, neither Henry nor Wolsey could ever tell; but she despatched her faithful servant, Francis Philipps, to Spain, to consult her nephew. "He feigns to go," says Wolsey, "to visit his mother, now sickly and aged; but your highness taketh it surely in the right, that it is chiefly for disclosing your secret matter³ to the emperor, and to devise means and ways how it may be impeached. Wherefore your highness hath right prudently devised, so that his passage into Spain should be stopped; for if the said matter should come to the emperor's ears, it should be no little hindrance to your grace's particulars: howbeit, if he pass by sea, there can be nothing devised."

While the king and his minister were, during the summer, employed in thus circumventing, by base, underhand expedients, the friendless queen's natural right to consult her relative, she made no mystery of her resolution to appeal to legal means of defending her cause. She consulted her confessor, bishop Fisher, and retained him as her counsel, in case the ecclesiastical inquiry should take place. After these requi-

¹ Charles V. was aware in 1525 or 1526 that the king meant to divorce his ~~queen~~.

² State Papers.

³ The divorce.

site precautions, she discussed the whole matter with her husband : her manner of doing so is thus described by the pen of Wolsey in one of his letters at this epoch, written during his journey to Dover, when he went on an embassy to France :—"The first night," says he, "I lodged at Sir John Wiltshire's house, where met me my lord of Canterbury, [archbishop Warham], with whom, after communication on your grace's secret matter, I showed him that the knowledge thereof is come to the queen's grace, and how displeasantly she taketh it ; and what your highness hath done for the staying and pacification of her, by declaring to her that your grace hath nothing intended nor done, but only for the searching and trying out the truth upon occasion given by the doubts moved by the bishop of Tarbes. And noting his countenance, gesture, and manner, I perceive he is not much altered from his first fashion ;¹ expressly affirming that, however displeasantly the queen might take it, yet the truth and judgment of the law must have place. He," adds Wolsey, "somewhat marvelled how the queen should come to the knowledge thereof, and by whom, thinking your grace might constrain her to show her informers." Thus, from the best authority, it is plainly evident that Henry soothed the poor queen by hypocritical dissimulation, persuading her that the scruple of the bishop of Tarbes was the sole cause of the point being mooted, and that the ecclesiastical inquiry respecting the validity of her marriage was only instituted that it might never be questioned to the prejudice of their child. With such plausible explanation, Katharine, after a "short tragedy," rested tolerably well satisfied, and waited patiently for the good result promised by the king. To her rival (who was now well known at court to be such) she behaved with invariable sweetness. Once only she gave her an intimation that she was aware of her ambitious views. The queen was playing at cards with Anne Boleyn, when she thus addressed her : "My lady Anne, you have the good hap ever to stop at a king ; but you are like others, you will have all or none." By this gentle reproach queen Katharine, in some degree, vindicates the honour of her rival, intimating that Anne Boleyn would be king's wife or nothing to him. Cavendish, who records this pretty anecdote, likewise bears witness that the queen at this trying crisis "behaved like a very patient Grissel."

While matters remained in this state at court, May, 1528, a dismal pestilence² broke out in the metropolis, and several of the royal household dying suddenly, the king, who had made such pathetic harangues regarding the pains he had in his conscience arising from his marriage with the queen, was now seized with a fit of true compunction.³ Its symptoms were indicated by his sending Anne Boleyn home to her

¹ Warham had from the first opposed the marriage in council.

² Hall gives the date of this temporary return to Katharine (the particulars of which

he dare not mention), by saying the pestilence broke out May, 1528 ; it continued through June.

³ Ellis's Letters.

friends, returning to the company and conversation of his queen, and sharing in her devout exercises. His recreations, during this quarantine, were compounding with his physician, Dr. Butts, spasmodic plaisters, ointments, decoctions, and lotions. The recipe for one of these precious compositions was made public, for the benefit of England, under the name of "the king's own plaister." Moreover, the king made thirty-nine wills; and confessed his sins every day. Henry's penitence was precisely of the same nature as that described in some oft-quoted lines relative to his sable majesty "when sick": the pest abated, the king's jovial spirits returned; he wrote love-letters perpetually to his beautiful favourite, and huffed away his wife. The cardinal-legate Campeggio having arrived to hold the court of inquiry regarding the validity of his marriage, he was once more elate with hope of long life and a new bridal. The representations of Wolsey to the pope had raised the idea at Rome, that it was the wish of Katharine to retire from the world and devote herself to a religious life, leaving Henry at liberty to form a second marriage. There is little doubt that, from Katharine's ascetic habits, the king and his minister imagined she could be easily induced to take this step, from which, however, her duties as a mother wholly debarred her. Henry had not anticipated the slightest difficulty in the divorce, in fact he was encouraged by more than one recent example. His sister the queen of Scotland had divorced her second husband, the earl of Angus, and taken to herself a third spouse, whom she meant to dismiss for a fourth.

When the legate Campeggio arrived in England, in the autumn of 1528, Katharine, in an interview with him, became aware of the false impression the pontiff had received of her intentions. She immediately adopted a course of conduct which proved that she had no intention of religious profession; and this elicited a burst of vindictive fury from Henry, who at once threw aside the hypocritical mask he had worn, and permitted all the malice of his nature to blaze out in hideous colours. His obsequious council¹ "were informed," they said, "of a design to kill the king and the cardinal, in which conspiracy, if it could be proved the queen had any hand, she must not expect to be spared."

Moreover, the council minutes set forth "that the queen had not shown, either in public or in the hours of retirement, as much love for the king as she ought; and now that the king was very pensive, she manifested great signs of joy, setting all people to dancing and other diversions, out of spite to the king, as it was contrary to her temper and ordinary behaviour. That she showed herself much abroad, too, and by civilities and gracious bowings of her head (which was not her custom formerly), she sought to work upon the affections of the people. From all which the king concluded that she hated him. There-

fore, as his council in their consciences thought his life was in danger, they advised him to separate himself from the queen, both at bed and board, and above all to take the princess Mary from her." To which paper, still extant, there is appended a Latin note in the handwriting of Wolsey, purporting "that the queen was a fool to resist the king's will; that her offspring had not received the blessing of heaven; and that an abstract of the pope's original bull of dispensation,¹ which she had sent for from Spain, was a forgery." This order of council was laid before the queen with the intention of frightening her into a convent. One sting the malice of her persecutors had inserted bitterer than death—the separation from her child. But Katharine was not intimidated; the only effect was, that Wolsey heard her speak her mind on the subject of his conduct the first opportunity that occurred; and this came shortly.

The king convoked all his nobility, judges, and council in the great room of his palace at Bridewell, Sunday, November 8, and made a speech, which Hall declares he heard, and recorded as much "as his wit would bear away." "If it be adjudged," said Henry, "that the queen is my lawful wife, nothing will be more pleasant or more acceptable to me, both for the clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities I know to be in her. For I assure you all that, besides her noble parentage, she is a woman of most gentleness, humility, and buxomness; yea, and of all good qualities pertaining to nobility she is without comparison. So that if I were to marry again, I would choose her above all women. But if it is determined in judgment that our marriage is against God's law, then shall I sorrow parting from so good a lady and loving companion. These be the sores that vex my mind! these be the pangs that trouble my conscience! for the declaration of which I have assembled you together; and now you may depart." It was a strange sight to witness the effect this oration had upon the hearers: some sighed and said nothing; others were sorry to hear that the king was so troubled in his conscience; while many, who wished well to the queen, were grieved that the matter was thus far publicly opened. Soon after, the two cardinal-legates, Wolsey and Campeggio, requested an interview of the queen at the same palace, to announce that they were about to hold a court of inquiry regarding her marriage. "Alas! my lords," answered the queen, "is it now a question whether I be the king's lawful wife or no, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and no objection made before? Divers prelates and lords, privy councillors of the king, are yet alive, who then adjudged our marriage good and lawful—now to say it is detestable is a great marvel to me, especially when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the natural

¹ The original instrument was not forthcoming in England.

affection my father, king Ferdinand, bare unto me. I think that neither of our fathers were so unwise and weak in judgment but they foresaw what would follow our marriage. The king, my father, sent to the court of Rome, and there obtained a dispensation that I, being the one brother's wife, might without scruple of conscience marry the other brother lawfully, which licence, under lead [under leaden seal], I have yet to show, which makes me say and surely believe (as my first marriage was not completed) that my second is good and lawful. . . . But of this trouble," she continued, turning to Cardinal Wolsey, "I may only thank you, my lord of York, because I ever wondered at your pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life, and little cared for your presumption and tyranny; therefore of malice have you kindled this fire, especially for the great grudge you bear to my nephew the emperor, whom you hate worsen than a scorpion, because he would not gratify your ambition by making you pope by force; and therefore you have said, more than once, you would trouble him and his friends—and you have kept him true promise, for of all his wars and vexations, he may only thank you. As for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you put me to by this new-found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cause."

Wolsey denied these charges, but the queen gave no credit to his protestations. He had, indeed, involved England in an unpopular war with the emperor, and, in order to gratify his private resentments, totally overlooked the earnest desire the English ever had to remain in close commercial alliance with the Low Countries, then possessed by the queen's kindred. The English had gratefully and affectionately regarded Katharine as the link that united their interests with the opposite coast; and so unpopular was the idea of her divorce, that one of the king's agents, Dr. Wakefield, expressed some fear lest the people should stone him, if they knew he was concerned in divorcing the queen. The emperor Charles was deeply hurt at the turn affairs had taken;¹ he expressed his intention to afford all the protection in his power to his aunt, "who," he said, "was an orphan and stranger in England. If the pope pronounced against her, he would bow to his decision; if in her favour, he would support her and her daughter as far as his ability would permit."

It was not till the 28th of May, 1529, that the court summoned the royal parties. In the great hall of the palace at Blackfriars was prepared a solemn court; the two legates, Wolsey and Campeggio, had each a chair of cloth of gold placed before a table covered with rich tapestry. On the right of the court was a canopy, under which was a chair and cushions of tissue for the king, and on the left a rich chair for the queen.

¹ Charles assured the English herald, sent to declare unprovoked war on him, that the whole strife was stirred up by Wolsey.

The king answered by two proctors; the queen entered, attended by four bishops and a great train of ladies, and making an obeisance with much reverence to the legates, appealed from them, as prejudiced and incompetent judges, to the court of Rome. She then departed. The court sat every week, and heard arguments on both sides, but seemed as far off as ever in coming to any decision. At last the king and queen were cited by Dr. Sampson to attend the court in person, on the 18th of June. When the crier called, "Henry, king of England, come into court," he answered, "Here," in a loud voice from under his canopy, and proceeded to make an oration on the excellence of his wife, and his extreme unwillingness to part from her, excepting to soothe the pains and pangs inflicted on him by his conscience. Then "Katharine, queen of England," was cited into court. The queen was already present, seated in her chair of gold tissue; she answered by protesting against the legality of the court, on the grounds that all her judges held benefices presented by her opponent. The cardinals denied the justice of her appeal to Rome on these grounds. Her name was again called: she rose a second time. She took no notice of the legates, but crossed herself with much fervour, and, attended by her ladies, made the circuit of the court to where the king sat, and knelt down before him, saying,¹ in her broken English:—"Sir, I beseech you, for all the loves there hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have some right and justice. Take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor stranger, born out of your dominions; I have here no unprejudiced counsellor, and I flee to you, as to the head of justice within your realm. Alas! alas! wherein have I offended you? I take God and all the world to witness that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure. I have been pleased and contented with all things wherein you had delight or dalliance; I loved all those you loved, only for your sake, whether they were my friends or mine enemies. This twenty years have I been your true wife, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of the world, which has been no fault of mine. I put it to your conscience whether I came not to you a maid? If you have since found any dishonour in my conduct, then am I content to depart, albeit to my great shame and disparagement; but if none there be, then I beseech you, thus lowly, to let me remain in my proper state. The king your father was accounted in his day as a second Solomon for wisdom; and my father, Ferdinand, was esteemed one of the wisest kings that had ever reigned in Spain; both, indeed, were excellent princes, full of wisdom and royal behaviour. Also, as me-seemeth, they had in their days as learned and judicious counsellors as are at present in this realm, who then thought our marriage good and lawful; therefore

¹ Cavendish, vol. i. p. 109.

it is a wonder to me to hear what new inventions are brought up against me, who never meant aught but honestly. Ye cause me to stand to the judgment of this new court, wherein ye do me much wrong if ye intend any kind of cruelty; for ye may condemn me for lack of sufficient answer, since your subjects cannot be impartial counsellors for me, as they dare not, for fear of you, disobey your will. Therefore most humbly do I require you, in the way of charity and for the love of God, who is the just Judge of all, to spare me the sentence of this new court, until I be advertised what way my friends in Spain may advise me to take; and if ye will not extend to me this favour, your pleasure be fulfilled, and to God do I commit my cause."

The queen rose up in tears, and instead of returning to her seat, made a low obeisance to the king, and walked out of court. "Madam," said Griffiths, her receiver-general, on whose arm she leant, "you are called back;" for the crier made the hall ring with the summons, "Katharine, queen of England, come again into court." The queen replied to Griffiths, "I hear it well enough; but on—on, go you on, for this is no court wherein I can have justice. Proceed, therefore." Sanders asserts that she added, "I never before disputed the will of my husband, and I shall take the first opportunity to ask pardon for my disobedience." But, in truth, the spirit of just indignation which supported her through the above scene, is little consistent with such superfluous dutifulness to a husband who was in the act of renouncing her.

When the crier was tired of calling queen Katharine back into court, Henry, who saw the deep impression her pathetic appeal had made on all present, commenced one of his orations, lamenting "that his conscience should urge the divorce of such a queen, who had ever been a devoted wife, full of all gentleness and virtue." What could the members of his council (in whose memories the murderous accusations he had secretly brought against Katharine were fresh) have thought of the duplicity of his tongue? But unblushing falsehood is a trait in Henry's character, which his domestic history can alone set in a proper light. It is supposed that a blunt, rough-spoken man is incapable of deceit, a mistake which causes the toleration of a good deal of ill behaviour in society. Henry VIII., the head of the order of bluff speakers, is a noted instance of the fallacy of this rule. At the request of cardinal Wolsey, the king then proceeded in his speech to exonerate him from having prompted the divorce, and declared that "the admonitions of his confessor had first raised the doubt in his mind,¹ together with the demurs of the French ambassador regarding the legitimacy of his only child." It has been affirmed by Hall, that it was the Spanish ambassador who

¹ Dr. Draycot (the chaplain of the king's confessor, bishop Longland) affirmed to Sir Thomas More, that the bishop declared to him, that instead of his starting the point of the ille-

gality of king Henry's marriage at confession, the king was perpetually urging it to him. Longland afterwards deeply repented having listened to the king in the matter.—Burnet.

first raised this doubt; but the king's silence on this head in his speech of vindication, is sufficient proof of the falseness of this assertion.¹ The king, turning to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, added, "that on this doubt being raised, he had applied to him for licence of inquiry, which was granted, signed by all the bishops." Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who was one of the queen's counsellors, declared he had not signed it. "Here is your hand and seal," replied the king. Fisher pronounced it "a forgery"; when archbishop Warham declared Fisher had permitted it to be signed for him. This Fisher firmly denied, asking, "If he wished it to be done, why could he not have done it himself?" Weary of the dispute, the king dissolved the court. From that moment Fisher, who had been the king's tutor, and was supposed to be much beloved by him, became the object of his deadly hatred, which pursued him to the scaffold, and even beyond it.

Katharine was again summoned before the court, June 25; and on refusing to appear, was declared contumacious. An appeal to the pope, signed in every page with her own hand, was, however, given in, and read on her part. She likewise wrote to her nephew, declaring she would suffer death rather than compromise the legitimacy of her child. The perplexed legates now paused in their proceedings: they declared that courts never sat in Rome from July to October, and that they must follow the example of their head. At this delay Anne Boleyn so worked upon the feelings of her lover, that he was in an agony of impatience. He sent for Wolsey, to consult with him on the best means of bringing the queen to comply with the divorce. Wolsey remained an hour with the king, hearing him storm in all the fury of unbridled passion. At last Wolsey returned to his barge: the bishop of Carlisle, who was waiting in it at Blackfriars stairs, observed "that it was warm weather."—"Yea, my lord," said Wolsey, "and if you had been chafed as I have been, you would say it was *hot*." That night, by the time he had been in bed at Whitehall two hours, the earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father, called him up, and desired him, in the name of the king, to repair instantly to Bridewell-palace, that he might, in company with Campeggio, be ready to wait on the queen in the morning with proposals for a private accommodation. Wolsey was imprudent enough to rate the earl for his eagerness in the matter so soundly, that he knelt by the bedside, and wept bitterly all the time the cardinal was dressing himself.

Early that morning Wolsey and Campeggio came by water to Bridewell,² and requested a private interview with the queen. She was at work with her maids, and came to them, where they awaited her in her

¹ The emperor had reproached Henry with offering him his young daughter in marriage, when he knew he was meditating divorcing the mother, and declaring his child illegitimate;

it is a proof that the king's intentions were known to Charles V. before his marriage with his empress in 1525.

² Cavendish.

presence-chamber, with a skein of red silk about her neck. She thanked them for their visit, and said "she would give them a hearing, though she imagined they came on business which required much deliberation, and a brain stronger than hers. . . . You see," continued the queen, showing the silk, "my employment; in this way I pass my time with my maids, who are indeed none of the ablest counsellors; yet have I no other in England; and Spain, where there are those on whom I could rely, is, God knoweth, far off." "If it please your grace," replied Wolsey, "to go into your privy-chamber, we will show you the cause of our coming." "My lord," said the queen, "if you have anything to say, speak it openly before these folk, for I fear nothing that can be alleged against me, but I would all the world should see and hear it. Therefore speak your minds openly, I pray." Then began Wolsey to address her in Latin. "Pray, good my lord," replied the queen, "speak to me in English, for I can, thank God, speak and understand English, though I *do* know some Latin."

Then Wolsey unfolded the king's message, which was to offer her everything she could name in riches and honours, and to place the princess Mary next in order of succession to the issue by the second marriage, if she would consent to the divorce. "My lord," returned the queen, "I thank you for your goodwill, but I cannot answer you suddenly, for I was set among my maids at work, little dreaming of such a visit, and I need counsel in a matter which touches me so nearly; but as for any in England, their counsel is not for my profit. Alas! my lords, I am a poor woman, lacking wit to answer persons of wisdom as ye be, in so weighty a matter. Therefore, I pray you, be good unto me, a poor woman, destitute of counsel in a foreign land, and your advice I would be glad to hear."—"Upon this," says Cavendish, who was a witness of the scene thus far, "the queen went to her withdrawing-room with the legates, and remained there some time in earnest conversation. What passed no one knew, but accommodation of the dispute was as far off as ever." Yet it must be observed, that from this interview the queen gained over both legates to her cause; indeed they never would pronounce against her, and this was the head and front of the king's enmity to his former favourite Wolsey. That minister had assuredly encouraged the separation between the king and queen in its earlier stages, in hopes of marrying his master to the brilliant and noble-minded sister of Francis I., Margaret of Valois, duchess of Alençon. That admirable lady, when the reversion of king Henry's hand was mentioned to her, replied, "That if she had had no other objection, she knew that listening to such a proposal would break the heart of queen Katharine; therefore she would none of it."

Wolsey now found that all the pains he had taken to injure Katharine, his once-beneficent mistress and friend, was but to exalt Anne Boleyn,

his active enemy. When the legantine court resumed its sittings, the king's counsel pressed the legates to give judgment. Campeggio now took the lead and positively refused, declaring their determination to refer the matter to the pontiff. This court, from which so much had been expected by the impatient king, was then dissolved. On this, the duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, striking his hand so violently on the table that he made every one start, swore rudely that "No good had ever befallen England since cardinals came there." Wolsey retorted with spirit, "That if it had not been for one cardinal at least, the duke of Suffolk would have lost his head, and lost the opportunity of reviling cardinals at that time."

Queen Katharine was now taken from the palace of Bridewell by the king, who still remained her malcontent husband. The royal pair went on a progress together, and the bishop of Bayonne, in his letters, affirms that there was no apparent diminution of affection between the king and queen; although they were accompanied by Anne Boleyn, the queen showed no marks of jealousy or anger against her. The royal progress first tarried at the More, a royal manor in Hertfordshire, and then bent its course to Grafton, in Northamptonshire. Here Campeggio went to bid farewell to the king. Wolsey accompanied him, but was almost driven from the royal abode by the king's attendants. He had one interview with Henry—it was his last. Eustace Chapuys, otherwise Capucius, in his despatches of the autumn of 1530 to Charles V., his master, gives some intelligence respecting queen Katharine at this agonizing period. "The queen's ailment," says the ambassador,¹ "continues as bad or worse than ever. The king absents himself from her as much as possible, and is always here (at London) with the *lady* [Anne], whilst the queen is at Richmond. He has never been so long without visiting her as now, but states, in excuse, that a death from the plague has taken place near her residence. He has resumed his attempts to persuade her to become a nun; this is, however, only lost time, for the queen will never take such a step. The continual uneasiness which she endures causes her to entreat your majesty, as well in my letters as yours, that her suit be brought to a final conclusion."²

Norfolk, Thomas Boleyn, and his daughter ruled everything at court; they were working the ruin of Wolsey, whom the queen pitied, although in the earlier stages of the divorce he had been ranked among her enemies. One of the ministers of Henry VIII., then on his way to Rome, Gregory Cassal, held some secret communication with queen Katharine, and by singular means. "Sire, within the last few days," writes Capucius to Charles V., "a present of poultry has been sent to the queen by the duchess of Norfolk, and with it an orange, in which was enclosed a letter from Gregory Cassal, which I deem proper to send to your majesty.

¹ Correspondence of Charles V., edited by William Bradford.

² Ibid. Nov. 27, 1530.

The queen thinks the duchess of Norfolk sent this present of her own accord, and out of the love she bears her, but I fear it was done with the knowledge of her husband; at all events, this seems to open a way for the queen to communicate secretly." The truth was, the most furious dissensions raged between the duke of Norfolk and his wife: if he championized the king and Anne Boleyn, she was likely to take the opposite side of the question. The divorce excited the greatest interest among all sorts and conditions of persons in England. The women, from high to low, took the part of the queen;¹ while unmarried men, or those on whom the marriage-yoke sat heavily, were partisans of Henry. That Christmas the king and queen passed at Greenwich, and the usual festivities of masques and banquets took place. Henry caressed the princess Mary with more than his usual tenderness, and Katharine was treated with the respect due to the queen of England. All this was to induce her to withdraw her appeal from Rome, and submit her cause to the decision of any four prelates or secular lawyers in England. Katharine refused to authorize this proceeding; the king in sullen anger broke up all the court diversions, and retired, after Easter, to Whitehall. The queen was residing the succeeding Whitsuntide at Greenwich, when the king sent to her a deputation from his council, announcing that he had, by the advice of Dr. Cranmer, obtained the opinions of the universities of Europe concerning the divorce, and found several which considered it expedient; he therefore entreated her, for the quieting of his conscience, that she would refer the matter to the arbitration of four English prelates and four nobles. The queen received the message in her chamber, and thus replied to it: "God grant my husband a quiet conscience; but I mean to abide by no decision excepting that of Rome."² The king heard her determination with gloom and fury. He accompanied the queen to Windsor after the festival of Trinity; but on the 14th of June he left the royal castle, and sent imperious orders for her to depart from thence before his return. "Go where I may," was the reply of the forsaken queen, "I am his wife, and for him will I pray!" She immediately retired from Windsor-castle, and never again beheld her husband or child. Her first abiding-place was her manor of the More, in Hertfordshire; she then settled at Ampthill, whence she wrote to pope Clement, informing him of her expulsion from her husband's court. The report given of the acquirements, virtues, and popularity of the unfortunate Katharine by the Venetian resident, Ludovico Falier,³ to his own senate, is peculiarly interesting, and an important confutation of the statements of one or two modern writers, who have descanted on her ignorance and ugliness. "My lady, the queen, is low of stature,

¹ Hall. Speed.² Hall.³ November 10, 1531. Falier had resided at the English court from December 17th, 1528, till August 27th, 1531. He had had ample opportunity of judging of the characteristics of the queen.

inclining to corpulence, a handsome woman of great repute, and full of goodness and devotion. She speaks Spanish, Flemish, French, and English. She is beloved by these islanders far more than any queen they have had."

Katharine had hitherto been the princess Mary's principal teacher in the Latin language; she was now separated from her, but more intent on her benefit than desirous of saddening her young heart with complaints of wrongs, she wrote the following sensible letter, recommending attention to her studies under her new tutor, Dr. Featherstone:¹—

"DAUGHTER,

"I pray you think not that forgetfulness has caused me to keep Charles so long here, and answered not your good letter, in the which I perceive ye would know how I do. I am in that case, that the absence of the king and you troubleth me. My health is metely good; and I trust in God that he, who sent it me, doth it to the best, and will shortly turn all to come with good effect. And in the meantime I am very glad to hear from you, especially when they show me that ye be well amended. I pray God to continue it to his pleasure.

"As for your writing in Latin, I am glad that ye shall *change from me* to maister Federston, for that shall do you much good to learn from him to write right; but yet sometimes I would be glad, when ye do write to maister Federston of your own inditing, when he hath read it that I may see it, for it shall be a great comfort to me to see you keep your Latin, and fair writing and all. And so I pray to recommend me to my lady of Salisbury. At *Woburn*, this Friday night.

"Your loving mother,

"KATHARINE THE QWENE."

While yet resident at Amphill, Katharine wrote to her daughter another letter full of excellent advice, praying her to submit to her father's will. The wise queen justly considered, that if Mary did not exasperate her father, he would, at one time or other, acknowledge her rights as a child; and, at her tender age, her opinion on the divorce could be of no moment. At the conclusion of this letter, the queen desires to be remembered to her dear good lady of Salisbury, Mary's governess; "tell her," adds the pious Katharine, "that to the kingdom of Heaven we never come but through many troubles."² Another letter of the queen was written to Cromwell on occasion of having heard news that the princess was ill. Katharine sues thus humbly to Henry's agent for permission to see her child, saying, that "A little comfort and mirth

¹ There is reason to suppose this tutor of Mary was afterwards put to death by Henry.

² Hearne's Sylloge. The letter, like some

others written when she was sojourning at Amphill, is dated Woburn, probably when she visited the neighbouring convent.

she would take with me, would be a half-health to her. For my love let this be done." Her maternal request was cruelly refused.

At this juncture pope Clement addressed a private letter of exhortation to Henry, advising him to take home queen Katharine, and put away "one Anna," whom he kept about him. A public instrument from Rome soon followed this exordium, which confirmed the legality of Henry and Katharine's marriage, and pronounced their offspring legitimate. At first the king was staggered, and resolved to suspend his efforts to obtain the divorce. Cromwell offered his advice at that critical moment to separate the English church from the supremacy of Rome, and at the same time to enrich the king's exhausted finances by the seizure of church property. The consequences of this stupendous step fill many vast folios devoted to the mighty questions of contending creeds and differing interests—questions which must be left undiscussed here; the object of these unambitious pages is but to trace its effects on one faithful feminine heart, wrung with all the woes that pertain to a forsaken wife and bereaved mother. The death of Warham archbishop of Canterbury, in 1532, and the appointment of the king's esteemed theologian, Dr. Cranmer, in his place, gave a prospect of the conclusion of the long-agitated question of the divorce. The king resolved to cut the Gordian knot of his wedlock by a decision pronounced under his own supremacy, and married Anne Boleyn early in the following year.

Insurrections and tumults were raised in many parts of the kingdom against the king's marriage with "Nan Bullen," as she was irreverently styled by the common people. If the queen had not been the great and good woman she was, she might have given her faithless husband and triumphant rival no little uneasiness by heading a party with her daughter, especially as the court of Rome had pronounced her marriage good, and her offspring legitimate. The house of commons had declared in her favour by presenting a petition, moved by one of their members named Tems, requesting the king to take home queen Katharine.¹ The first step Cranmer took as archbishop of Canterbury was, to address a letter to the king, requesting permission to settle the question of the divorce. An archiepiscopal court was accordingly held at Dunstable, six miles from the queen's residence. Here Katharine was repeatedly cited to appear, but she carefully avoided giving the least sign of recognition that such tribunal existed. Finally, she was declared contumacious; and the sentence that her marriage was null and void, and never had been good, was read before two notaries in the Lady-chapel of Dunstable-priory.² Leave was given both to Katharine and the king to marry elsewhere if they chose. On the day after Ascension-day, May 23, 1533, this important decision was pronounced.³

Sorrow had made cruel havoc in the health of the hapless queen while

¹ Lord Herbert.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

these slow drops of bitterness were distilling. When lord Mountjoy, her former page, was deputed to inform her that she was degraded from the rank of queen of England to that of dowager-princess of Wales, she was on a sick-bed : it was some days before she could permit the interview, which is thus reported by Mountjoy : "Thursday, July 3. She commanded her chamberlain should bring into her privy-chamber as many of her servants as he could inform of her wishes : 'for,' she said, 'she thought it a long season since she saw them.' Her grace was then lying upon her pallet, because she had pricked her foot with a pin, so that she might not well stand or go, and also sore annoyed with a cough. Perceiving that many of her servants were there assembled, who might hear what should be said, she then demanded, 'Whether we had our charge to say by mouth or by writing?' We said, 'Both.' But as soon as we began to read and declare that the articles were addressed to the princess-dowager, she made exception to that name, saying, she was 'not princess-dowager, but the queen, and, withal, the king's true wife—had been crowned and anointed queen, and had by the king lawful issue ; wherefore the name of queen she would vindicate, challenge, and so call herself during her lifetime.'"¹ It was in vain that Mountjoy and his coadjutors alternately offered bribes and used threats. Katharine remained firm in her determination ; she treated all offers of augmentation to her income with queenly contempt. They proceeded to tell her, if she retained the name of queen, she would (for a vain desire and appetite for glory) provoke the king's highness, not only against her whole household, to their hindrance and undoing, but be an occasion that the king should withdraw his fatherly love from her honourable and dearest daughter, the lady princess Mary, which ought to move her if no other cause did.

This was the first time threats had been aimed at the daughter, in case the mother continued impracticable. Katharine continued unsubdued ; she answered : "As to the princess her daughter, she was the king's true child ; and as God had given her unto them, so, for her part, she would render her again to the king as his daughter, to do with her as should stand with his pleasure, trusting to God that she would prove an honest woman ; and that neither for her daughter, her servants, her possessions, or any worldly adversity, or the king's displeasure, that might ensue, would she yield in this cause to put her soul in danger ; and that they should not be feared that have power to kill the body, but He only that has power over the soul." Katharine then exerted her queenly authority by commanding the minutes of this conference to be brought to her, and drew her pen through the words "princess-dowager" wherever they occurred ; and so energetically has she scored out the obnoxious title, that the blackness of the marks are most apparent at first

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*

view, for the paper still remains in our national archives with the alterations made by her agitated hand. She demanded a copy, that she might translate it into Spanish. The implicit obedience Henry's agents paid her, even when these came to dispute her queenship, proved how completely she was versed in the science of command. Then she replied to Mountjoy, in one of those speeches showing a power of eloquence in English such as Shakespeare could not improve in the one he has quoted, and was too good a judge of what was grand and true to attempt it. And here we will say, that if Katharine of Arragon had been the ignorant woman that three authors have lately laid their heads together to assert, her gift of tongues must have been by miracle.

"I would rather," said the outraged queen, "be a poor beggar's wife, and be sure of heaven, than queen of all the world and stand in doubt thereof by my own consent. I stick not so for vain glory, but because I know myself to be the king's true wife. An' you call me the king's subject?—I was his subject while his wife. An' he call me not his wife? I trow, I came not into his realm as merchandize, to be transferred to *any* merchant, nor continue I in the same any other but as his lawful wife—not as a subject to live under his dominion otherwise. I have always demeaned myself well and truly towards the king; and if it can be proved, either in writing to the pope or any other, I have either stirred or procured anything against his grace, I am content to suffer for it. I have done England little good, and I should be sorry to do it any harm. But an' if I should agree to your persuasions I should slander myself, and confess to having been the king's harlot for twenty-four years. This cause (I cannot tell by what subtle means) has been determined here within the king's realm before a man of his own making, the bishop of Canterbury, no person indifferent [impartial] I trow, in his behalf. An' for the indifference of the place me thinketh the place would have been more indifferent had it been judged in hell, for no truth can be suffered here!"¹

The same summer, her residence was transferred to Bugden, a palace belonging to the bishop of Lincoln, near Huntingdon. Her routine of life is most interestingly described in a curious manuscript of a contemporary. It shows that the great and excellent Katharine continued to view her rival, Anne Boleyn, in the same Christian light as before, even in the last consummation of her bitterest trials, considering her as an object of deep pity rather than resentment. Most correctly did she appreciate both Henry and his giddy partner. At a time of her sorest troubles, one of her gentlewomen began to curse Anne Boleyn. The queen dried her streaming eyes, and said earnestly, "Hold your peace. Curse not—curse her not, but rather pray for her; for even now is the

¹ State Paper.

time fast coming when you shall have reason to pity her, and lament her case." And so it chanced indeed. . . . "At Bugden," pursues Harpsfield, "queen Katharine spent her solitary life in much prayer, great alms and abstinence; and when she was not in this way occupied, then was she and her gentlewomen working with their own hands something wrought in needlework, costly and artificially, which she intended, to the honour of God, to bestow on one of the churches. There was in the said house of Bugden a chamber with a window that had a prospect into the chapel, out of the which she might hear divine service. In this chamber she enclosed herself, sequestered from all other company, a great part of the night and day, and upon her knees used to pray at the same window, leaning upon the stones of the same. There were some of her gentlewomen who curiously marked all her doings, and reported that oftentimes they found the said stones, where her head had reclined, wet as though a shower had rained upon them. It was credibly thought that, in the time of her prayer, she removed the cushions that ordinarily lay in the window, and that the said stones were imbued with her tears when she prayed for strength to subdue the agonies of wronged affections."

The queen regained in some degree her cheerfulness and peace of mind at Bugden, where the country people began to love her exceedingly. They visited her frequently out of pure respect, and she received the tokens of regard they daily showed her most sweetly and graciously.¹ Her returning tranquillity was interrupted by archbishop Lee and bishop Tunstal,² who came to read to her six articles, showing why she ought to be considered only as prince Arthur's widow, and that she ought to resign the title of queen. "We admonished her, likewise," they declare in their despatch to Henry, "not to call herself your highness's *wief*; for that your highness was discharged of that marriage made with her, and had contracted new marriage with your dearest *wief* queen Anne, and forasmuch (as thanked be God) fair issue has already sprung of this marriage, and more is likely to follow by God's grace." The last remnant of Katharine's patience gave way at this tirade: in a climax of choler and agony she vowed, "she would never quit the title of queen, but retain it till death," concluding with the assertion that she *was* the king's wife and not his subject, and therefore not liable to his acts of parliament." A great historian³ most aptly remarks, "that Henry's repudiated wife was the only person who could defy him with impunity: she had lost his love, but never forfeited his esteem." The queen, in the midst of these degradations, retained some faithful friends, and had many imprudent partisans Reginald Pole, whom she loved with a mother's tenderness, had passion-

¹ Harpsfield; likewise Burnet.

² State-Paper office, dated May 21, Huntingdon. This must have been in the transactions of 1534.

³ Dr. Lingard.

ately espoused her cause long before it had occasioned the division from Rome. The ladies of Henry's court exerted their eloquence in conversation so warmly against the divorce and the exaltation of Anne Boleyn, that the king sent two of the most contumacious to the Tower. One of these (and the fact is remarkable) was lady Rochford,¹ who had been lady of the bed-chamber to Katharine, and was the wife of Anne Boleyn's brother. But the most troublesome of the queen's partisans was Elizabeth Barton, an epileptic nun, called the 'holy maid of Kent,' who mixed the subject of the divorce and Katharine's name with the dreams of her delirious somnambulism. Henry's mortal vengeance soon fell on the poor woman and several of her followers, who mistook her for a prophetess. Two of the Greenwich friars, witnesses of his marriage with Katharine, were thus got rid of. This affair, for lack of other matter, was made an excuse of accusing Sir Thomas More, who had only spoken to the epileptic to remonstrate with her and her followers on their follies.

A reign of terror now ruled the shuddering realm. Erasmus, who was the intimate friend of Henry's two most illustrious victims, bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, thus alludes to their fate and the state of their country:—"In England, death has either snatched everyone (of worth) away, or fear has shrunk them up." From the time of the executions of Fisher and More, Katharine's health became worse. She was willing to live for her daughter, and thinking the air of Bugden too damp for her constitution, she requested the king to appoint her an abiding-place nearer the metropolis.² Henry, with his usual brutality, issued his orders to Cromwell that she should be removed to Fotheringay-castle.³ This seat had been inherited from his mother, Elizabeth of York, and settled on Katharine as part of her dower. Leland records "that she did great costs in refreshing it." It was, notwithstanding all the queen's cost "in refreshing," a place notorious for its bad air, and to it Katharine positively refused to go, "unless bound with ropes." She seems to have bitterly regretted drawing the attention of the king to her removal, for he sent the duke of Suffolk to break up her household at Bugden; and in what spirit he fulfilled this commission, his letter,⁴ written to the duke of Norfolk and privy council can witness:—"Because we have written to the king's highness, we shall only advertise you that we find here the most obstinate woman that may be; insomuch that, as we think, surely there is no other remedy than to convey her by force from hence to Somersham.⁵ Concerning this, we have nothing in our instructions; we pray your good lordship that with speed we may have knowledge of the king's express pleasure, at the furthest by Sunday night [December 21], or else there

¹ Dr. Lingard.² Burnet.³ Ibid.⁴ State Papers.⁵ Somersham, says Heylin, was a palace belonging to the bishop of Ely.

shall not be time before the feast [Christmas-day] to remove her. My lord, we have had no small travail to induce the servants to take the new oath. Notwithstanding, now many of them are sworn, with promise to serve the king's highness according to his pleasure. My lord, we found things here far from the king's expectation, we assure you, as more at our return ye shall know. Tomeo was appointed to be clerk comptroller here in this house, and Wilbraham with my lady princess [Elizabeth]; we understand that your lordship hath taken Tomeo to serve my lady princess, and discharged Wilbraham, whereby this house is disappointed of that necessary officer.—Bugden, Friday, 19 of Dec."

A bull of excommunication had at last been fulminated against Henry, a measure which incited him thus to torment his wife. Previously to his second marriage she had interfered, at his request, to obviate some of the inconveniences of his struggle with the pope. Her love had interposed to avert from him a blow, which, according to her belief, was the heaviest that could fall on living man, although that blow was aimed to avenge her. "I understand to-day,"¹ writes Pole to his friend Priuli, "that if the queen, the aunt of Cæsar [the emperor Charles], had not interfered, the anathema would have already gone forth against the king." The queen's servants were very earnest in entreaties to be dismissed rather than retained in her service if they were forced to abjure their oaths to her as queen; for they could not take the second oath without perjury, neither could any inducement prevail on Katharine to say she should consider them as her dutiful servants if they called her the princess-dowager. Both her almoner and her receiver implored her to yield in this point, yet she persisted in her determination. The rest of the household refused to take the oath against her wish, and the commissioners questioned them regarding the persons who had persuaded them so earnestly that Katharine was queen. At last the servants declared that the chaplains, Abell and Barker,² two other of the Greenwich witnesses, had strengthened them in this belief. "Upon which," says the commissioners to Henry, "we called and examined these men, and found them stiffly standing in their conscience that she was the queen, and the king's lawful wife, and that no man sworn to serve her as queen might change that oath without perjury, and they acknowledged they had showed the same to as many as asked their counsel, whereupon we have committed them to the porter's ward, with liberty to speak to no one but their keeper. With some difficulty the household was made up, and the bishop of Llandaff, that old Spanish priest, Atequa, who had served Katharine before her marriage, was suffered to remain with her.

¹ Pole's Letters. The cardinal is so far from meaning to eulogize the queen for her temperate conduct, that he indulges in some

indignant remarks that a woman should thus have the power of suspending the decrees of the church.

² Harleian MS.

Sir Edmund Bedingfeld bore the nominal office of steward of her household, but was in reality the castellan who held her in custody. He wrote to the privy council at this period, giving a minute detail of the conversation that passed between him and Katharine on the subject of her household. The papers are half obliterated by fire, yet the following particulars, throwing much intelligence on her private life, are legible.¹ She desired to retain "her confessor, her physician, and her *potecary*; two men-servants, and as many women as it should please the king's grace to appoint; and that they should take no oath, but only to the king and to her, but to *none other woman*." A glance at the oath required will show the reasons of this expression. "Ye shall swear to bear faith, troth, and obedience only to the king's grace, and to the heirs of his body by his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife, queen Anne."²—"As to my physician and *potecary*," continues queen Katharine, "they be my countrymen: the king knoweth them as well as I do. They have continued many years with me, and have (I thank them) taken great pains with me; for I am oftentimes sickly, as the king's grace doth know right well. And I require their attendance for the preservation of my poor bodie, that I may live as long as it pleaseth God. They are faithful and diligent in my service, and also daily do they pray that the king's royal estate long may endure. But if they take any other oath than they have taken to the king and to me (to serve me), I shall never trust them again, for in so doing I should live continually in fear of my life with them. Wherefore I trust the king, of his high honour and goodness, and for the great love that hath been betwixt him and me (which love in me now is as faithful to him as ever it was, so take I God to record!), will not use extremity with me, my request being so reasonable."

This gentle and truly feminine supplication appears fairly reported by Sir Edmund. The Spanish physician and apothecary certainly remained in queen Katharine's household; but the confessor, Dr. Abell,³ was separated from it at this juncture. The next despatch, signed R. Sussex, gives the information that Abell had departed, and implies that he was a great loss to Katharine, because he could speak Spanish, in which language she was ever confessed, "and she will use no other for that purpose." Father Forrest, another Greenwich witness, and her former confessor, had been thrown into Newgate at an early period of the divorce, and the difficulty was now to find a confessor agreeable both to Henry and his divorced wife. "The bishop of Llandaff," continues the king's agent, "will do less harm than any other, to tarry and be her ghostly father." The reason was, that the old Spaniard was timid and quiet, and had implored Katharine to yield to expediency. "But

¹ Privy Council, Henry VIII., edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, pp. 347, 349.

² Parl. Hist.

³ He was afterwards put to a cruel death by Henry VIII.

against all humanity and reason," continues Sussex, "she still persists that she will not remove, saying, that although your grace have the power, yet *ne* may she, *ne* will she go, unless drawn with ropes." In this dilemma, the king's directions are required "what to do, if she persisteth in her obstinacy; and that she will, we surely think, for in her wilfulness she may fall sick and keep her bed, refusing to put on her clothes."¹

The queen objected to Fotheringay, on account of its malaria from the banks of the river Nene, and likewise to go to any residence belonging to the dower granted her by prince Arthur, lest she should tacitly compromise her cause. She told Thomas Vaux, one of her officers, "that she had no mind to go to Fotheringay, and that she would not go thither though all provisions were made for her; yet from the place where she was she much wished to go." Vaux was a spy, who communicated all she said to Cromwell. At last Kimbolton-castle was appointed for her, a situation she considered as particularly noxious to her health.² Indeed, the air of Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, or Bedfordshire, however wholesome it might be to those accustomed to breathe it as natives, was not likely to be salubrious to a person reared under the sunny skies of Granada. She was, however, inexorably consigned to one or other of the fen counties.

At the termination of the contest relative to her change of residence, the duke of Suffolk behaved with such personal insolence to the repudiated queen, that she left his presence abruptly; she was, nevertheless, forcibly taken to Kimbolton-castle in December, 1534. It is thus described by its present owner,³ whom we here thank for the graphic delineation:—"It was an ancient pile, built by the Mandevilles, and occupied after them by the Bohuns, Staffords, and Wingfields, with tower and gateway, and double ditch; a very strong place in a cross-country valley, guarding the road from Bedford to Huntingdon; a house buried in wood and open uplands to the east and west, each knoll of which was crowned with either abbey tower or village spire. A green, bright country, full of deer and birds, and fen water-fowl, open to the March winds, and asking of its dwellers, who would keep in health a good deal of exercise on horse or foot. The unhappy queen could neither walk or ride"—that is, she was not permitted to do either. Thus she commenced the dreary new year of 1535, with her comforts greatly diminished. Notwithstanding 5000*l.* was her nominal income as prince Arthur's widow, it was so ill paid that Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, during the lingering malady that followed her arrival at Kimbolton, wrote, more than once, that the household was utterly devoid

¹ State Papers, p. 453; this despatch is dated December 31, 1534.

² Pollino says the air was noxious on account of damp.

³ Duke of Manchester. Kimbolton Papers, lately published. 1864.

of money and in want of everything. An instance occurred, while Katharine lived at Kimbolton, which proved that her neighbours of low degree were desirous to propitiate her, though fallen from her queenly state. A poor man, ploughing near Grantham, found a huge brass pot, containing a large helmet of pure gold, set with precious stones, which he presented to queen Katharine.

The persecution Henry was carrying on against the unfortunate father Forrest, Katharine's former confessor, caused inexpressible anguish to her at Kimbolton. His satellites now denied that any marriage had taken place, excepting the betrothment in Fleet-street; and cited his very suspicious protest in the lone room at Shene-palace. The unfortunate Forrest, and Abell, were among the Observant Friars when the marriage between Henry and Katharine was solemnized, June 11, 1509. Henry dreaded their testimony. "Father John Forrest had been confessor to the queen, and for this reason was one of the first of her friends who were incarcerated. He had been thrown into hard durance, and for two years had the old man remained among felons. Queen Katharine, who considered herself the cause of his miseries, felt herself obliged to write to him, saying, 'how much the thought of his sufferings grieved her, and moved her to pity, and to send him a letter of comfort, although she dreaded lest it should be intercepted and occasion his death.' Nevertheless, he safely received it when in the prison of London called *Porta-Nuovo* (Newgate)."¹ He answered it by a letter, of which the following is an abstract:—"Your servant Thomas gave me your majesty's letter, which found me in great affliction, yet in constant hope of release by means of death from the captivity of this miserable body. Not only did your letter infinitely comfort me, but it excited in me patience and joy. Christ Jesu give you, daughter and lady of mine, above all mortal delights, which are of brief continuance, the joy of seeing his divine presence for evermore! Remember me in your most fervent oraisons; pray that I may fight the battle to which I am called and finally overcome, nor give up for the heavy pains and atrocious torments prepared for me. Would it become this white beard and these hoary locks to give way in aught that concerns the glory of God? Would it become, lady mine, an old man to be appalled with childish fear who has seen sixty-four years of life, and forty of those has worn the habit of the glorious St. Francis? Weaned from terrestrial things, what is there for me if I have not strength to aspire to those of God? But as to you, lady mine and daughter in Christ, sincerely beloved, in life and death I will continue to think of you, and pray God in his mercy to send you from heaven, according to the greatness of your sorrows, solace and consolation. Pray to God for your devoted servant, the more fervently when you hear of horrid torments prepared for me. I

¹ Pallino.

send your majesty, for consolation in your prayers, my rosary, for they tell me that of my life but three days remain." Now the whole mystery is cleared up concerning the marriage of Henry and Katharine in the friars' convent church at Greenwich; the ribaldry connected with the name of Forrest, and the exultation with which Henry's creatures mention his horrid fate is plain: he and others of his fraternity had witnessed the royal wedlock at this time denied. Abell, the queen's other confessor, was detained in as cruel confinement, and both were put to the most horrible deaths. Father Forrest was burnt alive in a manner too terrible for description; but, contrary to his own anticipations, his dreadful doom was not executed till two years after the death of the queen.

Pollino says that the signora Lisabetta Ammonia (Elizabeth Hammond), the faithful lady of the queen, wrote a letter to father Forrest, informing him of the continual tears and grief of queen Katharine on his account, ever since his sentence: "That the queen could feel no ease or comfort till she had sent to him to know whether there was aught she could do to avert his fate?" adding, "that she was herself languishing under incurable infirmity, and that the fury and rage of the king would infallibly cut short her life. It was but last Monday the king had sent some of his council to the queen's house to make search for persons or things he thought were hidden there; and his agents, with faces full of rage and angry words, had exceedingly hurried and terrified queen Katharine." Forrest sent word, "that in justification of her cause he was content to suffer all things." He wrote in a similar strain to his fellow-sufferer Abell, and to many domestics of the queen, who had excited the wrath of the king for their extreme attachment to her.

The close of this sad year left the queen on her death-bed. As she held no correspondence with the court, the king received the first intimation of her danger from Eustachio Capucius,¹ the resident Spanish ambassador. Cromwell instantly wrote to Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, stating him "because foreigners heard intelligence from the king's own castles sooner than himself." Sir Edmund excused himself by saying, "that his fidelity in executing the orders of the king rendered him no favourite with the lady-dowager, therefore she concealed everything from him."² Meantime, he sent for the queen's Spanish physician, and questioned him regarding her state of health; the answer was, "Sir, she doth continue in pain, and can take but little rest; if the sickness continueth in force, she cannot remain long."—"I am informed," proceeds Sir Edmund, "by her said doctor, that he had moved her to take some more counsel of physick: but her reply was: 'I will in no wise

¹ He is the Capucius of Shakespeare; but his despatches are signed Eustace Chapuys.

² State Papers.

have any other physician, but wholly commit myself to the pleasure of God.”

When Katharine found the welcome hand of death was on her, she sent to the king a pathetic entreaty to indulge her in a last interview with her child,¹ imploring him not to withhold Mary from receiving her last blessing. This request was disregarded.² A few days before she expired, she caused one of her maids to come to her bedside and write a farewell letter to the king, which she dictated in the following words:—

“MY LORD AND DEAR HUSBAND,

“I commend me unto you. The hour of my death draweth fast on, and, my case being such, the tender love I owe you forceth me, with a few words, to put you in remembrance of the health and safe-guard of your soul, which you ought to prefer before all worldly matters, and before the care and tendering of your own body, for the which you have cast me into many miseries and yourself into many cares. For my part I do pardon you all, yea, I do wish and devoutly pray God that He will also pardon you.

“For the rest I commend unto you Mary, our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father unto her, as I heretofore desired. I entreat you also, on behalf of my maids, to give them marriage-portions, which is not much, they being but three. For all my other servants I solicit a year’s pay more than their due, lest they should be unprovided for.

“Lastly do I vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things.”

It appears, from contemporary authority,³ that king Henry received queen Katharine’s letter some days before her death. He shed tears on perusing it, and sent to Capucius, entreating him to hasten to Kimbol-

¹ Cardinal Pole’s Works; see Lingard, vol. v. p. 236.

² The following curious incident must have happened about the same period; it shows that Henry VIII. and his acknowledged family were prayed for by his church after a preface of panegyric, likewise the extreme jealousy with which any acknowledgment of the unfortunate Katharine as queen was regarded.—State Papers, vol. i. p. 427. The bishop of Bath and Wells thought it necessary to write to Cromwell, in explanation of an unfortunate slip of the tongue made by an old canon, when praying for the royal family in his cathedral. He says, “Dr. Carsley, canon, when he came to *bidding off the beads*, after a very honourable mention made of the king’s highness, said these words: ‘That, according to our most bounden duty, we should pray for his grace, and for the lady Katharine the queen, and also by express name for the lady Elizabeth, princess, their daughter.’” Now the bishop of Bath and Wells had no inclination to undergo the doom

of Fisher and More, by a report reaching the ears of the tyrant that Katharine was prayed for as queen in his presence, and in his cathedral. He therefore “immediately showed the canon his error, and reproved him for the same. The truth was,” continued the bishop, “he was staggered a season, and would by no means allow that he had spoken a word of the lady Katharine; but at last, being assured by me and others that he had spoken it, he openly, before all the audience, acknowledged his error and fault, and seemed very sorry for it, saying, ‘I call God to witness that I thought not of the lady Katharine; I meant only queen Anne, for I know no *mo* queens but her.’ The man is reported to be a good man, but he is not much under the age of eighty. There was no one there but might well perceive that the word escaped him unawares. Notwithstanding, I thought it my duty to advertise you thereof, and by my fidelity to God, and my king, so you have the whole plain truth.”

³ Pollino, p. 132.

ton, to greet Katharine kindly from him. It has been generally supposed that the king gave leave to lady Willoughby, the friend and countrywoman¹ of his dying queen, to visit and comfort her; but there is reason to believe, from the following narrative, that this faithful lady made her way to her without Henry's sanction:—It was at nightfall, about six o'clock on New-year's day, when lady Willoughby arrived at Kimbolton-castle gate, almost perished with cold and exhausted with fatigue from her dreary journey, being much discomposed, withal, with a fall from her horse. Chamberlayne and Bedingfeld demanded of her the licence that authorised her to visit Katharine. She piteously represented her sufferings, and begged to come to the fire; her countenance was overcast with grief and dismay. She told them that, "From the tidings she had heard by the way, she never expected to see the *princess-dowager* alive;" adding, "she had plenty of letters sufficient to exonerate the king's officers, which she would show them in the morning." By her eloquence she prevailed on them to usher her into her dying friend's chamber; but when once she was safely ensconced therein, "we neither saw her again, nor beheld any of her letters," says Bedingfeld, from whose despatch of exculpation this information is derived.² Thus it is evident that she never left the chamber of death, but the stern castellans dared not remove her by violence from the bedside of the beloved friend for whose sake she had encountered so many dangers.

Eustachic Capucius, the emperor's ambassador, arrived at Kimbolton, January 2. After dinner he was introduced into the dying queen's chamber, where he staid a quarter of an hour. Bedingfeld was present at the interview, but was much disappointed that he could send no information as to what passed, for Katharine conversed with the ambassador only in Spanish. He had hopes, however, that if Mr. Vaux was present, he could make out what they said. At five o'clock the same afternoon, Katharine sent her physician for Capucius, but there was little chance of the spy Vaux learning any intelligence, since no man but the ambassador's attendant was permitted to enter the royal chamber. They staid with the queen half an hour, and paid her similar visits next day, when none but her trusty women were permitted to be present, who either knew no Spanish, or would not betray what passed if they did. Lady Willoughby, of course, spoke to her dying friend in

¹ Lady Willoughby had been one of queen Katharine's maids of honour, who accompanied her from Spain. Her name was Mary de Salines, or Salucci; she was of illustrious descent, and related, through the house of De Foix, to most of the royal families of Europe. During the prosperity of Katharine of Arragon, this lady married lord Willoughby d'Eresby, and had by him an only child,

named Katharine after the queen, who was the fourth wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and became a leading character in the religious contests of the times. Lady Willoughby was left a widow in 1527, the time when Katharine of Arragon's troubles began.—Dugdale: likewise information given us by the Rev. Mr. Hunter, Augmentation-office.

² Strype's Memorials.

the dear language of their native Castile. Katharine expired in the presence of Capucius and lady Willoughby, with the utmost calmness. In the words of Dr. Harpsfield,¹ "she changed this woful troublesome existence for the serenity of the celestial life, and her terrestrial ingrate husband for that heavenly spouse who will never divorce her, and with whom she will reign in glory for ever."

Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, the castellan in whose custody she expired, announced the demise of the sorrow-stricken queen in these words:² "January the 7th, about ten o'clock, the lady-dowager was *aneled* with the holy ointment, master Chamberlayne and I being called to the same, and before two in the afternoon she departed to God. I beseech you that the king may be advertised of the same." He added the following postscript to his despatch to Cromwell that announced her death: "Sir, the groom of the chaundry here can sere her, who shall do that feat; and further, I shall send for a plumber to close her body in lead, the which must needs shortly be done, for that may not tarry. Sir, I have no money, and I beseech your aid with all speed. Written at Kimbolton, about three o'clock, afternoon."

The will of Katharine of Arragon it is evident, from various foreign idioms, was of her own composition. It is as follows:³

"In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I Katharine, &c., supplicate and desire king Henry VIII., my good lord, that it may please him of his grace, and in alms and for the service of God, to let me have the goods which I do hold, as well in silver and gold as in other things, and also the same that is due to me in money for the time past, to the intent that I may pay my debts, and recompense my servants for the good services they have done for me. The same I desire as *affectuously* as I may, for the necessity wherein I am ready to die, and to yield my soul unto God. First, I supplicate that my body be buried in a convent of Observant Friars. *Item*, that for my soul may be said 500 masses. *Item*, that some personage go to Our Lady of Walsingham in pilgrimage; and in going, by the way to deal [distribute in alms] twenty nobles. *Item*, I appoint to *maistris* Darel 20*l.* for her marriage. *Item*, I ordain the collar of gold, which I brought out of Spain, be to my daughter. *Item*, I ordain to *maistris* Blanche 100*l.* *Item*, I ordain to Mrs. Margery and Mr. Whyller, to each of them 40*l.* *Item*, I ordain to Mrs. Mary, my physician's wife, and to Mrs. Isabel, daughter to Mr. Marguerite, to each of them 40*l.* sterling. *Item*, I ordain to my physician the year's coming wages. *Item*, I ordain to Francisco Phillippo⁴ all that I owe him; and beside that 40*l.* I ordain to master John, my apothecary, his wages for the year coming; and be-

¹ Translated by Hearne. Katharine's letter, previously quoted, is from his Latin narrative; it varies a little from the usual version.

² State Papers, i. p. 452.

³ Strype's Mem., vol. i. pp. 252, 253.

⁴ This faithful servant, who is called by Wolsey Francis Phillippus, was a Spaniard.

sides that, all that is due to him. I ordain that Mr. Whyller be paid his expenses about the making of my gown; and beside that 20*l*. I give to Philip, to Antony, and to Bastien, to every one of them 20*l*. I ordain to the *little* maidens 10*l*. to every one of them. I ordain my goldsmith to be paid his wages for the year coming; and besides that, all that is due to him. I ordain that my *lavenderer* [laundress] be paid that which is due to her, and her wages for the year coming. I ordain to Isabel de Vergas 20*l*. *Item*, to my ghostly father his wages for the year coming. *Item*. It may please the king, my good lord, to cause church-ornaments to be made of my gowns *which he holdeth*, to serve the convent *thereas* I shall be buried; and the furs of the same I give to my daughter."

Ralph Sadler, and several other underlings of the privy council, have their names prefixed, who were evidently the administrators appointed by the king. This will prove how slight were the debts of the conscientious queen, yet she felt anxiety concerning them. On her just mind, even the obligations she owed her laundress had their due weight. It furnishes, too, another instance of the pitiful meanness of Henry VIII. The sentence alluding to the disposal of her gowns "*which he holdeth*," will not be lost on female readers, and shows plainly that he had detained the best part of his wife's wardrobe; it is likewise evident that the gold collar brought from Spain was the only jewel in her possession. Will it be believed that, notwithstanding Henry shed tears over her last letter, he sent his creature, lawyer Rich, to see whether he could not seize all her property without paying her trifling legacies and obligations? The letter of Rich, dated from Kimbolton, January 19, is extant: it is a notable specimen of legal chicanery. "To seize her grace's goods as your own," he says, "would be repugnant to your majesty's own laws; and I think, with your grace's favour, it would rather enforce *blind opinion* while she lived than otherwise;" namely, that she was the king's lawful wife. He then puts the king into an underhand way of possessing himself of poor Katharine's slender spoils, by advising him "to administer by means of the bishop of Lincoln for her as *princess-dowager*, and then to confiscate all as insufficient to defray her funeral charges!" Whether the debtors and legatees of the broken-hearted queen were ever satisfied is a doubtful point; but, from a contemporary letter of a privy councillor, it seems that one of her three faithful ladies, Mrs. Elizabeth Darell (the daughter of an ancient line still extant in Kent) was paid her legacy. The other ladies, Blanche and Isabel de Vergas, were from Spain—a fact Shakespeare has not forgotten. The name of Patience, remembered in his scene as Katharine's sweet songstress, does not occur; perhaps she was reckoned among the *little* maidens, who are likewise the legatees of their unfortunate patroness.

The property Katharine could claim for the liquidation of her debts and obligations to her faithful servants, was, even by Henry's own arbitrary decisions, considerable, as the arrears of the 5,000*l.* per annum due from her jointure as Arthur's widow. This stipend, had not been paid her. A scanty maintenance was (as may be seen by the foregoing despatches from Bedingsfeld) all that Katharine received from her faithless spouse; and when the noble portion she had brought into England is remembered, such dishonesty appears the more intolerable. Even a new gown, it will be observed by the will, was obtained upon trust. It appears likely that Katharine possessed no more of her jewels than were on her person when she was expelled from Windsor-castle by the fiat of her brutal lord. The particulars of Katharine's funeral are chiefly to be gathered from a letter sent by Henry VIII. to Grace lady Bedingsfeld, wife to Sir Edmund:—

“HENRY REX,

“*To our right dear and well-beloved Lady Bedingsfeld,*

“Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy out of this transitory life the right excellent princess, our dearest sister, the lady Katharine, relict of our natural brother prince Arthur, of famous memory, deceased, and that we intend to have her body interred according to her honour and estate; at the interment whereof (and for other ceremonies to be done at her funeral, and in conveyance of her corpse from Kimbolton, where it now lieth, to Peterborough, where the same is to be buried) it is requisite to have the presence of a good many ladies of honour. You shall understand, that we have appointed you to be there one of the principal mourners; and therefore desire you to be in readiness at Kimbolton on the 25th of this month, and so to attend on the said corpse till the same shall be buried. Letting you further *wit*, that for the mourning apparel of your own person we send you by this bearer [a certain number of] yards of black cloth, and black cloth for two gentlewomen to wait upon you, and for two gentlewomen and for eight yeomen; all which apparel you must cause in the meantime to be made up, as shall appertain. And concerning the habiliment of linen for your head and face, we shall before the day limited send the same to you accordingly. Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, January 10.

“P.S.—For saving of time, if this order is shown to Sir William Poulett (living at the Friars-Augustine's, London), comptroller of our household, the cloth and linen for the head¹ shall be delivered.”

A circular, nearly to the same effect, summoned the principal gentry in the neighbourhood of Kimbolton-castle to attend the body of the king's dearest sister (as he chose to call his repudiated queen) from Kim-

¹ Paper belonging to Sir Henry Bedingsfeld, bart. of Oxborough-hall, Norfolk.

bolton-castle to Peterborough-abbey, on the 26th of January. Thus it is plain, that the king did not comply with her last request regarding her place of burial. A local tradition declares that her funeral approached Peterborough by an ancient way from Kimbolton, called Bygrame's-lane, a weary length of procession over thirty long muddy miles. The last abbot of Peterborough, John Chambers, performed her obsequies. The place of burial was in the church, between two pillars in the entrance of the transept, on the north side of the choir, near the great altar. From the Italian contemporary historian we translate this passage :—"At Greenwich, king Henry observed the day of Katharine's burial with solemn obsequies,¹ all his servants and himself attending them dressed in mourning. He commanded his whole court to do the same. Queen Anne Boleyn would not obey ; but, in sign of gladness, dressed herself and all the ladies of her household in yellow, and, amidst them all, exulted for the death of her rival. 'I am grieved,' she said, 'not that she is dead, but for the vaunting of the good end she made.' She had reason to say this, for nothing was talked of but the Christian death-bed of Katharine ; and numberless books and papers were written in her praise, blaming king Henry's actions, and all the world celebrated the obsequies of queen Katharine."²

A short time after queen Katharine's interment, some friends of hers ventured the suggestion to king Henry, "that it would well become his greatness to rear a stately monument to her memory." He answered, that "He would have to her memory one of the goodliest monuments in Christendom." This was the beautiful abbey-church of Peterborough, which he spared, on account of its being her resting-place, from the general destruction that soon after overwhelmed all monasteries. Thus the whole of that magnificent structure may be considered the monument of Katharine of Arragon, although the actual place of her repose was never distinguished excepting by a brass plate.³ It will be shown, in the course of these biographies, that her daughter Mary intended that her beloved mother should share her tomb. A hearse covered with a black velvet pall, on which was wrought a large cross of cloth of silver, and embossed with silver scutcheons of Spain, stood over her grave for several years. At first it was surrounded with tapers, as may be proved by the following curious piece of intelligence sent to Cromwell by John de Ponti, one of his agents, who wrote to him "that the day before the lady Anne Boleyn was beheaded, the tapers that stood about queen Katharine's sepulchre kindled of themselves ; and after matins were done to *Deo gratias*, the said tapers quenched of themselves ; and that the king had sent thirty men to the abbey where queen Katharine was buried,

¹ It must always be remember that *obsequies*, though the word is often used by modern poets as synonymous to funeral rites, was really a service meant to benefit the soul of the deceased, often performed by dear friends at distant places.

² Pollino, p. 129.

³ The spot of her interment was long pointed out by the centegenarian sexton, old Scarlett, who buried her, and lived long enough to inter another royal victim, Mary queen of Scots, in the same cathedral.

and it was true of this light continuing from day to day.”¹ Whoever performed this trick was never discovered, neither was the person who abstracted the rich pall that covered the queen’s hearse and substituted a mean one, which likewise vanished in the civil wars of the seventeenth century, 1643. The old verger at Peterborough-cathedral, when he pointed out the small brass plate which briefly certifies the place where the mortal remains of Katharine of Arragon repose, said, in 1847, “that his father, who preceded him in his office, saw the coffin of that unfortunate queen when it was exhumed, about seventy years ago, during the repairs of that part of the church. It was very strongly fastened, and no one attempted to open it, as it was considered a sacrilegious act, at that time, to disturb the ashes of the dead for the sake of unveiling the secrets of the grave. His father, however, being somewhat of an antiquary, desirous of making what discoveries he could, bored a hole with a gimlet, and introduced a long wire into the coffin, with which he drew out a fragment of black and silver brocade, whereby he ascertained the material of her funeral robes. The black and silver stuff was damp, and mouldered away when exposed to the air, but afforded, by its aroma, satisfactory evidence that the royal remains had undergone the process of embalming.” The chamber, hung with tapestry, in which Katharine of Arragon expired, is to this day shown at Kimbolton-castle: the tapestry covers a little door leading to a closet still called by her name. One of her travelling portmanteaus has remained at Kimbolton ever since her sad removal from Bugden. It is covered with scarlet velvet, and the queen’s initials, **K R**, with the regal crown, are conspicuous on the lid; there are two drawers beneath the trunk. Its preservation may be attributed to its having been used as the depository of the robes of the earls and dukes of Manchester.² And the present ducal lord of the castle³ claims the ghost of the sorrowing queen as his inmate, which, with true poetic feeling, he wishes not to expel. Here are his words:—“Her arrival at Kimbolton-castle, her secluded habits while living there, the departure of her funeral *cortége* for Peterborough, have not yet faded from the peasant mind. The spirit of that tender and solemn scene in ‘Henry VIII.’ may be said to lie upon their hearts in the wintry evenings, when they whisper to each other how the unhappy lady glides in the dusk of twilight through the rooms of Kimbolton, pauses on the stairs, or kneels in the chapel, a beautiful and mournful figure in flowing white, and wearing a regal crown. No light of science, no hiss of sarcasm will disturb in their simple minds that faith; they have always heard of it, some of them have seen it.” A monument was raised to the memory of Katharine so lately as the end of the last century. “I have

¹ Gunton’s Hist. of Peterborough.

² Kimbolton-castle has been the principal residence of the earls and dukes of Manchester since the time of James I.

³ Kimbolton Papers. Published by the duke of Manchester, 1864.

lately been at lord Ossory's, at Ampthill," wrote Horace Walpole¹ to the antiquary Cole, "You know Katharine of Arragon lived some time there: nothing remains of the castle, nor any marks of residence but a small bit of her garden. I proposed to lord Ossory to erect a cross to her memory, and he will." The cross was raised by lord Ossory: it cost him 100*l*. The following lines were engraved on it from the pen of Horace Walpole:—

"In days of old, here Ampthill's towers were seen,
The mournful refuge of an injured queen;
Here flowed her pure but unavailing tears,
Here blinded zeal sustained her sinking years;
Yet freedom hence her radiant banners waved,
And Love avenged a realm by priests enslaved;
From Katharine's wrongs a nation's bliss was spread,
And Luther's light from Henry's lawless bed."

The grand abilities of Katharine of Arragon, her unstained integrity of word and action, united with intrepid firmness, commanded even from her enemies that deep respect, which her sweetness, benevolence, and other saintly virtues would not have obtained, unsupported by these high queenly qualities. Sustained by her own innate grandeur of soul, her piety, and lofty rectitude, she passed through all her bitter trials without calumny succeeding in fixing a spot on her name. Among many eulogists, one mighty genius, who was nearly her contemporary, has done her the noblest justice. In fact, Shakespeare alone has properly appreciated and vividly portrayed the great talents, as well as the moral worth, of the right royal Katharine of Arragon.

¹ He was then lord Orford: the letter is dated June 22, 1772.—Cole's MSS. Brit. Museum.

ANNE BOLEYN,

SECOND QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

THERE is no name in the annals of female royalty over which the enchantments of poetry and romance have cast such bewildering spells as that of Anne Boleyn. Her wit, her beauty, and the striking vicissitudes of her fate, combined with the peculiar mobility of her character, have invested her with an interest not commonly excited by a woman, in whom vanity and ambition were the leading traits. Tacitus said of the empress Poppea, "that with her, love was not an affair of the heart, but a matter of diplomacy;" and this observation appears no less applicable to Anne Boleyn, affording, withal, a convincing reason that she never incurred the crimes for which she was brought to the block. Unfortunately for the cause of truth, the eventful tragedy of her life has been so differently recorded by the chroniclers of the two great contending parties in whose religious and political struggle she was involved that it is sometimes difficult to maintain the balance faithfully between the contradictory statements of champion and accuser. Prejudice, on the one hand, has converted her faults into virtues; and, on the other, transformed even her charms into deformity, and described her as a monster, both in mind and person. It would be well for the memory of the lovely Boleyn, if all the other detractions of her foes could be disproved by evidence as incontrovertible as that which Hans Holbein's faithful pencil has left in vindication of her beauty. Her character has, for the last three centuries, occupied a doubtful, and therefore a debatable point in history; and philosophic readers will do well, in perusing her memorials, to confine their attention to those characteristics in which both her panegyrists and accusers agree, without allowing their opinions to be biassed by the unsupported assertions of either.

The family of Boleyn, Bullen, or, as it was anciently spelt, Boulén, was of French origin, and appears to have been first settled in Norfolk. Thomas Boleyn of Salle, in Norfolk, the patriarch of Anne Boleyn's line, was a younger brother of the estatesman of the family; he married Anna, the daughter of Sir John Bracton, and bound their eldest son, Geoffrey Boleyn, 'prentice to a mercer. He was probably a thriving

London trader himself, for he died in that city, 1411, and was buried in the church of St. Laurence Pountney. Geoffrey became very prosperous, and may certainly be regarded as one of the most distinguished citizens of London. He married Anna, daughter of the lord of Hoo and Hastings. He was master of the Mercers' company in 1424, and was sheriff of London during the stormy and difficult times of the wars of the roses, and not unfrequently exchanged the mercer's yard for the sword, to preserve the city from the outrages of the two factions. He was lord mayor in the year 1457, and by his wisdom, courage, and unremitting exertions, maintained tranquillity in his jurisdiction during the memorable congress between the hostile partisans of York and Lancaster for the accommodation of their differences. He died in 1471, and left the magnificent sum of 1000*l.* to poor householders of London.¹ He established his family on the sure foundation of landed property, purchasing Blickling-hall and manor, in Norfolk, from Sir John Falstolf, and the manor and castle of Hever, from the Cobhams of Kent. After the death of this good and great citizen, his son, Sir William Boleyn, eschewed the city and became a courtier; he was made knight of the Bath at Richard III.'s coronation. Thomas, the father of Anne Boleyn, distinguished himself in the reign of Henry VII. as a brave leader against the Cornish insurgents. He was the son of Sir William Boleyn, of Blickling, Norfolk, by Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Butler, last earl of Ormond, which ancient title was revived in the person of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who was, by maternal descent, the representative of one of the most illustrious of the Norman noblesse. Sir Thomas Boleyn obtained for his wife lady Elizabeth Howard, the daughter of the renowned earl of Surrey, afterwards duke of Norfolk, by his first wife, Margaret Tylney. Sir Thomas Boleyn was brought into close connection with royalty, through the marriage of his wife's brother, lord Thomas Howard, with the lady Anne Plantagenet, sister to Henry VII.'s queen. He was appointed knight of the body, at the commencement of Henry VIII.'s reign, and advanced to many other preferments. Lady Boleyn was one of the reigning beauties of the court of Katharine of Arragon, and took a leading part in all the masques and royal pageantry which marked the smiling commencement of the reign of Henry VIII. It was not till long after the grave had closed over lady Boleyn, that the malignant spirit of party attempted to fling an absurd scandal on her memory, by pretending that Anne Boleyn was the offspring of her amours with the king during the absence of Sir Thomas Boleyn on an embassy to France.² But, independently of the fact that Sir Thomas Boleyn was not ambassador to France till many years after the birth of all his children, Henry VIII. was very young under the care of his tutors at the period of Anne's birth, even

¹ Stowe's Annals.² Brookes' Succession.

if that event took place in the year 1507, the date given by Camden. Lord Herbert, however, says expressly, that Anne Boleyn was twenty years old when she returned from France in 1521, so that she must have been born about 1501. She was the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn and the lady Elizabeth.

Hever-castle in Kent, Rochford-hall in Essex, and Blickling-hall in Norfolk, have each been named by historians and topographers as the birth-place of Anne Boleyn. The evidences are strongly in favour of Blickling-hall: the local tradition that Anne Boleyn was born there is so general, that it pervades all classes in that neighbourhood, even to the peasantry. This is confirmed by Blomfield, the accurate historian of that county; ¹ Sir Henry Spelman, also, in his *Icena*, says:—"To Blickling was decreed the honour of Anne Boleyn's birth." As Sir Henry Spelman was a Norfolk man, and the contemporary of queen Elizabeth, we think his testimony, borne out as it is by the opinion of the late noble owner of the domain, ² is conclusive. No fairer spot than Blickling is to be seen in the county of Norfolk. Those magnificent arcaded avenues of stately oaks and giant chestnut-trees, whose majestic vistas stretch across the velvet verdure of the widely extended park, reminding us as we walk beneath their solemn shades, of green cathedral aisles, were in their meridian glory three hundred and sixty-three years ago, when Anne Boleyn first saw the light in the adjacent mansion. The room where she was born was shown, till that portion of the venerable abode of the Boleyns was demolished to make way for modern improvements. Some relics of the ancient edifice have been evidently united to the new building, and the servants were formerly in fear of a domestic spectre, whom they called 'old Bullen.' One room, called 'old Bullen's study,' was shut up, on account of the supernatural terrors of the household. There are statues of Anne Boleyn and queen Elizabeth on the staircase, of wainscote, painted white.

The first years of Anne Boleyn's life were spent at Blickling, with her sister Mary and her brother George, afterwards the unfortunate viscount Rochford. Thomas Wyatt, the celebrated poet, was in all probability her playfellow, for his father Sir Henry Wyatt was her father's coadjutor in the government of Norwich-castle, and when the Boleyns removed to Hever-castle, in Kent, the Wyatts were still their neighbours, residing at Allington in the same county. The first misfortune that befel Anne was the loss of her mother, lady Boleyn, who died in the year 1512, of puerperal fever. ³ She was interred in the splendid chapel and mausoleum of her own illustrious kindred, the Howards, at Lambeth. Sir Thomas Boleyn married again; at what period of his life we have no record, but it is certain that Anne's step-mother was a Norfolk woman of humble

¹ Blomfield's *Norfolk*, vol. iii., 2nd edition.

² The earl of Buckinghamshire's letters: "Anne Boleyn was born here."

³ Howard Memorials, by Mr. Howard of Corby.

origin, and it has been observed that queen Elizabeth was connected, in consequence of this second marriage of her grandfather, with numerous families in Norfolk, of a mean station in that county.¹ If there was any truth in the scandalous tales touching the intimacy between Henry VIII. and the lady Boleyn, the second wife of Sir Thomas, not the mother of Anne, must have been the person indicated.

After the death of lady Boleyn, Anne resided at Hever-castle, under the superintendence of a French governess called Simonette, and other instructors, by whom she was very carefully educated, and acquired an early proficiency in music, needlework, and other accomplishments. While her father was at court, or elsewhere, Anne constantly corresponded with him. Her letters were fairly written by her own hand, both in her own language and in French. These acquirements, which were rare indeed among ladies in the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign, rendered Anne a desirable *suivante* to the princess Mary Tudor, king Henry's youngest sister, when she was affianced to Louis XII. of France, in September, 1514. This also makes it certain that Anne was at least double the age stated by her biographers, for it is neither likely that a child of seven years old would have acquired the knowledge which Anne possessed at that time, or that an appointment would have been sought, much less obtained, for her in the suite of the departing princess. Certainly, both nurse and governess would have been required for a maid of honour of that tender age. The letter written by Anne to her father in French, on the joyful news that she was to come to court to receive the honour of presentation to queen Katharine, expresses the feelings of a lady of seventeen on the contemplation of such an event, not those of a little child :—

"SIR,

"I find by your letter, that you wish me to appear at court in a manner becoming a respectable female; and likewise that the queen will condescend to enter into conversation with me. At this I rejoice, as I do think that conversing with so sensible and elegant a princess will make me even more desirous of continuing to speak and to write good French; the more as it is by your earnest advice, which (I acquaint you by this present writing) I shall follow to the best of my ability. Sir, I entreat you to excuse me if this letter is badly written. I can assure you the spelling proceeds entirely from my own head, while the other letters were the work of my hands alone; and Semmonet tells me she has left the letter to be composed by myself, that nobody else may know what I am writing to you. I therefore pray you not to suffer your superior knowledge to conquer the inclination which (you say) you have to advance me. As to myself, rest assured that I shall not ungratefully look upon this fatherly office as one that might be dispensed with; nor will it tend to diminish the affection you are in quest of, resolved as I am to lead as holy a life as you may please to desire of me; indeed my love for you is founded on so firm a basis, that it can never be impaired. I put an end to this my lucubration, after having very humbly craved your goodwill and affection. Written at Hever, by

"Your very humble and obedient daughter,

"ANNA DE BOULLAN."²

¹ Thoms' Traditions; Camden Society.

² The above translation of the original French letter, preserved among archbishop Parker's MSS., Coll. Corp. Christi, Cantabr.,

is from the invaluable collection of royal letters edited by Sir Henry Ellis; second series, vol. ii.

Anne Boleyn is named in the list of the English retinue of Mary queen of France, as her fourth maid of honour. Her coadjutors in this office were the grand-daughters of Elizabeth Woodville, the ladies Anne Gray and Elizabeth Gray, sisters to the marquis of Dorset, and cousins to king Henry. The other was the youngest daughter of lord Dacre. Four was the smallest number of maids of honour that could have been appointed for a queen of France, and assuredly a child of seven years old would scarcely have been included among them, especially at a time when the etiquettes of royalty were so much more rigidly observed than at present. There can be no doubt that mademoiselle de Boleyn, as she is called in that catalogue, was of full age to take a part in all the pageantry and processions connected with the royal bridal, and to perform the duties pertaining to her office, which could not have been the case had she been under fourteen years of age.

The fair young Boleyn, as one of the maids of honour to the princess Mary, had, of course, a place assigned to her near the person of the royal bride at the grand ceremonial of the espousal of that princess to Louis XII. of France, which was solemnized August 13, 1514, in the church of the Grey Friars, Greenwich. In September, Anne attended her new mistress to Dover, who was accompanied by the king and queen, and all the court. At Dover they tarried a whole month on account of the tempestuous winds, which did great damage on that coast, causing the wrecks of several gallant ships, with awful loss of lives. It was not till the 2nd of October that the weather was sufficiently calm to admit of the passage of the royal bride.¹ Long before the dawn of that day, Anne and the rest of the noble attendants, who were all lodged in Dover-castle, were roused up to embark with their royal mistress. King Henry conducted his best-loved sister to the sea-side, kissed her, and committed her to the care of God, the fortune of the sea, and the governance of the French king, her husband.² She and her retinue went on board at four o'clock in the morning. Anne Boleyn, though bidding adieu to her native land, was encouraged by the presence of her father Sir Thomas Boleyn, her grandfather the duke of Norfolk, and her uncle the earl of Surrey, who were associated in the honour of delivering the princess to the king of France. Great perils were encountered on the voyage, for a tempestuous hurricane presently arose and scattered the fleet. The ship in which Anne sailed with her royal mistress was separated from the convoy, and in imminent danger for some hours; and when at last she made the harbour of Boulogne, the master drove her aground in the mouth of the haven. Fortunately the boats were in readiness, and the terrified ladies were safely conveyed to the shore. Wet and exhausted as the fair voyagers were, they were compelled to rally their spirits the instant they landed, in

¹ Hall.² *Ibid.*

order to receive, with the best grace their forlorn condition would permit, the compliments of a distinguished company of French princes, prelates, nobles, knights, and gentlemen, who were waiting on the strand to offer their homage to their beautiful young queen.

The fair travellers were conducted with solemn pomp to the town of Boulogne, where they obtained needful rest and refreshment, with the liberty of changing their wet garments. Anne proceeded with her royal mistress and the rest of the train, by easy journeys, till within four miles of Abbeville, when the bride and all her ladies, clad in glittering robes, mounted white palfreys, forming an equestrian procession of seven-and-thirty. Queen Mary's palfrey was trapped with cloth of gold: her ladies were dressed in crimson velvet, a costume peculiarly becoming to the sparkling black eyes and warm brunette complexion of the youthful maid of honour. A series of splendid pageants graced the public entrance of queen Mary and her ladies into Abbeville. On the following Monday, being St. Denis's-day, Anne Boleyn was an assistant at the nuptials of her royal mistress with the king of France, which were solemnized with great pomp in the church of Abbeville. After the mass was done, there was a sumptuous banquet, at which the queen's English ladies were feasted, and received especial marks of respect. But the next day, October 10, the scene changed, and, to the consternation and sorrow of the young queen, and the lively indignation of her followers, all her attendants, male and female, were dismissed by the king her husband, and ordered to return home. Anne Boleyn and two other ladies were the only exceptions to this sweeping sentence.¹ She therefore witnessed all the pageants that were given in honour of the royal nuptials, and took a part in the fêtes. Her skill in the French language was doubtless the reason of her detention, and in this she must have been very serviceable to her royal mistress, who, but for her company, would have been left a forlorn stranger in her own court. It has been stated by a French biographer, from the authority of records of contemporary date, that when Sir Thomas Boleyn returned to England, he placed his daughter, whose education he did not consider complete, in a seminary, probably a convent, in the village of Brie, a few miles from Paris, under the especial care of his friend and kinsman Du Moulin, lord of Brie and Fontenaye.²

Whether Anne remained with her royal mistress till the death of Louis XII., or the previous jealousy of the French court against Mary's English attendants extended to her young maid of honour and caused her removal to Brie, cannot be ascertained. It is, however, certain that

¹ Lingard. Benger. Thompson. Herbert.

² The abbé Libouf, who mentions this circumstance, considers that the French progenitor of the Boleyns formerly emanated from this very village, as Brockart, in his life

of Du Moulin, proves, by an ancient document which he quotes, that Gualtier de Boleyn, the ancestor of Anne, was a vassal kinsman to the lord of Brie in 1344.

she did not return to England with queen Mary, but entered the service of the consort of Francis I., queen Claude, the daughter of the deceased king Louis XII. This princess, who was a truly amiable and excellent woman, endeavoured to revive all the moral restraints and correct demeanour of the court of her mother, Anne of Bretagne. Queen Claude was always surrounded by a number of young ladies, who walked in procession with her to mass, and formed part of her state whenever she appeared in public. In private she directed their labours at the loom or embroidery-frame, and endeavoured, by every means in her power, to give a virtuous and devotional bias to their thoughts and conversation. The society of gentlemen was prohibited to these maidens.¹ How the rules and regulations prescribed by this sober-minded queen suited the lively genius of her volatile English maid of honour, we leave our readers to judge after they have perused the following description, of the personal characteristics of the fair Boleyn:—"She possessed a great talent for poetry, and when she sung, like a second Orpheus, she would have made bears and wolves attentive. She likewise danced the English dances, leaping and jumping with infinite grace and agility. Moreover, she invented many new figures and steps, which are yet known by her name, or by those of the gallant partners with whom she danced them. She was well skilled in all games fashionable at courts. Besides singing like a syren, accompanying herself on the lute, she harped better than king David, and handled cleverly both *flute* and *rebec*. She dressed with marvellous taste, and devised new modes, which were followed by the fairest ladies of the French court; but none wore them with her gracefulness, in which she rivalled Venus." Our modern taste could dispense with her skill on the flute and fiddle, and also with her agile leaps and jumps in the dance, but every age varies in its appreciation of accomplishments. Like musical talent, poetical genius is often manifested in persons of the same descent. Anne Boleyn was cousin-german to the first English poet of her day, the celebrated earl of Surrey, and her brother, George Boleyn, was a lyrist of no little fame in the gallant court of Henry VIII.

The French chroniclers have preserved a description of the costume Anne Boleyn wore at the court of Francis I. She had a bourrelet or cape of blue velvet, trimmed with points; at the end of each hung a little bell of gold. She wore a vest of blue velvet starred with silver, and a surcoat of watered silk lined with miniver, with large hanging sleeves, which hid her hands from the curiosity of the courtiers; her little feet were covered with blue velvet brodequins, the insteps were each adorned with a diamond star. On her head she wore a golden-coloured aureole of some kind of plaited gauze, and her hair fell in ringlets. This is not the attire in which her portraits are familiar to

¹ Brantome

the English, but it was the dress of her youth. If we may believe Sanders, Blackwood, and, indeed, many of the French historians, Anne Boleyn did not pass through the ordeal of the gay court of Francis I. without scandal. Francis himself has been particularly named in connection with these reports, but as nothing like proof has been stated in confirmation of such aspersions, she was probably innocent of anything beyond levity of manner. Even in the present age it may be observed, that ladies who aim at becoming leaders of the *beau monde*, not unfrequently acquire that species of undesirable notoriety which causes them to be regarded as *blasé*. It is possible that Anne Boleyn might be so considered by the more sedate ladies in the service of queen Claude.

Anne Boleyn is not mentioned as one of the company at the "field of the cloth of gold," yet it is almost certain that she was present in the train of her royal mistress, queen Claude. Her father, her step-mother, her uncle Sir Edward Boleyn and his wife, and all her noble kindred of the Howard line were there, so that we may reasonably conclude that she graced that splendid *réunion* of all that was gay, gallant and beautiful in the assembled courts of France and England.

At what period Anne Boleyn exchanged the service of the good queen Claude for the more lively household of that royal *belle esprit*, Margaret duchess of Alençon, and afterwards queen of Navarre, the sister of Francis I., is not exactly known. Her return to England, according to the most authentic accounts, took place in the year 1522. Some historians of modern date have supposed that she remained in France till 1527, but this is decidedly an error, as we shall very soon prove from incontrovertible evidence.¹ Lord Herbert, who gives the first date, assures us that he has examined very carefully many manuscripts and records, both French and English, on this subject, and, as he takes a very favourable view of Anne Boleyn's character, there is no reason why he should have misrepresented a point of some consequence in her life. We give the noble historian's sketch of Anne at this period, transcribed, as he tells us, from the then unpublished manuscripts of George Cavendish, gentleman-usher to Cardinal Wolsey:—"This gentlewoman, being descended on the father's side from one of the heirs of the earl of Ormond, and on the mother's from the house of Norfolk, was from her childhood of that singular beauty and towardness, that her parents took all possible care for her good education. Therefore, besides all the usual branches of virtuous instruction, they gave her teachers in playing on musical instruments, singing and dancing, insomuch that, when she composed her hands to play and her voice to sing, it was joined with that sweetness of countenance that three harmonies concurred; likewise when she danced, her rare proportions varied them-

¹ From Du Tillet, Fiddes, Herbert, State Papers, Lingard, Duplex, Tindal's notes on Rapin.

selves into all the graces that belong either to rest or motion. Briefly, it seems that the most attractive perfections were evident in her. Yet did not our king love her at first sight, nor before she had lived some time in France, whither, in the train of the queen of France, and in company of a sister of the marquis of Dorset, she went A.D. 1514. After the death of Louis XII. she did not return with the dowager, but was received into a place of much honour with the other queen, and then with the duchess of Alençon, with whom she remained till some difference grew betwixt our king and Francis; therefore, as saith Du Tillet, and our records, ‘about the time when our students at Paris were remanded, she likewise left Paris, her parents not thinking fit for her to stay any longer.’”¹ In confirmation of this statement, Fiddes also informs us that Francis I. complained to the English ambassador, “that the English scholars and the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn had returned home.”² The real cause for Anne’s return to England in that year, was the dispute between Sir Thomas Boleyn and the male heirs of the Butlers for the inheritance of the last earl of Wiltshire, Anne’s great-grandfather, which had proceeded to such a height, that the earl of Surrey suggested to the king that the best way of composing their differences would be by a matrimonial alliance between a daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn and the heir of his opponent, Sir Piers Butler.³ Henry agreed, and directed Wolsey to bring about the marriage. Mary Boleyn had been married to William Carey nine months before Wolsey received this interesting commission in November, 1521; therefore Anne was recalled from France for the purpose of being made the bond of peace between her father and their rival kinsman, Piers the Red.⁴

With so many graces of person and manners as were possessed by Anne Boleyn, it is remarkable that she had not previously disposed of both hand and heart to some noble cavalier in the gay and gallant court of France; but she appears to have been free from every sort of engagement when she returned to England. She was then, lord Herbert tells us, about twenty years of age, but according to the French historians, Rastal, a contemporary, and Leti (who all affirm that she was fifteen when she entered the service of Mary Tudor queen of France), she must have been two years older. The first time Henry saw her after her return to England was in her father’s garden at Hever, where he encountered her by accident, and, admiring her beauty and graceful demeanour, he entered into conversation with her, and was so much charmed with her sprightly wit, that on his return to Westminster he told Wolsey, “that he had been discoursing with a young lady who had the wit of an angel and was worthy of a crown.”—“It is sufficient if your

¹ Lord Herbert’s *Henry VIII*; in White Kennet, vol. ii. fol. 122.

² Fiddes’ *Wolsey*, 268.

³ *State Papers*, published by Government ii. 57.

⁴ Lingard’s *England*, vol. vi. p. 172.

majesty finds her worthy of your love," was the shrewd rejoinder. Henry said "that he feared she would never condescend in that way."—"Great princes," observed Wolsey, "if they choose to play the lover, have that in their power which would mollify a heart of steel." Letiavers "that Wolsey, having a desire to get all the powers of state into his own hands, would have been glad to see the king engrossed in the intoxication of a love affair, and that he was the first person who suggested Anne Boleyn's appointment as maid of honour to the queen."

"There was at this time presented to the eye of the court," says the poet Wyatt, "the rare and admirable beauty of the fresh and young lady Anne Boleyn, to be attending upon the queen. In this noble *imp* the graces of nature, adorned by gracious education, seemed even at the first to have promised bliss unto her in after times. She was taken at that time to have a beauty, not so *whitely*, clear, and fresh, but above all we may esteem, which appeared much more excellent by her favour, passing sweet and cheerful, and was enhanced by her noble presence of shape and fashion, representing both mildness and majesty more than can be expressed." Wyatt is rapturous in his commendations of her musical skill and the exquisite sweetness of her voice, both in singing and in speaking. In the true spirit of a lover, the courtly poet, when he mentions the malformation of ~~the~~ little finger of her left hand, on which there was a double nail, with something like an indication of a sixth finger, says, "but that which in others might be regarded as a defect, was to her an occasion of additional grace by the skilful manner in which she concealed it from observation." On this account Anne always wore the hanging sleeves, mentioned as her peculiar fashion when in France. This mode, which was introduced by her into the court of Katharine of Arragon, was eagerly copied by the other ladies. Her taste and skill in dress are mentioned even by Sanders, who tells us, "she was unrivalled in the gracefulness of her attire, and the fertility of her invention in devising new patterns, which were imitated by all the court belles, by whom she was regarded as the glass of fashion." The same author gives us the following description of her person from a contemporary,¹ not quite so enthusiastic in his ideas of her personal charms as her admirer, the poetical Wyatt: "Anne Boleyn was in stature rather tall and slender, with an oval face, black hair, and a complexion inclining to sallow: one of her upper teeth projected a little. She appeared at times to suffer from asthma. On her left hand a sixth finger might be perceived; on her throat there was a protuberance," described by others as a disagreeably large mole, resembling a strawberry; this she carefully covered with an ornamental collar-band, a fashion which was blindly imitated by the rest of the maids of honour, though they had never before thought of wearing anything of the kind.

¹ Cardinal Pole

"Her face and figure were in other respects symmetrical," observes Sanders; "beauty and sprightliness sat on her lips; in readiness of repartee, skill in the dance, and in playing on the lute, she was unsurpassed."

Having thus placed before our readers the testimony of friend and foe, as to the charms and accomplishments of the fair Boleyn, we will proceed to describe the allowance and rules that were observed with regard to the table of the ladies in the household of queen Katharine, to which Anne was now attached. Each maid of honour was allowed a woman-servant and a spaniel as her attendants; the *bouche* of court afforded ample sustenance, not only to the lady herself, but her retainers, both biped and quadruped, were their appetites ever so voracious. A chine of beef, a *manchet*, and a *chet* loaf, offered a plentiful breakfast for the three; to these viands was added a gallon of ale, which could only be discussed by two of the party. The brewer was enjoined to put neither hops nor brimstone into their ale, the first being deemed as horrible an adulteration as the last. The maids of honour, like officers in the army and navy at the present day, dined at mess, a circumstance which shows how very ancient that familiar term is. "Seven messes of ladies dined at the same table in the great chamber. *Manchets*, beef, mutton, ale and wine were served to them in abundance, to which were added hens, pigeons, and rabbits. On fast-days their mess was supplied with salt salmon, salted eels, whittings, gurnet, plaice, and flounders. Such of the ladies as were peers' daughters, had stabling allowed them."¹

There was a striking resemblance between Anne Boleyn and her sister Mary, the previous object of Henry's attention; but Mary was the fairest, the most delicately featured, and feminine of the two. In Anne, the more powerful charms of genius, wit and fascination rendered her the leading star of the English court, and triumphed over every defect which prevented her from being considered a perfect beauty; and yet it was her likeness to her sister which, perhaps, in the first instance constituted her chief attraction with the king, who soon became enamoured of her, though he concealed the state of his mind. As for the fair Boleyn herself, at the very time when most surrounded with admirers she appears to have been least sensible to the pride of conquest, having engaged herself in a romantic love affair with Henry lord Percy the eldest son of the earl of Northumberland, regardless of the family arrangement by which she was pledged to become the wife of the heir of Sir Piers Butler. Percy, like herself, had been destined by paternal policy to a matrimonial engagement wherein affection had no share. He had exhibited great reluctance to fulfil the contract into which his father had entered for him in his boyhood with the daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury,² and it was still unratified on his part when he appeared at

¹ Household-books of Henry VIII.

² Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. pp. 20, 21.

In a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury from his priest, Thomas Allen, concerning the con-

court as an *élève* of cardinal Wolsey. The office which Percy filled about the person of the minister required that he should attend him to the palace daily, which he did; and while his patron was closeted with the king, or engaged at the council-board, he was accustomed to resort to the queen's ante-chamber, where he passed the time in dalliance with the maids of honour. At last he singled out mistress Anne as the object of his exclusive attention, and, from their frequent meetings, such love was nourished between them that a promise of marriage was exchanged, and, reckless alike of the previous engagements which had been made for them in other quarters by their parents, they became what was then called troth-plight, or insured to each other.¹

Percy, like a true lover, gloried in his passion and made no secret of his engagement, which was at length whispered to the king by some envious busybody, who had probably observed that Henry was not insensible to the charms of Anne Boleyn. The pangs of jealousy occasioned by this intelligence, it is said, first awakened the monarch to the state of his own feelings towards his fair subject, in whose conversation he had always taken the liveliest pleasure, without being himself aware that he regarded her with emotions inconsistent with his duty as a married man. As for the young lady herself, she appears to have been wholly unconscious of the impression she had made on her sovereign's heart. In fact, as her whole thoughts were employed in securing a far more desirable object, namely, her marriage with the heir of the illustrious and wealthy house of Percy, it is scarcely probable that she incurred the risk of alarming her honourable lover by coquetries with the king. Under these circumstances, we think Anne Boleyn must be acquitted of having purposely attracted the attention of Henry in the first instance. On the contrary, she must, at this peculiar crisis, have regarded his passion as the greatest misfortune that could have befallen her, as it was the means of preventing her marriage with the only man whom we have the slightest reason to believe she ever loved.

If Anne, however, regarded the king with indifference, his feelings towards her were such that he could not brook the thought of seeing her the wife of another, though aware that it was not at this time in his power to marry her himself. With the characteristic selfishness of his nature, he determined to separate the lovers.² Accordingly he sent for Wolsey, and, expressing himself very angrily on the subject of the contract into which Anne Boleyn and Percy had entered, charged him to take prompt steps for dissolving their engagement. The cardinal, in great

tract between him and the earl of Northumberland for their children, Thomas Allen says, "The question hath been asked of my lord of Northumberland of the marriage of his son; he hath answered, 'I have concluded with my lord Shrewsbury.' He hath been desired to bring lord Percy to court. He answered,

'When he is better learned, and well acquainted with his wife, shortly after he shall come to court.'" Such was the intelligence written to the earl of Shrewsbury by his family priest so early as May 24, 1516.

¹ Cavendish. Nott's life of Surrey.

² Cavendish. Herbert. Tytler.

perplexity, returned to his house at Westminster, and sending for lord Percy, there, before several of his servants, he rudely addressed him in these words: "I marvel not a little at thy folly, that thou wouldst thus attempt to *assure* [contract] thyself with a foolish girl yonder in the court, Anne Bullen. Dost thou not consider the estate that God hath called thee unto in this world? For, after thy father's death, thou art likely to inherit and enjoy one of the noblest earldoms in the kingdom; and therefore it had been most meet and convenient for thee to have had thy father's consent in this case, and to have acquainted the king's majesty therewith, requiring his princely favour, and in all such matters submitting thy proceedings unto his highness, who would not only thankfully have accepted thy submission, but I am assured would have so provided, that he would have advanced thee much more nobly, and have matched thee according to thy degree and honour, and so by thy wise behaviour mightest have grown into his high favour, to thy great advancement. But now, see what you have done through your wilfulness! You have not only offended your father, but also your loving sovereign lord, and matched yourself with such a one as neither the king nor your father will consent to; and hereof I put thee out of doubt that I will send for thy father, who, at his coming, shall either break this unadvised bargain, or else disinherit thee for ever. The king's majesty will also complain of thee to thy father, and require no less than I have said, because he intended to prefer Anne Bullen to another, wherein the king had already *travailed* [taken trouble]; and being almost at a point with one for her (though she knew it not), yet hath the king, like a politic prince, conveyed the matter in such sort that she will be, I doubt not, upon his grace's mention, glad and agreeable to the same."

"Sir," quoth the lord Percy, weeping, "I knew not the king's pleasure, and am sorry for it. I considered I am of good years, and thought myself able to provide me a convenient wife as my fancy should please me, not doubting but that my lord and father would have been right well content. Though she be but a simple maid, and a knight to her father, yet is she descended of right noble parentage, for her mother is high of the Norfolk blood, and her father descended of the earl of Ormond, being one of the earl's heirs-general. Why then, sir, should I be anything scrupulous to match with her, in regard of her estate and descent, equal with mine when I shall be in most dignity? Therefore I most humbly beseech your grace's favour therein, and also to entreat the king's majesty, on my behalf, for his princely favour in this matter, which I cannot forsake."—"Lo, sirs, quoth the cardinal to us," pursues Cavendish, who was a witness of this conference, "ye may see what wisdom is in this wilful boy's head! I thought that, when thou heardest the king's pleasure and intention herein, thou wouldst have relented, and

put thyself wholly to the king's will and pleasure, and by him to have been ordered as his grace should have thought good."—"Sir," quoth the lord Percy, "so I would, but in this matter I have gone so far before so many worthy witnesses, that I know not how to discharge myself and my conscience."—"Why," quoth the cardinal, "thinkest thou that the king and I know not what we have to do in as weighty matters as this? Yes, I warrant thee; but I see no submission in thee to that purpose."—"Forsooth, my lord," quoth lord Percy, "if it please your grace, I will submit myself wholly to the king and your grace in this matter, my conscience being discharged of a weighty burden thereof."—"Well, then," quoth my lord cardinal, "I will send for your father out of the north, and he and we shall take such order as—in the mean season I charge thee that thou resort no more into her company, as thou wilt abide the king's indignation." With these words¹ he rose up, and went into his chamber.

Nor was this unceremonious lecture the only mortification the unfortunate lover was doomed to receive. His father, the earl of Northumberland, a man in whose cold heart and narrow mind the extremes of pride and meanness met, came with all speed out of the north, having received a summons in the king's name; and, going first to Wolsey's house to inquire into the matter, was received by that proud statesman in his gallery, "where they had a long and secret communication." Then (after priming himself for the business with a cup of the cardinal's wine) he seated himself on a bench which stood at the end of the gallery for the use of the serving-men, and calling his son to him, he rated him in the following harsh words, while Percy stood cap in hand before him: "Son," quoth he, "even as thou hast been, and always wert, a proud, licentious, and unthinking waster, so hast thou now declared thyself; and therefore what joy, what comfort, pleasure, or solace shall I conceive of thee, that thus, without discretion, hast misused thyself? having neither regard unto me, thy natural father, nor yet to the king, thy sovereign lord, nor to the weal of thy own estate, but hast unadvisedly assured thyself unto her, for whom the king is with thee highly displeased, whose displeasure is intolerable for any subject to bear. But his grace, considering the lightness of thy head and wilful qualities of thy person (his indignation were able to ruin me and my posterity utterly)—yet he (being my singular good lord and favourable prince), and also my lord cardinal my good lord, hath and doth clearly excuse me in thy light act, and doth lament thy folly rather than malign me for the same, and hath devised an order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound than we conceive of. I pray God that this may be a sufficient admonition to thee to use thyself more wisely hereafter, for assure thyself that, if thou dost not amend thy prodigality,

¹ Cavendish.

thou wilt be the last earl of our house. For thy natural inclinations, thou art masterful and prodigal to consume all that thy progenitors have, with great travail, gathered together; but I trust (I assure thee) so to order my succession, that thou shalt consume thereof but little." Then telling Percy that he did not mean to make him his heir, having other boys whom he trusted would prove themselves wiser men, he threatened to choose the most promising of them for his successor. To crown all, he bade Wolsey's servants mark his words, and besought "them not to be sparing in telling his son of his faults; then bidding him 'Go his ways to his lord and master, and serve him diligently,' he departed to his barge."

A contemporary document has lately been discovered in the State-Paper office,¹ which bears the strongest evidence of being the transcript of a letter written by Percy in his first trouble at the prospect of being compelled to absent himself from Anne Boleyn, and expressing, as the reader will see, great perplexity and uneasiness at having incurred the anger of the king without being at all aware of the cause. This letter, which has neither date nor signature, is as follows:—

"MR. MELTON,

"This shall be to advertise you, that *maistres Anne is changed from that she was at*² when we iij were last together. Wherefore I pray you that you do not suffer her in my absence to be married to any other man. I must go to my master³ wheresoever he be, for the lord privy-seal desireth much to speak with me; whom if I should speak with in my master's absence, it would cause me [to] lose my head. And yet I know myself as true a man to my prince as liveth, whom (as my friends informeth me), the lord privy-seal saith, I have offended grievously in my words. No more to you, but to have me commended unto 'maistres' Anne; and bid her remember her promise, which none can loose but God only."

The person to whom this letter is addressed, is evidently a mutual friend and confidant of both parties, possessing—as we infer from the writer's earnest entreaties to him not to allow "maistres" Anne to be married to any other man in his absence—peculiar influence with her father. It is possible that the transcriber has erroneously written Mr. Melton, instead of Mr. "Skelton," the kinsman of the Boleyns, who subsequently obtained great preferment in the court through the favour of Anne Boleyn. A peculiar similarity of circumstances, leads to the presumption that it was written by Percy at the time when he had incurred the displeasure of his imperious master the cardinal, and the anger of the king, for having engaged himself to Anne Boleyn. The writer of this letter is in the service of a master powerful enough to cause him to lose his head for a very slight offence. No one but Wolsey could inspire such an apprehension, and Percy was under his control. The luckless heir of Northumberland was, in the sequel, not only commanded to avoid the company of "maistres" Anne, but driven from the court, and compelled to fulfil his involuntary contract to lady Mary

¹ By Sir Henry Ellis, in the Cromwell correspondence. See the third series of *Original Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 132, 133.

² Changed her abode.

³ Wolsey.

Talbot, one of the daughters of the earl of Shrewsbury. The earl of Surrey, in a letter "scribbled the 12th day of September, 1523," says, "The marriage of my lord Percy shall be with my lord steward's daughter, whereof I am glad. The chief baron is with my lord of Northumberland to conclude the marriage."¹ It was therefore not Anne's inconstancy, but his own pusillanimity which broke the love-plight between them. If Percy had possessed firmness enough to remain constant to his beloved Anne, he would soon have been at liberty to please himself; for the proud earl his father died three years after he had, by forcing him into a heartless marriage, rendered him the most miserable of men.² The date of Percy's marriage, in the autumn of 1523, proves that he could not have sought Anne Boleyn's hand in the year 1527, when he had been nearly four years the husband of another lady of the highest rank; besides, he was no longer the lord Percy, or in Wolsey's household in that year, but earl of Northumberland and his own master, as the archives of the house of Percy prove. These stubborn facts verify the statements of Herbert and Fiddes, that Anne Boleyn returned to England in 1522, at which period this important episode in her life commenced, and the king gave the first indications of a passion which has left such memorable traces in the history of his country. Henry's jealous pique at the preference Anne Boleyn had shown for Percy, induced him to inflict upon her the mortification of discharging her from queen Katharine's household, and dismissing her to her father's house. "Whereat," says Cavendish, "mistress Anne was greatly displeased, promising that if ever it lay in her power, she would be revenged on the cardinal; and yet he was not altogether to be blamed, as he acted by the king's command." Anne Boleyn, having no idea of the real quarter whence the blow proceeded by which she was deprived of her lover and the splendid prospect that had flattered her, naturally regarded the interference of Wolsey as a piece of gratuitous impertinence of his own, and in the bitterness of disappointed love, nourished that vindictive spirit against him which no after submission could mollify. She continued for a long time to brood over her wrongs and disappointed hopes in the stately solitude of Hever-castle, in Kent, where her father and step-mother then resided. There is reason to believe that Anne was tenderly attached to her step-mother, and much beloved by her.

After a period sufficient to allow for the subsiding of ordinary feelings of displeasure had elapsed, the king paid an unexpected visit to Hever-castle. But Anne was either too indignant to offer her homage to the tyrant whose royal caprice had deprived her of her affianced husband,

¹ Cited by Dr. Lingard, *Hist. England*, vol. vi. p. 112.

² See Lingard's *Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 112. Brooke's Succession; Milles' Catalogue

of Honour; and letters of Bryan, Higden, and the earl of Cumberland to Heneage, touching the funeral of Percy's father.—Chapter-house MSS.

or her father, feeling the evil of having the reputation of one lovely daughter blighted by the attentions of the king, would not suffer her to appear; for she took to her chamber, under pretence of indisposition, on Henry's arrival at the castle, and never left it till after his departure.¹ It was doubtless to propitiate the offended beauty that Henry, on the 18th of June, 1525, advanced her father Sir Thomas Boleyn to the peerage by the style and title of viscount Rochford, one of the long-contested titles of the house of Ormond.² He also, with the evident intention of drawing the whole family to his court once more, bestowed on the newly created viscount the high office of treasurer of the royal household, and appointed William Carey, the husband of Mary Boleyn, a gentleman of the privy-chamber.

It is scarcely probable that Anne continued unconscious of the king's passion, when he followed up all the favours conferred on her family by presenting a costly offering of jewels to herself; but, on his proceeding to avow his love, she recoiled from his lawless addresses with the natural abhorrence of a virtuous woman, and falling on her knees made this reply:—"I think, most noble and worthy king, your majesty speaks these words in mirth to prove me, without intent of degrading your princely self. Therefore, to ease you of the labour of asking me any such question hereafter, I beseech your highness, most earnestly, to desist and take this my answer (which I speak from the depth of my soul) in good part. Most noble king! I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which will be the greatest and best part of the dowry I shall bring my husband."³ Henry, having flattered himself that he had only to signify his preference in order to receive the encouragement which is too often accorded to the suit of a royal lover,—

"Suit lightly made, and short-lived pain,
For monarchs seldom sigh in vain"—

met this earnest repulse with the assurance, that "he should at least continue to hope."—"I understand not, most mighty king, how you should retain such hope," she proudly rejoined. "Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of mine own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already; your mistress I will not be."

Those historians who have consigned the name of Anne Boleyn to unmixed infamy, have distorted this beautiful instance of lofty spirit and maidenly discretion into a proof of her subtilty, as if she had anticipated a like result to that which had followed the repulse given by Elizabeth Woodville to Edward IV. But the case was wholly different, as Edward was a bachelor and Henry a married man; therefore Anne Boleyn very properly reminded her royal lover that she could not be his wife, because he had a queen.

¹ Benger's *Life of Anne Boleyn*

² Lingard.

³ MS., Sloane No. 2495 Tytler Sharon Turner.

The manner in which Anne repelled her enamoured sovereign's addresses only added fuel to his flame, and he assailed the reluctant beauty with a series of love-letters of the most passionate character. The originals of these letters are still preserved in the Vatican, having been stolen from the royal cabinet and conveyed thither. Burnet was prepared to consider them as forgeries; but says, "directly I saw them, I was too well acquainted with Henry's hand to doubt their authenticity."¹ In the absence of all dates, the arrangement of these letters becomes matter of opinion, and we are disposed to think the following was written soon after the circumstances to which we have just alluded, containing as it does an earnest expostulation from Henry against her continued refusal to appear at his court:—

"TO MY MISTRESS,

"As the time seems very long since I heard from you, or concerning your health, the great love I have for you constrains me to send this bearer, to be better informed both of your health and pleasure, particularly because, since my last parting with you, I have been told that you have entirely changed the mind in which I left you, and that you neither mean to come to court with your mother, nor any other way; which report, if true, I cannot enough marvel at, being persuaded in my own mind that I have never committed any offence against you. And it seems hard, in return for the great love I bear you, to be kept at a distance from the person and presence of the woman in the world that I value the most; and if you loved me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure that the distance of our two persons would be equally irksome to you, though this does not belong so much to the mistress as to the servant.

"Consider well, my mistress, how greatly your absence afflicts me. I hope it is not your will that it should be so; but if I heard for certain that you yourself desire it, I could but mourn my ill fortune, and strive by degrees to abate of my folly. And so, for lack of time, I make an end of this rude letter, beseeching you to give the bearer credence in all he will tell you from me.

"Written by the hand of your entire servant,

"H. R."

The relative terms of mistress and servant, which the king uses so frequently in this correspondence, belonged to the gallantry of the chivalric ages, and were not yet obsolete. Anne's replies were evidently of a most unsatisfactory nature to Henry, as we perceive from the following remonstrance, which occurs at an early stage of the correspondence:—

"By revolving in my mind the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into great agony, not knowing how to interpret them, whether to my disadvantage (as I understand some others) or not. I beseech you earnestly to let me know your real mind, as to the love between us two. It is needful for me to obtain this answer of you, having been for a whole year wounded with the dart of love, and not yet assured whether I shall succeed in finding a place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of late from declaring you my mistress, lest it should prove that you only entertain for me an ordinary regard. But if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, and to give up yourself, heart and person, to me, who will be, as I have been, your most loyal servant (if your rigour does not forbid me), I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my mistress, casting off all others that are in competition with you out of my

¹ They are chiefly in old French. We have had access to a faithful transcript from the original MS. in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, bart., of Middle Hill.

thoughts and affections, and serving you only. I beg you to give an entire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend; but if it does not please you to answer me in writing, let me know some place where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart.

"No more, for fear of tiring you. Written by the hand of him who would willingly remain

"Yours,

"H. REX."

Notwithstanding all these professions on the part of her royal lover, it is certain that Anne Boleyn continued to absent herself. Indeed, as all traces of her disappear from the annals and correspondence of the period, it may reasonably be inferred that it was at this juncture she went back to France, and entered the service of Margaret duchess of Alençon, the French court having re-assembled in the year 1525-6 with renewed splendour, to celebrate with a series of fêtes and rejoicings the emancipation of Francis I. from his captivity. All historians agree that Anne returned to England with her father in the year 1527, when he was recalled from his diplomatic mission; but those who have not taken the trouble of tracing the dates of Percy's marriage and his subsequent succession to the earldom, erroneously assert that her acquaintance with the king commenced that year.

After an absence of four years, Anne Boleyn resumed her place in the palace of queen Katharine, in compliance, it is supposed, with her father's commands, and received the homage of her enamoured sovereign in a less repulsive manner than she had done while her heart was freshly bleeding for the loss of the man whom she had passionately desired to marry. If her regrets were softened by the influence of time and absence, it is certain that her resentment continued in full force against Wolsey for his conduct with regard to Percy, and was treasured up against a day of vengeance; "she having," says Cavendish, "always a prime grudge against my lord cardinal for breaking the contract between her and lord Percy, supposing it to be his own device and no other's.

Henry's passion for Anne and her ill-will to his favourite minister were soon apparent to the magnates of the court, who, disgusted with the pride and despotic conduct of the latter, were eager to avail themselves of her influence to accomplish his fall. Wolsey, perceiving the danger that threatened him, exerted all his arts of pleasing to conciliate the offended beauty, and prepared many feasts and masques to entertain her and the king at his own house. This induced her to treat him with feigned civility, but the hatred of a vindictive person dissembled is always far more perilous than the open violence of a declared foe. Anne, however, went further than dissembling, for she condescended to the use of the most deceitful blandishments in order to persuade the cardinal that she had a great regard for him. "This day," writes Heneage to

Wolsey,¹ "as the king was going to dinner, 'maistres' Anne spake to me, and said 'she was afraid your grace had forgotten her, because you sent her no token by Forest;' and said, 'she thought that was the matter that he came not to her.' And I showed her that he came from your grace very *timely*;² and also that your grace had such mind upon those letters sent by him, that your grace did not remember to send any letters by mine; and," pursues Heneage, "my lady her mother [step-mother] desired me to send unto your grace, to desire your grace to bestow a morsel of tunny upon her."³ The date of this letter, March 4, shows that it was Lent, and the Boleyn ladies were hungering after all sorts of dainty fish, such as graced the cardinal's sumptuous board. Anne, in particular, appears to have been very much of an epicure; for though the king sent that night, as Heneage (who was the gentleman-in-waiting) informs Wolsey, a dish from his own table by him for mistress Anne's supper,⁴ of which she kindly invited him to partake, yet even that did not content her; for while Heneage and she were discussing it, she was hankering after Wolsey's dainties, and expressing her wish "for some of his good meat, as carpes, shrimpes,⁵ and other delicacies. I beseech your grace, pardon me," continues Heneage, who appears to draw strange conclusions from those cravings, "that I am so bold as to write unto your grace hereof: it is but the conceit and mind of a woman." Anne Boleyn was at Windsor at this time, as the letter is dated from that place.

The question of Henry's divorce from Katharine was now mysteriously agitated under the name of "the king's secret matter," and Wolsey, far from suspecting the real object for which the king was desirous of ridding himself of his consort, became the blind instrument of opening the path for the elevation of his fair enemy to a throne. The intrigues which prefaced the public proceedings for the divorce have been related in the life of Katharine of Arragon. A splendid farewell fête was given to the French ambassadors at Greenwich, May 5, 1527, and at the masque with which the midnight ball concluded, the king gave a public mark of his preference for Anne Boleyn by selecting her for his partner.⁶ Henry caused the following sonnet, of his own composition, to be sung to the reluctant object of his regard, thus pointing out, with characteristic arrogance, the difference in their relative positions :—

"The eagle's force subdues each bird that flies :
 What metal can resist the flaming fire ?
 Doth not the sun dazzle the clearest eyes,
 And melt the ice, and make the frost retire ?
 The hardest stones are pierced through with tools,
 The wisest are with princes made but fools." ⁷

¹ Ellis's Original Letters; third series

² Meaning early.

³ Ellis's Original Letters; third series.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ MSS. de Brienne, fol. 80.

⁷ Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 388.

Henry's new passion became obvious even to the queen, and occasioned her to upbraid him with his perfidy, but it does not appear that she condescended to discuss the matter with Anne. Wolsey's appointment to the embassy to France is stated by Cavendish to have been contrived by the intrigues of Anne Boleyn, at the instigation of his enemies, who were desirous of getting him out of England. During the absence of Wolsey the influence of Anne increased beyond measure, and the "king's secret matter" ceased to be a mystery to those who did not shut their eyes to the signs of the times. Wolsey, indeed, had suffered himself to be so completely duped by Henry's diplomatic feints, as to have committed himself at the French court by entering into negotiations for uniting his master to Renée of France, the sister of the deceased queen Claude. Meantime, a treatise on the unlawfulness of his present marriage was compounded by the king and some of his favourite divines. How painfully and laboriously the royal theologian toiled in this literary labyrinth, is evidenced by a letter written by himself to the fair lady whose bright eyes had afflicted him with such unwonted qualms of conscience, that he had been fain to add the pains and penalties of authorship to the cares of government for her sake. This curious letter must have been written in the summer of 1527, during one of those temporary absences with which Anne Boleyn occasionally tantalized him:—

"MINE OWN SWEET HEART,

"This shall be to advertise you of the great loneness that I find since your departing, for, I assure you, me-thinketh the time longer since your departing now last, than I was wont to do a whole fortnight. I think your kindness and my fervency of love causeth it, for otherwise I would not have thought it possible that for so little a while it should have grieved me. But now that I am coming towards you, me-thinketh my pains be half relieved, and also I am right well comforted, insomuch that my book maketh substantially for my matter. In token whereof I have spent above four hours this day upon it, which has caused me to write the shorter letter to you at this time, because of some pain in my head."¹ * * * *

Henry having hitherto found Wolsey subservient to all his wishes, recalled him to England, and confided to him his desire of making Anne Boleyn his wife.² Thunderstruck at this disclosure, the minister threw himself at the feet of his royal master, and remained several hours on his knees reasoning with him on the infatuation of his conduct, but without effect. Henry's passion was again quickened by the stimulus of jealousy, for about this time we find Anne coquetting with Sir Thomas Wyatt, her early friend and devoted admirer. Wyatt, Surrey, George Boleyn, and Anne Boleyn were the most accomplished quartette in the

¹ Dr. Lingard considers the expressions with which this letter concludes too coarse to be transcribed. Sharon Turner, on the contrary, who quotes the whole letter, regards it as one of the proofs of Henry's respect for Anne Boleyn's virtue. "It requires no great correctness of taste," says Turner, "to feel that those letters are written

in very decorous, affectionate, and earnest terms, and with the feelings and phrase that men use to honourable and modest women." It is, nevertheless, difficult to imagine any woman of honourable principles receiving such letters from a married man.

² Cavendish. Lingard.

court of Henry VIII. The ties of blood, which united the two Boleyns with their cousin Surrey, were not so powerfully felt as the attraction which a sympathy of tastes and pursuits created between them and Wyatt. Anne Boleyn might, perhaps, have consoled herself for the loss of Percy by marrying Wyatt; but, unfortunately, his hand was pledged to another before her contract with the heir of Northumberland was broken. Her French education had, however, taught her to regard adulation, even from married men, as a welcome tribute to her charms, and she permitted his attentions.

A very curious incident occurred during this perilous flirtation, as it would be called in modern parlance, which throws some light on the progress of Henry's courtship at this time. "One day, while Anne Boleyn was very earnest on her embroidery, Wyatt, who was hovering about her, twitched from her a jewelled tablet, which hung by a lace or chain out of her pocket. This he thrust into his bosom, and, notwithstanding her earnest entreaties, never would restore it to her, but wore it about his neck under his cassock. Now and then he showed it to her in order to persuade her to let him retain it as a mark of her favour. Anne Boleyn permitted him to keep it without further comment, as a trifle not worth further contest. Henry VIII. watched them both with anxious jealousy, and quickly perceived, that the more Sir Thomas Wyatt hovered about the lady, the more she avoided him Well pleased at her conduct, the king," says Sir Thomas Wyatt, "fell to win her by treaty of marriage, and in his talk on that matter took from her a ring, which he ever wore upon his little finger." Anne Boleyn had gained some little wisdom by her disappointment in regard to Percy, for Wyatt declares "that all this she carried with great secrecy." Far different was the conduct of the king, who was extremely anxious to display his triumph over Wyatt. Within a few days after, he was playing at bowls with Wyatt, the duke of Suffolk, and Sir Francis Bryan. Henry was in high good-humour, but affirmed that in the cast of the bowl he had surpassed his competitor Wyatt. Both Wyatt and his partner declared, "By his leave, it was not so." The king, however, continued pointing with his finger on which he had Anne Boleyn's ring, and, smiling significantly, said, "Wyatt, I tell thee it is *mine*." The ring, which was well known to him, at last caught the eye of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who paused a little to rally his spirits. Then taking from his bosom the chain to which hung the tablet, which the king likewise remembered well, and had noted it when worn by Anne Boleyn, he said, "And if it may like your majesty to give me leave to measure the cast with *this*, I have good hopes yet it will be mine." Wyatt then busied himself with measuring the space between the bowls with the chain of the tablet, and boldly pronounced the game to be his. "It may be so," exclaimed the monarch, haughtily spurning from him

the disputed bow; "but then I am deceived!" and, with an angry brow, he broke up the sport. This double-meaning dialogue was understood by few or none but themselves; but the king retired to his chamber with his countenance expressive of the resentment he felt. He soon took an opportunity of reproaching Anne Boleyn with giving love-tokens to Wyatt, when the lady clearly proved, to the great satisfaction of her royal lover, that her tablet had been snatched from her and kept by superior strength.

No one who dispassionately reflects on these passages in Anne's conduct can reconcile them either with her duty to her royal mistress, or those feelings of feminine delicacy which would make a young woman tremble at the impropriety of becoming an object of contention between two married men. Wyatt prudently resigned the fair prize to his royal rival, and if Anne abstained from compliance with the unhallowed solicitations of the king, it must, we fear, be ascribed rather to her caution than her virtue, for she had overstepped the restraints of moral rectitude when she first permitted herself to encourage his attentions. In the hour that Anne Boleyn did this, she took her first step towards a scaffold, and prepared for herself a doom which fully exemplifies the warning, "Those who sow the whirlwind, must expect to reap the storm." Ambition had now entered her head; she saw that the admiration of the sovereign had rendered her the centre of attraction to all who sought his favour, and she felt the fatal charms of power—not merely the power which beauty, wit and fascination had given her, but that of political influence. In a word, she swayed the will of the arbiter of Europe, and determined to share his throne as soon as her royal mistress could be dispossessed. The Christmas festival was celebrated with more than usual splendour at Greenwich that year, and Anne Boleyn, not the queen, was the *prima donna* at all the tourneys, masques, banquets, and balls with which the king endeavoured to beguile the lingering torments of suspense occasioned by the obstacles which Wolsey's diplomatic craft continued to interpose in the proceedings for the divorce.

When Henry's treatise on the illegality of his present marriage was completed, in the pride of authorship he ordered it to be shown to the greatest literary genius of his court, Sir Thomas More, with a demand of his opinion. Too honest to flatter, and too wise to criticise the work of the royal pedant, More extricated himself from the dilemma by pleading his ignorance of theology. The treatise was, however, presented to pope Clement; and Stephen Gardiner (then known by the humble name of Mr. Stephen) was, with Edmund Fox, the king's almoner, deputed to wring from that pontiff a declaration in unison with the prohibition in Scripture against marriage with a brother's widow. This, and some other equivocal concessions, having been obtained, Fox returned to England, and proceeding to Greenwich, communicated the progress

that had been made to the king, who received him in Anne Boleyn's apartments. Anne, whose sanguine temper, combined with feminine inexperience in ecclesiastical law, made her fancy that the papal sanction to the divorce was implied in the instruments exhibited to the king, was agitated with transports of exultation, and bestowed liberal promises of patronage on the bearer of these unmeaning documents. Wolsey was included in a commission with cardinal Campeggio to try the validity of the king's marriage, and, under the influence of his enamoured master, had written a letter to the pope, describing Anne Boleyn as a model of female excellence, in order to controvert the scandals that were already current at Rome respecting her connection with the king.

In this position were affairs when the noted epidemic called "the sweating sickness" broke out in the court. Henry, in his first alarm, yielded to the persuasions of Wolsey and his spiritual directors, and sent the fair Boleyn home to her father at Hever-castle, while he effected a temporary reconciliation with his injured queen. His penitentiary exercises with Katharine did not, however, deter him from pursuing his amatory correspondence with her absent rival. Here is one of the letters which appears to have been addressed to Anne while at Hever-castle:¹—

"MY MISTRESS AND MY FRIEND,

"My heart and I surrender ourselves into your hands, and we supplicate to be commended to your good graces, and that by absence your affections may not be diminished to us. For that would be to augment our pain, which would be a great pity, since absence gives enough and more than I ever thought could be felt. This brings to my mind a fact in astronomy, which is, that the further the poles are from the sun, notwithstanding, the more scorching is his heat. Thus it is with our love; absence has placed distance between us, nevertheless fervour increases—at least on my part. I hope the same from you, assuring you that in my case the anguish of absence is so great, that it would be intolerable were it not for the firm hope I have of your indissoluble affection towards me. In order to remind you of it, and because I cannot in person be in your presence, I send you the thing which comes nearest that is possible; that is to say, my picture, and the whole device, which you already know of, set in bracelets, wishing myself in their place when it pleases you. This is from the hand of

"Your servant and friend,

"H. R."

Fears for the health of his absent favourite certainly dictated the following letter from Henry to Anne:—

"The uneasiness my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and frightened me exceedingly, and I should not have had any quiet without hearing certain tidings. But now since you have as yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as it is with us. For when we were at Walton, two ushers, two valets-de-chambre, and your brother fell ill, but are now quite well; and since we have returned to your house at Hunsdon we have been perfectly well. God be praised, and have not, at present, one sick person in the family, and I think, if you would retire from the Surrey side, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another thing that may comfort you, which is, that in truth, in this distemper few or no women have

¹ Printed at the end of Robert of Avesbury.

been taken ill; and besides, no person of our court, and few elsewhere, have died of it. For which reason I beg you, my entirely beloved, not to frighten yourself, or to be too uneasy at our absence, for wherever I am, I am yours. And yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes, for whoever will struggle against fate is generally but so much the further from gaining his end: wherefore comfort yourself and take courage, and make this misfortune as easy to you as you can, for I hope shortly to make you sing '*le renvoyé*.'"¹

One of the earliest victims to the pestilence was Anne's brother-in-law, William Carey, gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king. A letter, written by Anne to the king in behalf of her sister Mary, now left a destitute widow with two infants, elicits from Henry this mysterious reply, in which no lingering symptom of tenderness for the former object of his fickle regard is discernable:—

"In regard to your sister's matter, I have caused Walter Welche² to write to my lord [her father] my mind thereon, whereby I trust that Eve shall not deceive Adam; for surely, whatever is said, it cannot stand with his honour but that he must needs take her, his natural daughter,³ now in her extreme necessity. No more to you at this time, mine own darling, but awhile I would we were together an evening.

"With the hand of yours,

"H. R."

This metaphor of Eve has allusion to the step-mother of Mary and Anne Boleyn, who had been extremely averse to Mary's love-match; but the king seems to suppose that she would not, after his mandate, dare to prejudice the father against his distressed child. We shall soon find the indiscreet Mary in disgrace with all parties, on account of her incorrigible predilection for making love-matches.

Anne and her father were both seized with this alarming epidemic early in June. The agitating intelligence of the peril of his beloved was conveyed to Henry by express at midnight. He instantly despatched his physician, Dr. Butts, to her assistance, and indited the following tender epistle to her:—

"The most displeasing news that could occur came to me suddenly at night. On three accounts I must lament it. One, to hear of the illness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, and whose health I desire as I do mine own: I would willingly bear half of what you suffer to cure you. The second, from the fear that I shall have to endure my wearisome absence much longer, which has hitherto given me all the vexation that was possible. The third, because my physician (in whom I have most confidence) is absent at the very time when he could have given me the greatest pleasure. But I hope, by him and his means, to obtain one of my chief joys on earth; that is, the cure of my mistress. Yet, from the want of him, I send you my second (Dr. Butts), and hope that he will soon make you well. I shall then love him more than ever. I beseech you to be guided by his advice in your illness. By your doing this, I hope soon to see you again, which will be to me a greater comfort than all the precious jewels in the world.

¹ Probably the refrain of some pretty French roundelay she used to sing.

² Sir Walter Welche, one of the six gentlemen of his privy-chamber.

³ The expression in the letter of *natural*

daughter merely points out that she was Sir Thomas's daughter by the ties of *nature* while she was but the *step-daughter* of Lady Boleyn.

"Written by that secretary who is, and for ever will be, your loyal and most assured servant,
"H. R."

Henry was at Hunsdon, June 23, 1528, where he was attended by his secretary, Bryan Tuke, who assisted him in some of his writings in favour of his divorce, evidently much against the secretary's inclination. The king used to commune secretly with his physician, and sup apart in a tower; and as he passed by the chamber of Bryan, would "turn in," and examine what he had written, and chat on news, and talk of anything on his mind. Among other matters he told him "how mistress Anne and lord Rochford both had the sickness, and what jeopardy they have been in by the turning in of the sweat before the time; of the endeavours of Dr. Butts, who went to them and returned; and finally, of their perfect recovery."¹ Anne was in imminent danger, but through the skill and care of Dr. Butts she was preserved to fulfil a darker destiny. The shadow of death had passed from over her, but the solemn warning was unheeded, and she fearlessly pressed onward to the fatal accomplishment of her wishes.

The first use she made of her convalescence was to employ Heneage to pen the following deceitful message from her to cardinal Wolsey: "Maistres Anne is very well amended, and commended her humbly to your grace, and thinketh it long till she speak with you."² She soon after wrote to the cardinal herself, and it seems difficult to imagine how a woman of her haughty spirit could condescend to use the abject style which at this period marks her letters to her unforgiven foe. It is, however, possible that this dissimulation was enjoined by Henry, when he paid her his promised visit after her recovery from the sickness, at which time they must have compounded this partnership epistle³ with the view of beguiling Wolsey into forwarding their desire at the approaching convention:—

"MY LORD,

"In my most humble wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her that is much desirous to know that your grace does well, as I perceive from this bearer that you do, the which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for do I not know the great pains and troubles you have taken for me, both day and night, is ever to be recompensed on my part, but *alonely* [only] in loving you (next to the king's grace) above all creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily proof of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm the same writing to be true, and I do trust you think the same. My lord, do assure you I do long to hear from you news of the legate, for I do hope (an' they come from you) they shall be very good; and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more an' it were possible, as I know it is not: and thus remaining in a steadfast hope, I make an end of my letter. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be—" ⁴

¹ Letter of Bryan Tuke to Wolsey, Cotton, MS., c. iv. f. 237.

² State Papers, vol. i.

³ Harleian Miscellany.

⁴ This letter has been attributed to queen Katharine and Henry VIII. It has no signature but the manner of composition is precisely the same with the next letter by Anne Boleyn.

"P.S. by king Henry. The writer of this letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set my hand, desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you that there is neither of us but greatly desireth to see you, and are joyous to hear that you have escaped this plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, especially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France causeth us somewhat to muse, notwithstanding we trust, by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God), shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time, but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the writer would.

"By your loving sovereign and friend,

"H. R."

Wolsey, towards the middle of July, fell sick of the pestilence, or pretended to be so, in order to work on the king's affection, or to procure some respite till the arrival of Campeggio. Anne Boleyn sent him the following letter, which, from mentioning this illness, is supposed to have been written at the end of July, 1528:—

"MY LORD,

"In my most humble wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your grace for your kind letter, and for your rich and goodly present, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help, of which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that all the days of my life I am most bound of all creatures, next the king's grace, to love and serve your grace, of the which I beseech you never to doubt that ever I shall vary from this thought, as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord that them that I desired and prayed for are escaped; and that is the king's grace and you, not doubting that God has preserved you both for great causes known *alonely* [only] of His high wisdom. And as for the coming of the legate, I desire that much. And if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, my lord, to recompense part of your great pains. In the which I must require you, in the mean time, to accept my goodwill in the stead of the power; the which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth, whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be

"Your humble and obedient servant,

"ANNE BOLEYN."

There is a difficulty in reading and understanding the letters of Anne Boleyn, on account of an evident want of sincerity. Another of these epistles, meant to propitiate Wolsey, regarding the trial of the validity of queen Katharine's marriage, is a repetition, with very little variation, of the professions in the above, "humbly thanking him for his travail in seeking to bring to pass the greatest weal that is possible to come to any creature living, and in especial remembering how wretched and unworthy she is in compare to his highness." The earnestness of her protestations of favour and affection to the cardinal, in case he should succeed in making her queen, is apparent in the following words, which are still to be seen in the British Museum, written by her hand, and subscribed with her autograph, as follows:—

"I assure you that after this matter is brought to bear, you shall find as your bound (in the mean time) to owe you my service, and then look what thing in this world I can imagine to do you pleasure in, you shall find me the gladdest woman in the world to do it.

"Your humble and obedient servant,

"ANNE BOLEYN."

That occasional doubts and misgivings were entertained by Anne, as to the stability of Henry's regard and the real nature of his intentions, may be gathered from the device of a jewel presented by her to the royal lover, to which he alludes in the following letter :—

"For a present so valuable, that nothing could be more (considering the whole of it), I return to you my most hearty thanks, not only on account of the costly diamond, and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about, but chiefly for the fine interpretation and the too humble submission which your goodness hath made to me; for I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I were not assisted by your great humanity and favour, which I have always sought to seek, and will always seek to preserve by all the services in my power; and this is my firm intention and hope, according to the motto,¹ *Aut illic aut nullibi*.

"The demonstrations of your affections are such, the fine thoughts of your letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and serve you sincerely, beseeching you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose; and assuring you that, on my part, I will not only make you a suitable return, but outdo you in loyalty of heart, if it be possible.

"I desire, also, that if at any time before this I have in any way offended you, that you would give me the same absolution that you ask, assuring you that hereafter my heart shall be dedicated to you alone. I wish my person was so too. God can do it, if he pleases, to whom I pray once a-day for that end, hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time may be short, but I shall think it long till we see one another. Written by the hand of that secretary, who, in heart, body, and will is

"Votre royal et plus assuré serviteur,

"Hy. autre A.B., ne cherche. Rex."

It must have been nearly at this crisis that the king declared to Anne Boleyn and her father, that it was his intention to make her his consort whenever he should be released from his present marriage. After this intimation, he became a frequent visitor at Hever-castle. He used to ride thither privately from Eltham or Greenwich. The local tradition of Hever points out a certain hill which commanded a view of the castle, where he used to sound his bugle to give notice of his approach. The oak-panelled chamber and the antique gallery are still shown at the castle where he used to have interviews with Anne Boleyn. "She stood still upon her guard," says Wyatt, "and was not easily carried away, with all this appearance of happiness; first, on account of the love she bore ever to the queen whom she served, a personage of great virtue; and secondly, she imagined that there was less freedom in her union with her lord and king, than with one more agreeable to her."

Her love of pleasure and thirst for admiration rendered Anne impatient to emerge from the retirement of Hever-castle; and the fears of the pestilence having entirely passed away, she returned to court on the

¹ The original of this letter is written in French. The letters are seventeen in all; eight of these are written in English, and nine of the earlier in French. Two of the French letters have the fanciful heart signature, with the French words on each side of the heart, signifying *Henry seeks Anne Boleyn, no other*: and the word of power, *Rex*. One French letter is signed with H. R.,

and the heart enclosing A.B. without the words; another has merely the king's initials, with the French words *ma aimable* written on each side. The English letters are signed in three different modes, with the initials of the king's name as above, without other additions. Some have a small *h* and the *Rex* contraction; another the word *Henry*, very well written, and the *Rex* contraction

18th of August. The French ambassador, Du Bellai, who had predicted that her influence would entirely decay with absence, thus announces her reappearance in his reports to his own government: "Mademoiselle de Boleyn has at last returned to the court, and I believe the king to be so infatuated with her, that God alone could abate his madness." The queen was sent to Greenwich, and her fair rival was lodged in a splendid suite of apartments contiguous to those of the king.¹ The time-serving portion of the courtiers flattered the weakness of the sovereign by offering their adulation to the object of his passion. She was supported by the powerful influence of her maternal kinsmen, the duke of Norfolk and his brethren, men who were illustrious, not only by their high rank and descent from the monarchs of England and France, but by the services they had rendered their country, both by sea and land; yet the voice of the great body of the people was against her. They felt the cause of their injured, their virtuous queen, as their own; and their indignation was so decidedly manifested, that Henry, despotic as he was, ventured not to oppose the popular clamour for the dismissal of his fair favourite.² Power might uphold, the sophistry of party defend the position of Anne Boleyn at this crisis, but on the grounds of morality and religion it could never be justified. The legate was expected from Rome to try the validity of the king's marriage with Katharine, and, as Henry founded his objections on scruples of conscience, it was judged most prudent to keep passion behind the scenes till the farce was ended. Anne Boleyn was accordingly required by her royal lover to retire to Hever-castle for the present. This sort of temporizing policy was not agreeable to her, but the king insisted upon her departure; "whereat," to use the quaint but expressive phrase of a contemporary, "she smoked." So great, indeed, was her displeasure, that she vowed she would return to court no more, after having been dismissed in such an abrupt and uncourteous fashion.

Henry, who was greatly troubled at the perversity of mistress Anne, did everything in his power to conciliate her. He continued to write the most impassioned letters to her, and to give her the earliest intelligence of the progress of the expected legate. That Anne at first maintained an obdurate silence is evinced by one of Henry's letters, which we insert:—

"Although, my mistress, it has not pleased you to remember the promise you made me when I was last with you; that is, to hear good news from you, and to have an answer to my last letter, yet it seems to me that it belongs to a true servant (seeing that otherwise he can know nothing) to inquire the health of his mistress; and to acquit myself of the duty of a true servant, I send you this letter, beseeching you to apprise me of your welfare. I pray this may continue as long as I desire mine own. And to cause you yet oftener to remember me, I send you, by the bearer of this, a buck killed last evening, very late, by mine

¹ Le Grand Tytler Lingard

² Herbert, in *White Kennet*, vol. i. p. 106.

own hand --hoping, that when you eat of it, you may think of the hunter. From want of room, I must end my letter. Written by the hand of your servant, who very often wishes for you instead of your brother.

"H. R."

According to Stowe, and some others, the revenues of the see of Durham (or, at any rate, that portion of the immunities of the bishopric which were situate in the metropolis) were bestowed by Henry on Anne Boleyn while she yet retained the name of maid of honour to his queen. It is certain that Durham-house became, by some means, the London residence of herself and her parents. It was pleasantly situate on the banks of the river, on the very spot in the Strand now occupied by the Adelphi-buildings. This, however, did not content Anne, and when, after an absence of two months, she consented, by the entreaties of the king, seconded by the commands and even the tears of her father, to return to court, it was only on condition that a more splendid and commodious residence should be allotted her. Henry took infinite pains to please her in this matter, and at length employed Wolsey as his agent in securing Suffolk-house for her abode. This is announced to Anne in the following letter :—

"DARLING,

"As touching a lodging for you, we have gotten one by my lord cardinal's means, the like whereof could not have been found hereabouts for all causes, as this bearer shall more show you. As touching our other affairs, I assure you there can be no more done or more diligence used, nor all manner of dangers better both foreseen and provided for; so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts."

Suffolk-house was contiguous to Wolsey's splendid new-built palace, York-house, known afterwards by the name of Whitehall. Henry took the opportunity of borrowing this mansion of the cardinal, as affording better facilities for unobserved intercourse with Anne than his own royal abode at Westminster. The monarch liked York-house so well that he never returned it, either to its defrauded master or to the see of York. Before these arrangements were well completed, the king had the annoyance of learning that all he wrote in confidence to Anne Boleyn was publicly known in London soon after, which caused him to write this admonition to the incautious beauty :—

"DARLING,

"I heartily commend me to you, acquainting you that I am a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall, on my part, declare unto you, to whom I pray you will give full credit, for it were too long to write. In my last letters, I writ to you that I trusted shortly to see you; this is better known in London than anything that is about me, whereof I not little marvel, but *lack of discreet handling* must needs be the cause. No more to you at this time, but that I trust shortly our meeting shall not depend upon other men's light handling, but upon your own. Writ with the hand of him that longs to be yours."

The reproof contained in this letter is gentle, considering the provocation, and shows how extremely Anne Boleyn was indulged by her love. It develops, likewise, a great weakness in her character, that of tattling and boasting to all around her of the arrangement the king was making

at London to have access to her presence, without ostensibly living under the same roof with her.

Anne took possession of the stately mansion which her enamoured sovereign had provided for her early in December, for on the 9th of that month the French ambassador writes, "Mademoiselle de Boulan has arrived, and the king has placed her in very fine lodgings, immediately adjoining to his own; and there, every day, more court is paid to her than *she* ever paid to the queen." Henry, indeed, induced his courtiers to attend the daily levees which she, like a rival queen, held with all the pomp of royalty. She had her ladies-in-waiting, her train-bearer, and her chaplains, and dispensed patronage both in church and state. At Christmas the king joined his family at Greenwich, and Anne Boleyn outraged all propriety by accompanying him. She and the queen, however, were not supposed to associate. The queen kept open house as usual, and mistress Boleyn held her revels apart.¹ Scandal, of course, was busy with her name; ² what lady who submitted to occupy a position so suspicious could escape with a reputation unblemished? The reports of the foreign ambassadors, especially those of France and Venice, are full of those rumours, which might have been foreseen by any female who had the slightest delicacy of mind. The apathy of Anne Boleyn to such imputations can only be accounted for by her residence in the licentious court of Francis I., where she had seen the countess Chateaubriant and the duchess d'Estampes treated with the distinction of princesses, and tolerated by the ladies of the royal family.

In the commencement of the year 1529, Stephen Gardiner was again despatched to Rome to plead for the divorce. It is a curious fact, that on the 4th of April Anne Boleyn sent him a present of cramp-rings, accompanied with a letter, in which she addresses him familiarly by his Christian name:—

"Mr. Stephen, I send you here the cramp-rings for you, and Mr. Gregory (Cassal), and Mr. Peter; pray you to distribute them both, as *she* that (you may assure them) will be glad to do them any pleasure which shall be in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God send you good health.

"Written at Greenwich the 4th day of April,

"By your assured friend,

"ANN BOLLEIN."³

There is something remarkable connected with this present of cramp-rings, seeing that by a superstition, parallel to the kings of England curing "the evil" by their touch, the queens of England were supposed to possess the power of consecrating cramp-rings. The question naturally arises, how came Anne Boleyn in the year 1529 by a sufficient number of cramp-rings for Gardiner to distribute among the English

* L'Evêque de Bayonne, p. 231.

² Ibid. Turner, vol. ii. p. 616

³ Le Grand. Ellis, Royal Letters; first series.

ambassage to the pope, if she had not taken upon herself the queenly office of consecrating them."

It is remarkable that those cruel persecutors of our early reformers, Gardiner and Bonner, were the most active of all ecclesiastics for the divorce, and that Cranmer was brought forward as an *élève* of Gardiner for the same purpose: all three being under the especial patronage of Anne Boleyn, and rose to greatness chiefly through her influence. Cranmer, when he was first encountered by Gardiner at the house of Mr. Cressy, at Waltham, was occupied in the tuition of Mr. Cressy's sons. His eloquence and learning attracted the attention of Gardiner, who, to prove him, introduced the topic of the divorce, and asked in what manner he would proceed if the conduct of that affair were intrusted to him? "I would obtain the opinion of the most learned universities in Europe on the validity of a marriage contracted under such circumstances," was the reply. Gardiner communicated this rejoinder to the king; on which Henry made this characteristic exclamation, "He has gotten the sow by the right ear." The plan was adopted, and Cranmer was immediately received into the family of Anne Boleyn's father, where he was treated with much regard. Soon after he was preferred to the office of chaplain to the king, and ever enjoyed the confidence and favour of the fair Anne Boleyn, whose theological opinions he is supposed to have greatly influenced. Cranmer was domesticated with the Boleyns, and when the earl of Wiltshire was absent, he used to transmit from thence particulars of the proceedings and welfare of his family. "The countess" (lady Boleyn), he writes, "is well. The king and the lady Anne rode to Windsor yesterday, and to-night they be expected at Hampton-court."²

The first introduction of Tindal's translations of the holy Scriptures was, according to Strype, effected while Anne Boleyn was the all-powerful favourite of Henry, served with royal pomp, and attended by a suite of maids of honour like a queen. Among the ladies of her retinue there was a fair young gentlewoman called mistress Gaynsford, who was beloved by Anne's equerry, a youth of noble lineage, named George Zouch. In the course of their "love tricks," George snatched a book out of young mistress Gaynsford's hands, to which she was attending more than he approved when in his company. It was no other than Tindal's translation of the Gospels, which had been lent to her by her mistress Anne Boleyn, to whom it had been privately presented by one of the Reformers. It was proscribed by cardinal Wolsey, and kept secretly from the king. Mistress Gaynsford, knowing its importance, tried to get it back from her lover, but George Zouch remained perversely obstinate, and kept it to tease her. One day he went with other courtiers to the

¹ In Burnet, vol. ii. p. 266 of Records, is to be found the whole Latin formula of this singular and forgotten office pertaining to our English queens.

² Strype's *Cranmer*.

king's chapel, when he took it into his head to read the book he had snatched from his beloved, and was soon so utterly absorbed in its contents that the service was over before he was conscious of the lapse of time. The dean of the chapel, wishing to see what book the young gentleman was perusing with such attention, took it out of his hand; when, finding it was the prohibited version of the Scriptures, he carried it to cardinal Wolsey. Meantime Anne Boleyn asked mistress Gaynsford for the book she had lent her, who, greatly terrified at its loss, confessed that George Zouch had stolen and detained it. Anne Boleyn sent for George, and inquired into the matter. When she heard the fate of the book she was not angry with the lovers; "But," said she, "it shall be the dearest book that ever dean or cardinal detained." She then hastened to the king, and entreated that he would interpose to recover her stolen volume, a request with which he instantly complied. The first use she made of her recovered treasure was to entreat the king to examine it, and this incident had a great effect in producing the change that followed.

This circumstance is supposed to have precipitated the fall of Wolsey. Anne Boleyn had not forgiven, she never did forgive, the interference which had deprived her of her first love, Percy. The anger she had conceived against the cardinal on that occasion remained, after a lapse of six years, an unquenchable fire. In the hope of making him an instrument in her aggrandizement, she had, as we have seen, condescended to employ the arts of flattery, till she perceived that he was playing a game as fine and as false with her as she was with him, and that it was no part of his intention to make her an amend for the loss of a countess's coronet by assisting her to encircle her brow with a queenly diadem. She had, moreover, shrewd reason to suspect, however fairly he might carry it with her, that he was the man who secretly incited the popular cry, "We'll have no Anne Bullen! Nan Bullen shall not be our queen!" Anne dissembled no longer than till Wolsey (entangled in the perplexities of the net he had woven for his own destruction) had committed himself irrevocably with the queen, and at the same time incurred the suspicions of the king by his sinuous conduct. She then placed in Henry's hands letters written by the cardinal to Rome, which afforded proofs of his duplicity. These she had obtained from her kinsman, Sir Francis Bryan, and they weighed heavily against the minister. She had already obtained more than one signal triumph over him, especially in the case of Sir Thomas Cheney, whom Wolsey had injuriously driven from the court. Cheney entreated the intercession of Anne Boleyn with the sovereign, and she pleaded his cause so successfully that he was recalled, whilst Wolsey received a reprimand.¹

Having once declared her hostility, Anne was not of a temper to

¹ Bishop of Bayonne, 291

recede; she pursued her advantage with steady implacability; she was fiercely seconded by her uncle Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, Henry's brother-in-law, and—but at this no one can wonder—her defrauded lover Percy, whose compulsory marriage with lady Mary Talbot had rendered him the most wretched of men. An opportunity of inflicting an overwhelming blow on the cardinal soon offered. Wolsey, who was determined not to lose his credit with the sovereign without a struggle, after many repulses obtained permission to accompany Campeggio, when that legate went to take leave of the king at Grafton. Campeggio received the most scrupulous attention, and stately apartments were provided for his use, but Wolsey was forced to be indebted to the civility of Henry Norris for the temporary accommodation of a chamber. This was an ominous beginning; and the courtiers awaited with intense curiosity the result of Wolsey's reception in the presence-chamber. But when the monarch entered, and Wolsey tendered the homage of his knee, a sudden revulsion in his favour evidently took place in the royal mind. Henry raised him up with both hands, and led him to the window, where he held a long private conference with him, to the dismay of the adverse party.

"The king," says Cavendish, "dined the same day with Mrs. Anne Boleyn in her chamber, who kept state there more like a queen than a simple maid.¹ I heard it reported," pursues our author, "by those who waited on the king at dinner, that mistress Anne Boleyn was offended, as much as she durst, that the king did so graciously entertain my lord cardinal, saying, 'Sir, is it not a marvellous thing to see into what great debt and danger he hath brought you with all your subjects?'—"How so?" said the king. 'Forsooth,' she replied, 'there is not a man in your whole nation of England worth a hundred pounds, but he hath indebted you to him';" alluding to the late loan, an expedient in the ways and means of government which originated with that bold statesman, and has formed a fatal precedent for latter times. "'Well, well,' quoth the king; 'for that matter there was no blame in him, for I know that matter better than you, or any one else.'—"Nay,' quoth she, 'besides that, what exploits hath he wrought in several parts and places of this nation to your great slander and disgrace? There is never a nobleman but, if he had done half so much as he hath done, were well worthy to lose his head. Yea, if my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, my father, or any other man had done much less than he hath done, they should have lost their heads ere this.'—"Then I perceive," said the king, 'you are none of my lord cardinal's friends.'—"Why, sir," replied she, 'I have no cause, nor any that love you; no more hath your grace, if you did well consider his indirect and unlawful doings.'" Before the fair Boleyn had

¹ Singer's edition of Cavendish's *Wolsey*; vol. i. p. 174.

fully concluded schooling her royal lover on the financial sins of his favourite minister, "they had dined, and the waiters came and took up the tables, so no more was heard for that time of their discourse."

"You may perceive by this," observes our author,¹ "how the old malice was not forgotten. The king, for that time, departed from Mrs. Anne Boleyn, and came to the chamber of presence, and called for my lord [Wolsey], and in the window had a long discourse with him. Afterwards the king took him by the hand, and led him into the privy-chamber, and sat in consultation with him all alone, without any other of the lords, till it was dark night, which blanked all his enemies very sore, who had no other way but by Mrs. Anne Boleyn, in whom was all their trust and affiance for the accomplishment of their enterprises, for without her they feared all their purposes would be frustrated." The king had promised to see Wolsey again in the morning, but the interview was prevented by the adverse influence of the fair intrigante, who traversed all his hopes by prevailing on the king to attend her in an equestrian excursion. These are the words in which the faithful Cavendish records the fact: "This sudden departure of the king was the especial labour of mistress Anne Boleyn, who rode with him purposely to draw him away, because he should not return till after the departure of the cardinals. The king rode that morning to view a piece of ground to make a park of (which was afterwards, as it is at this time, called Harewell-park), where mistress Anne Boleyn had provided him a place to dine in, fearing his return before my lord cardinal's departure." Du Bellai, the French ambassador, attributes the fall of Wolsey entirely to the ill offices of Anne Boleyn. In one of his letters, speaking of the cardinal, for whom he expresses great commiseration, he says, "The worst of the evil is, that mademoiselle de Boulen has made her friend promise that he never will hear him speak, for she well thinks that he cannot help having pity on him."

The mysterious disappearance of Henry's love-letters to Anne Boleyn from the royal cabinet of York-House, and the anxiety of the monarch to prevent these records of his private feelings from being carried out of his realm, caused him to offer an unparalleled affront to the departing legate Campeggio, by ordering his baggage to be ransacked at Dover, under pretence that he was conveying Wolsey's treasure out of the kingdom.² Nothing was found of a suspicious nature, for he had already sent the stolen effusions of Henry's passion to Rome, where they are still shown at the Vatican.

The vengeance of Anne Boleyn continued to follow Wolsey after the departure of his colleague, and on the 9th of October two bills were filed against him by the attorney-general, charging him with having exercised his legantine authority in England contrary to the law of the land.

¹ Cavendish's Wolsey.

² State Papers.

Wolsey said, "He knew that there was a *night crow* that possessed the royal ear against him, and misrepresented all his actions"—an expression that significantly pointed at Anne Boleyn. Capucius, the resident ambassador of the emperor, kept a wary eye on all the proceedings of the fair favourite. He dates the fall of Wolsey from his surrender of the seals, on St. Luke's-day, 1530; and after relating the well-known fact that the disgraced minister had sent in a list, written in his own hand, of all his valuable effects, desiring the king's acceptance of them, he adds the following new historical circumstance: "Yesterday the king came from Greenwich to view the said effects. He took with him only his lady-love, her mother, and one gentleman of the bedchamber."¹ Wolsey, who perhaps hoped that his fair foe had been softened by the inquisition she had just made into the stores of treasure he had resigned, humbly solicited the good offices of Sir Henry Norris to intercede for him, and anxiously, from time to time, inquired of him "if the displeasures of my lady Anne, as he now called her, were somewhat abated, her favour being the only help and remedy."² The lingering regard of Henry for his former favourite was openly manifested when he was told, at Christmas, that the cardinal was sore sick and like to die, for he expressed great concern, and sent Dr. Butts, his physician, to attend him. When Butts returned, the king said to him, "Have you seen yonder man?"—"Yes, sir," was the reply. "How do you like him?" demanded the king. "Sir," said Dr. Butts, "if you will have him dead, I warrant you that he will be dead within four days, if he receive not comfort shortly from you."—"Marry! God forbid," cried the king,³ "that he should die, for I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds. I pray you go to him, and do you your care to him."—"Then must your grace," said Dr. Butts, "send him some comfortable message."—"So I will," replied the king, "by you; therefore make speed to him again, and deliver this ring from me for a token;" in the which ring was the king's image engraven with a ruby, as like the king as might be desired. "This ring he knoweth well," continued Henry, "for he gave me the same. Tell him I am not offended with him in my heart for anything, and bid him be of good comfort."—"Then spake the king to Mrs. Anne Boleyn, saying, 'Good sweetheart, as you love me, send the cardinal a token at my request, and in so doing you shall deserve our thanks.' She, being disposed not to offend the king, would not disobey his loving request, but incontinently took her tablet of gold that hung at her side, and delivered it to Dr. Butts, with very gentle and loving words."⁴ When the compassionate physician returned to his broken-hearted patient at Esher, and delivered the tokens from the king and Anne Boleyn, with the most soothing words he could devise on the king and Mrs. Anne's behalf,

¹ Correspondence of Charles V., edited by W. Bradford, p. 291.

² Cavendish's *Wolsey*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Wolsey raised himself in his bed, and received the tokens very joyfully, giving him many thanks for the good comfort he had brought him.

The king sent three more of his physicians to consult with Butts on Wolsey's case, and in four days they set him on his feet again. He was, however, too near the court to please the rival power that crossed his star; for Anne Boleyn held no terms with any one who showed him pity. Capucius wrote to his imperial master the result of a conversation he had with Russell, who affirmed "that, on account of a few words in favour of the cardinal he had said to the king, the *lady* had held him in dudgeon, and refused to speak to him for a whole month."¹ The duke of Norfolk told Capucius that his niece was enraged against himself, because he had not used all his influence to complete the ruin of Wolsey. As she complained to the king of this conduct, her uncle, Norfolk, sent word to him by Cromwell, "that if he departed not instantly for the north, he would tear him with his teeth."² When Cromwell reported this message to his patron, Wolsey significantly intimated to him the real quarter whence the attack proceeded, and predicted further evil to himself from the increasing ascendancy of Anne Boleyn. While Wolsey was absent at his see, the king began to feel his loss. One day at council he rated the Norfolk ministry for some deficiency or neglect, and regretted the time when the cardinal presided. "Since that hour," writes Capucius to Charles V., "the duke, the lady [Anne], and her father have never ceased plotting against the cardinal. The *lady* especially has wept and lamented over her lost time and honour, and threatened the king 'that she would go away.' They say the king has had enough to do to quiet her, and even though he entreated her most affectionately, and with tears in his eyes, not to leave him, nothing would satisfy her but the arrest of the cardinal."³ The king could not be brought up to the point required, without greater provocation, which was given by the testimony of a Venetian physician, long an inmate of Wolsey's household, who had not followed him to his northern archbishopric. This man the trio enticed to the duke of Norfolk's house, where he was induced to bear testimony "that cardinal Wolsey had written to the pope, asking him to excommunicate the king and lay an interdict on England, if he did not dismiss the *lady*, and treat queen Katharine with proper respect." Such evidence was sufficient for the purposes of Anne Boleyn, and the cardinal's arrest was the consequence. Capucius does not believe in the imputation on Wolsey, because he thinks, favourable as it was to the queen's cause, he should have heard of it from the duke of Norfolk, "who was," he adds, "a bad dissembler." He treats it as a fabrication of Anne to complete Wolsey's ruin. He reports that she had already persuaded the king to have a

¹ Correspondence of Charles V., p. 311.

² Cavendish's Wolsey.

³ Correspondence of Charles V., edited by W. Bradford; despatch of Capucius, Feb. 6, 1530-1, pp. 324, 325.

prison-chamber prepared for his old minister in the Tower, the same in which his victim the duke of Buckingham spent his last days.¹ Her vengeance was not satisfied till she had succeeded in obtaining his arrest for high treason, after he had retired to Cawood, near York, when, as if to bring to his mind the cause that had incurred this deadly hatred, her former lover, Percy, then earl of Northumberland, was the person employed to execute the royal warrant. The happiness of this young nobleman had been irreparably blighted by his separation from the woman of his heart, and his compulsory marriage with another. He trembled with violent agitation when he arrested Wolsey, whom he treated in a very ignominious manner, causing his legs to be bound to the stirrups of his mule like a common malefactor. But the unhappy prisoner expired at Leicester, and obtained his release by death without the aid of the executioner.

The duke of Norfolk, Anne's maternal uncle, was now the president of the cabinet, and with the duke of Suffolk and her father² the earl of Wiltshire, Sir Thomas More, Fitzwilliam, and Stephen Gardiner, formed a *junto* by whom the affairs of the realm were conducted; but, according to the reports of the French ambassador, Anne Boleyn was the ruling power, whose influence directed all. She kept her Christmas again at Greenwich in rival splendour to the queen, and received many costly gifts and gratuities from the enamoured sovereign.

The entries connected with Anne Boleyn in Henry's privy-purse accounts are curious, and in some measure tend to elucidate the peculiar terms on which they stood. There is, on the 22nd of November, 1529, the following item:—"Paid to Cecill, for a yard and a quarter of purple velvet for maistress Anne, xijs. viiij*d*. The same day paid to Walter Walshe, for certain stuff prepared for maistress Anne of divers persons," to the amount of 21*l*. 9*s*. 8*d*.³ On the last day of December, 11*l*. is paid to her by the king's command.⁴ On the 16th of May, 1530, her tailor and skinner (*furrier*) are paid from the royal privy-purse, for goods and workmanship for my lady Anne. On the 29th, 1*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. is paid for bows, arrows, shafts, broadheads, braser, and shooting-glove, for my lady Anne.⁵

On the 5th of June, a reward of 6*s*. 8*d*. was paid to a servant of the lord mayor of London, for bringing cherries to lady Anne.⁶ On the 8th of the following September, 10*l*. is paid to the wife of the Dove (that is, of the man who keeps a shop with that sign), for linen cloth for her. On the 25th, the singular entry occurs of 10*s*. paid by the king for a cow that Urian, Anne's Breton greyhound, had killed. This animal

¹ Correspondence of Charles V. edited by W. Bradford; despatch of Capucius, Feb. 6, 1530-1, pp. 324, 325.

² He was created earl of Wiltshire in England, with remainder to his heirs male, and earl of Ormond in Ireland, with re-

mainder to his heirs-general, on the 9th of December, 1529.

³ Sir H. Nicolas, *Privy-purse Expenses Henry VIII.* p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 48.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 47.

(not the most amiable pet in the world for a maid of honour) was probably brought by Anne from France. The name of Urian, which is one of the appellations of the foul fiend, appears indicative of his evil conditions. His exploit savours of the wolf-hound propensities. On the 13th of December, 13*l.* is paid to the wife of the Dove, her linendraper, for linen and other necessities. Towards the end of the month, the sum of 5*l.* is delivered to Anne in groats for play-money. On the 30th, 100*l.* is delivered to her by the king's command, towards her New-year's gift.¹ The sum of 4*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* is paid to Adington, the skinner, for furring my lady Anne's gowns.²

It might be about this period that the following incident occurred to Anne Boleyn. A book, assuming to be of a prophetic character, was, by some mysterious agency, placed in her chamber one day. It seems to have been of a similar class with the oracular hieroglyphic almanacs of succeeding centuries, having within its pages certain figures marked with the letter H upon one, A on another, and K on a third; which were expounded as the king and his wives, and to her person certain destruction was predicted if she married the king. Anne, finding the book, took it up, and seeing the contents, she called her principal attendant, a young lady, named Anne Saville.³ "Come hither, Nan," said she. "See, here is a book of prophecies; this is the king, this is the queen, wringing her hands and mourning, and this is myself, with my head cut off." Anne Saville answered, "If I thought it true, I would not myself have him were he an emperor." "Tut! Nan," replied Anne Boleyn; "I think the book a bauble, and I am resolved to have him, that my issue may be royal, whatever may become of me." This story is the more deserving of credence, because related in Wyatt's memorials of Anne Boleyn. It proves either that her mind was free from superstition, or that she regarded the production as a device of some of the queen's friends, who might have taken that method of deterring her from her ambitious designs on the crown-matrimonial of England. It shows, also, her determination to be a queen, *coute qui coute*.

In the spring of 1530, her father, the earl of Wiltshire, was appointed, with several eminent divines, to attend the congress between the pope and the emperor at Bologna, on the part of Henry VIII. The earl, when introduced into the presence of Clement, gave great offence by refusing to comply with the usual ceremony of kissing his holiness's toe, and, if we may believe Foxe,⁴ "his lordship's dog made matters worse by biting it." The emperor, when the earl attempted to offer his arguments in favour of the divorce, "bade him be silent, and allow his less-interested colleagues to speak;" adding, "you are a party in the cause."⁵ Boleyn.

¹ Sir H. Nicolas, Privy-purse Expenses, Henry VIII. p. 101.

² Ibid.

³ The lady who afterwards bore Anne's

train when she was created marchioness of Pembroke.

⁴ Martyrology, p. 520. Mrs. Thompson's

⁵ Le Grand.

with undaunted spirit, replied, "That he came not there as a father, but as the representative of his sovereign: that if the emperor acquiesced in his royal master's wish, he should rejoice; but if not, his displeasure was of no consequence."¹ Nevertheless, the earl and his colleagues offered Charles 300,000 crowns as the price of his consent to the divorce.²

Among the items for which Anne Boleyn was chargeable to Henry's privy-purse in the year 1531, are—"Wearing-apparel furnished by George Taylor and John Scot to the amount of 18*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*; also 40*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* to the said Taylor and Adington the skinner, for furs and work done for her; and 18*l.* odd to Lilgrave the embroiderer, on account of his bill for stuff made for my lady Anne." The sum of 35*l.* is paid to John Scot, on account of his bill for the fair favourite, and other sums to be expended in her service. Then a farm is purchased for her at Greenwich, and paid for by the king. In April, upwards of 40*l.* is disbursed to Rasmus, the armourer (supposed herald-painter), for garnishing her desk with gold and other decorations.³ Notwithstanding all these presents and gratuities, added to the fine income she possessed, Anne was frequently in debt. The privy-purse expenses bear record that she pawned one of her jewels for 20*l.* to her sister Mary, who was really in straitened circumstances. This jewel was redeemed by the king's order on the 21st of November, 1530. Henry constantly had to pay the tailor's, furrier's and mercer's bills of his fair unthrifty favourite, to whom his indulgence appears to have been unbounded.

Anne, however, had her anxieties at this crisis, for the opinion of all Christendom was so much against the divorce, that Henry was disposed to waver. Even the leaders of the Protestant church had much to say against the proceedings of Anne at this period. In answer to a question of Bucer, whether Anne Boleyn had children by the king, "I do not know," replied his friend, "that she has any acknowledged as such. They may probably be brought up in private (which, if I am not mistaken, I have heard more than once), though there are those that positively deny it. She is young, good-looking, and of a rather dark complexion; he is himself in the vigour of his age, indeed you never saw a taller or more noble-looking personage."⁴ Luther himself declared, "That he would rather allow the king to take two wives, than dissolve his present marriage,"⁵ and the pope had already caused a secret suggestion of the same kind to be made to Cassal; but it went no further,⁶ such an arrangement not being very likely to please either of the ladies. At last, Cromwell's bold expedient of separating England from the papal see smoothed Anne Boleyn's path to the queenly chair. Her royal mistress was expelled from Windsor, and she became the king's constant

¹ Le Grand. Tytler.

² Lingard.

³ Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., by

⁴ Zurich Letters, Simon Grynaeus to Martin Bucer: Parker Society, p. 553, Nov. 1531.

⁵ Lutheri Epist., Halse, 1717, p. 290.

⁶ See Gregory Cassal's letter, in *Hernert*.

companion ; she rode with him on all his progresses, and, with glaring disregard to propriety, occupied apartments contiguous to his own. The dazzling prospect of a crown had rendered Anne forgetful of that delicacy of feeling which should have taught her to regard a stain as a wound. In May, 1532, the privy-purse expenses of king Henry bear record of the following extravagant item on account of my lady Anne of Rochford, as she is there called ; namely, "Twenty-two Flemish ells of gold arras, at forty-six shillings and eight-pence a yard, seventy-four pounds twelve and fourpence." A few days afterwards we find—" *Item*, the 22nd day, paid the sergeant of the cellar for that he won of my lady Anne at the bowls, by the king's command, twelve pounds seven and sixpence." It was not always that my lady Anne lost at games of chance, to which she was much addicted ; repeated records occur in the privy-purse expenses of her winnings of her royal lover. In May, 1531, money is delivered to her to play ; and yet the king pays various sums of 4*l.*, 15*l.*, and odd shillings, for his losses to her.

Some cause, perhaps the anxiety connected with her doubtful position in Henry's court, had faded the beauty of Anne Boleyn at this period ; for the Venetian ambassador, Carlo Capello, gives anything but a flattering description of her personal charms in a letter to the senate, as related by Sanuto, December 7, 1532. He says, "My lady Anne is not the most beautiful in the world ; her form is irregular and flat, her flesh has a swarthy tinge, she has a long neck, a large mouth, but very fine black eyes." He adds, "that it was generally reported that she had borne a son to the king, who died soon after its birth." Such reports, however unfounded they might be, were the natural consequences of her doubtful situation in the court.

On the 29th of May, Anne removed from Greenwich to Durham-house, and the royal watermen were rewarded by the king with 16*s.* for conveying her thither by water. In June, a costly cloak and evening dress (familiarly termed a night-gown) were provided for her at the king's especial charge. For the amusement of such of our fair readers as may wish to see a specimen of a milliner's bill of the sixteenth century for the reigning beauty of the court, we transcribe the account from that valuable work, the Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., for which we are indebted to the indefatigable research of Sir Harris Nicolas :—

		£	s.	d.
<i>Item.</i>	Paid to John Malte for twelve yards of black satin for a cloak for my lady Anne, at 8 <i>s.</i> the yard	4	16	0
	For making the same cloak	0	5	0
	A yard of black velvet for edging the same	0	13	4
	Three yards and three-quarters of black velvet to line the collar and [armholes]	1	16	0
	Two yards of black satin to line the sleeves of the said cloak, at 8 <i>s.</i> the yard	0	16	0
	Eleven yards of Bruges satin to line the rest of the cloak, at 2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> the yard	1	5	8
	Two yards of buckram to line the upper sleeves of the said cloak	0	2	0
The whole cost of the cloak is		£9	4	8

The night-gown, which was also made of black satin lined with black taffeta, stiffened with buckram and trimmed with black velvet, cost 10*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*; at the same time sixteen yards of green damask, at 8*s.* a yard, were purchased for her.¹ In August the same year, lady Russell, the wife of one of the most climbing of Henry's *parvenu* ministers, endeavoured to propitiate the fair favourite by the present of a stag and a greyhound. Anne transferred this offering to the king, who rewarded lady Russell's servant with 40*s.*²

Anne was now fast approaching to the lofty mark at which she had been aiming for the last five years. On the 1st of September, the same year, as a preparatory step for her elevation to a still higher rank, Henry created Anne Boleyn marchioness of Pembroke, a royal title which had last been borne by his uncle, Jasper Tudor. The king rendered the honour conferred on his beloved the more marked, because it identified her with his own family. The preamble to Anne Boleyn's patent of creation as marchioness, is couched in language deserving note.³ The king declares his motives for taking this step are, "Because a monarch ought to surround his throne with many peers of the worthiest of both sexes, especially those who are of royal blood. For this reason we, by the consent of the nobility of our kingdom present, do make, create and ennoble our cousin, Anne Rochfort, one of the daughters of our well-beloved cousin Thomas earl of Wiltshire and of Ormond, keeper of our privy-seal, to be marchioness of Pembroke; and also, by putting on of a mantle and the setting of a coronet of gold on her head, do really invest unto her the name, title, &c., and to her heirs male." He adds a grant to Anne and her heirs of 35*l.* per annum out of the crown rents of the county of Pembroke, to be paid by the sheriff. Her father, Gardiner and the duke of Norfolk, are among the witnesses of this charter, which was made the 1st of September, 1532.⁴

Many instances had occurred of great peerages falling to ladies, but this is the first of a female peer being created. Anne was then staying, with almost queenly pomp, at Windsor-castle, and there the ceremony took place which made her a peeress of the realm. "The king, attended by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the French ambassador, and many peers, besides the privy council, went on Sunday, Sept. 1, to the state apartment in Windsor-castle, called by some 'the chamber of saluta-

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., pp. 222-3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 245.

³ Milles' Catalogue of Honour, p. 41.

⁴ The original of this patent is preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster. It gives Anne Boleyn and her heirs after her, precedence over all the other marchionesses in England. There were at that time, two marchionesses closely allied to the royal family; namely, the marchioness of Dorset, the king's own niece, and wife to his cousin the grandson

of Elizabeth Woodville, and the marchioness of Exeter, whose husband was the son of his aunt, the princess Katherine Plantagenet. The usual clause touching the legitimacy of the offspring by whom the title was to be inherited, is omitted in Anne Boleyn's patent. An omission which of course was regarded by her enemies as intentional, and liable to constructions not the most flattering to her virtue. She is designated as *lady marques* in the instrument.

tion,' and by others 'the presence-chamber,' and seated himself in the chair of state. To this room Anne Boleyn was conducted by a great train of courtiers and nobility, both lords and ladies. First entered Garter king-at-arms, bearing the king's patent of nobility. After Garter came the lady Mary, daughter to the duke of Norfolk and cousin-german to Anne Boleyn, carrying on her left arm a robe of state, made of crimson velvet furred with ermine, and in her right hand a coronet of gold. She was followed by Anne Boleyn herself, with her hair loose hanging about her shoulders, attired in her inner garment, called a surcoat, of crimson velvet, lined with ermine also, and with short sleeves: she walked between Elizabeth countess of Rutland, and Dorothy countess of Sussex, and she was followed by many noble gentlewomen. While she approached the king's royal seat, she thrice made her obeisance; and when she arrived before him, she kneeled. The charter having been presented to the king, he delivered it to his secretary Gardiner, who read it aloud; and when he came to the words *mantillæ inductionem*, the king took the robe of state from the lady Mary and put it on Anne Boleyn's shoulders; and at the words *circuli aurei*, the lady Mary handed him the coronet, which he placed on the brow of the new-made marchioness. When the charter was read he presented it to her, together with another that secured to her a pension of 1,000*l.* per annum during her life, for maintaining that dignity. She then gave the king humble thanks, and with the coronet on her head, and invested with the robe, retired, the trumpets sounding most melodiously as she departed from the presence-chamber. A largess was cried on her gift to Garter king-at-arms of 8*l.*, and to his officers of 11*l.*; while Henry gave a largess of 5*l.* on the occasion."

The sum of 30*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* was paid from the royal privy-purse for the materials of which Anne Boleyn's robes were made for her investiture as marchioness of Pembroke.² Henry presented her with some miniatures by Holbein, magnificently set in jewels, as ornaments for her person. The unpublished MSS. in the Chapter-house, Westminster, bear record of a costly donation of gold, silver, and parcel-gilt plate, presented by the king to Anne Boleyn, on this occasion, to the value of 1,188*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* The articles in this curious inventory consist of cups, flagons, bowls, trenchers, goblets with covers, having the royal arms on shields; spoons, salts, chandeliers, and a chafing-dish. She had an establishment which outvied that of the sister and nieces of the king. She had a train-bearer, three ladies of the bedchamber, and four maids of honour, all of them daughters of barons or knights; three gentlemen in waiting; six officers, all knights or barons; and more than thirty domestics. In most of the royal architecture which was under progress

¹ Milles' Catalogue of Honour, p. 42.

² Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII.; Sir H. Nicolas.

during the divorce, and while Anne Boleyn was beloved by the king, their initial cyphers were introduced, entwined with a true-lover's knot. This is still to be seen at Cambridge, where the choir of King's college is separated from the ante-chapel by a screen, added in the year 1534, in which are these cyphers and knot, besides the arms of England, empaled with those of Boleyn.

Just before the visit Henry made to France in company with Anne Boleyn as marchioness of Pembroke, cardinal du Bellai, ambassador from Francis I., thus describes their proceedings:—"I am alone every day with the king when we are hunting; he chats familiarly with me, and sometimes madame Anne joins our party. Each of them are equipt with bow and arrows, which is, as you know, their mode of following the chase. Sometimes he places us both in a station to see him shoot the deer; and whenever he arrives near any house belonging to his courtiers, he alights to tell them of the feats he has performed. Madame Anne has presented me a complete set of hunting-gear, consisting of a cap, a bow and arrows, and a greyhound. I do not tell you this as a boast of the lady's favours, but to show how much king Henry prizes me as the representative of our monarch, for whatever that lady does is directed by him." This despatch is dated from Hanwell: so is the following, which is written to intimate that king Henry much desired that Anne Boleyn should be invited to his approaching congress with Francis I. "If our sovereign," says Bellai, "wishes to gratify the king of England, he can do nothing better than invite madame Anne with him to Calais, and entertain her there with great respect." The next sentence is not complimentary to the reputation of Anne Boleyn, for the ambassador adds:—"Nevertheless, it will be desirable that the king of France brings no company of ladies (indeed there is always better cheer without them); but in case they *must* come, he had better bring only the queen of Navarre to Boulogne. I shall not mention with whom, or from whence, this idea originates, being pledged to secrecy, but be assured I do not write without authority. As to the queen of France,¹ not for the world would he [Henry VIII.] meet her, for he says he would as soon see the devil as a lady in a Spanish dress."

It was at the period between Anne Boleyn's creation as marchioness of Pembroke and her recognition as queen, that Wyatt addressed to her the following lines, in which he bids farewell to her as a lover:—

"Forget not yet the tried intent
Of such a truth as I have meant;
My great travail so gladly spent,
Forget not yet.

* * * * * *
* * * * * *

¹ Eleanor of Austria, sister to Charles V., and consequently niece to Katharine of Arragon: she was the second wife of Francis I.

Forget not, oh ! forget not this,
 How long ago hath been and is
 The love that never meant amis,
 Forget not yet.

Forget not now thine own approved,
 The which so constant hath thee loved,
 Whose steadfast faith hath never moved,
 Forget not yet."

The state of horticulture in England at this period may be traced by some very interesting items in the privy-purse expenses of Henry VIII. in the summer of 1532, in which are recorded rewards paid to sundry poor women, on various days, for bringing the king presents of apples, pears, barberries, peaches, artichokes, filberts and other fruits. His gardeners from Beaulieu, Greenwich and Hampton bring him grapes, oranges, cucumbers, melons, cherries, strawberries, pomegranates, citrons, plums, lettuces, and, in short, almost every kind of luxury that could be supplied for the royal table in modern times. The first specimens of porcelain, or china, on record ever introduced into England, are mentioned by Henry Huttoft, surveyor of the customs at Southampton, in a letter to Cromwell about this period, announcing the arrival of a present of novelties for king Henry VIII., consisting of the following articles:—"Two musk cats, three little 'munkkeys,' a marmozet; a shirt, or upper vesture, of fine cambric, wrought with white silk in every part, which is very fair for a suchlike thing; a chest of nuts of India, containing xl. which be greater than a man's fist [cocoa-nuts, of course]; and three potts of erthe payntid, called *Porceland*.¹ Howbeit, the merchant saith, before they shall be presented, there shall be to every one of these things certain preparations, such as chains of gold and silver, with colours and other things according, for the furniture of the same." These dainty chains, we think, must have been intended for the furniture of the cats, monkeys, and marmozet. In contradistinction to queen Katharine, who was fond of those animals, Anne Boleyn expressed the greatest abhorrence of monkeys.

On the 4th of October was paid, by Henry's orders, 56*l.* for certain silks provided for apparel for Anne, who is styled my lady *marques* of Pembroke, and the same day 38*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* for furring the same.² Probably she had her share, also, in the jewels, mercery and millinery for which the royal privy-purse accounts are charged, to the amount of more than 12,000*l.*, at the same time. The following day, the only daughter of the sovereign receives the noble gift of 10*l.*³ On the 13th of October, Anne, attended by the marchioness of Derby and a chosen retinue of ladies, arrived at Dover in the royal train; and early on the following morning they all embarked for Calais, where they arrived at ten in the forenoon. On the 14th, the grand-master of France sent a

¹ Porcelain. Ellis's Original Letters; third-series.

² Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. ³ *Ibid.*

present of grapes and pears to the fair Boleyn. The same day, Henry gave her further marks of his favour, by granting her a settlement of of lands in Wales, Essex, Herts and Somersetshire. On the 21st, they progressed with great pomp to Boulogne, to meet the French king. Henry and Francis approached each other bare-headed, and embraced. Francis was not accompanied either by his queen, his sister, or indeed by any ladies—a mortifying circumstance to Anne Boleyn, since nothing could afford a more decided proof of the questionable light in which she was regarded at this time by her old friends at the court of France. Hall gives an elaborate account of the munificence of Henry's entertainment at Boulogne, where Francis, in the capacity of host, furnished the cheer and paid all costs.¹

Though Anne sojourned four days with Henry at Boulogne, the absence of the ladies of the French king's family prevented her from appearing at the festivities that were provided for her royal lover. On the 25th, she returned with the two kings to Calais, where, for the honour of his realm, our English Harry had caused preparations² to be made for the reception of the French sovereign and his court which can only be paralleled in the gorgeous details of Oriental romance; where, however, silver and gold, and pearls are supplied by the writer cost-free, while Henry must have drained his exchequer to furnish the banqueting-chamber at Calais, which is thus described by Hall:—"It was hung with tissue raised with silver, and framed with cloth of silver raised with gold. The seams of the same were covered with broad wreaths of goldsmiths' work, full of stones and pearls. In this chamber was a cupboard of seven stages high, all plate of gold, and no gilt plate. Besides that, there hung ten branches of silver-gilt, and ten branches all white silver, every branch hanging by a long chain of the same sort, bearing two lights of wax. The French king was served three courses, dressed after the French fashion; and the king of England had like courses, after the English fashion. The first course of every kind was forty dishes, the second sixty, the third eighty, which were costly and pleasant. After supper on the Sunday evening, 28th of October, came in the marchioness of Pembroke, with seven ladies in masquing apparel of strange fashion, made of cloth of gold slashed with crimson tinsel satin, puffed with cloth of silver, and knit with laces of gold.³ These ladies were led into the state chamber, just described, by four damsels dressed in crimson satin, with tabards of fine cypress. Then the lady marchioness took the French king, the countess of Derby the king of Navarre, and every lady took a lord. In dancing, king Henry removed the ladies' visors, so that their beauties were shown."⁴ The French king then discovered that he had danced with an old acquaintance, the

¹ MS. Harl., No. 303, p. 4.² Herbert. Lingard. Tytler. Turner. Hall.³ Hall, p. 794.⁴ *Ibid.*

lovely English maid of honour to his first queen, for whose departure he had chidden the English ambassador ten years before. He conversed with her some little time apart, and the next morning sent her as a present a jewel valued at 15,000 crowns.¹ On the 30th of this festive month, the two sovereigns mounted their horses, and Henry having conducted his royal guest to the verge of his dominions, they dismounted on French ground; and there they joined hands with loving behaviour and hearty words, embraced each other, and so parted."² The weather was so tempestuous, that Anne and her royal lover were detained a fortnight at Calais after the departure of Francis I. On the 14th of November they safely crossed the Channel and landed at Dover.

The favourite diversion of Anne Boleyn and the king seems to have been cards and dice. Henry's losses at games of chance were enormous; but Anne, with the single exception of the sum she lost to the sergeant of the cellar at bowls, appears to be a fortunate gamester. On the 20th of November we observe the following entry in Henry's privy-purse expenses: "Delivered to the king's grace at Stone 9*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, which his grace lost at *pope Julius's game* to my lady marques [Anne Boleyn], Mr. Bryan, and maister Weston." On the 25th, Henry loses twenty crowns to the same party at the same game; and the following day, 18*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* On the 28th, Anne again wins, 11*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, in a single-handed game of cards with her royal lover. The next day Henry is the loser of 4*l.* at *pope Julius's game*; and also, on the 31st, sixteen crowns at the same to Anne and young Weston.³ Such entries are little to the credit of any of the persons concerned. *Pope Julius's game*,⁴ which was at this time so greatly in vogue in the court of Henry VIII., was probably the origin of the vulgar round-game called in modern times "Pope-Joan." The various points in that game, such as matrimony, intrigue, pope and the stops, appear to have borne significant allusion to the relative situations in the royal drama of the divorce, and the interference of the pope and his agents in preventing the king's marriage with his beautiful favourite, Anne Boleyn.

It is well known that the Observant Friars of Greenwich rendered themselves highly obnoxious to Henry, by their determined opposition to his divorce from their royal patroness, queen Katharine; but even in this house Anne Boleyn had a partisan. Her charity to the mother of one of the lay-brothers, Richard Lyst, led him warmly to espouse her cause, "for which," he assures "her grace," as he styles her in a letter addressed to her soon after she was created marchioness of Pembroke, "he suffered oftentimes rebukes and much trouble."

¹ Le Grand. Lingard.

² Hall.

³ Young Weston, one of the gamblers at these orgies, was among the unfortunate victims of Henry's jealousy of Anne Boleyn.

⁴ In the Privy-purse Expenses of Henry

VIII. it is called *pope July's game*, in evident mockery of Julius II., the copy of whose *breve* of dispensation had been lately produced by Katharine of Arragon as an important document in favour of the legality of her marriage with Henry VIII.

"Also, madam," continues he, "oftentimes in derision I have been called your chaplain; howbeit, as yet I never took no orders to be priest, but with the grace of Jesu I do intend in time, and I trust within this ij year and less, to say *an hundred masses* for your prosperous state, both spiritual and corporeal."¹

Can any one suppose that the writer of this letter, who is no babe in point of worldly wisdom, would have mentioned his hope of saying one hundred masses as an acceptable service to a person who did not profess a belief in their efficacy? But, however Anne Boleyn might, for her own personal interests, ally herself politically with the rising party who supported the Reformation, she continued, to the end of her life, to conform to the ceremonials and ritual authorized by king Henry's church, which retained every dogma, every observance, every superstition believed and practised by Roman Catholics, save the supremacy of the pope.

CHAPTER II.

THE time and place of Anne Boleyn's marriage with Henry VIII. are disputed points in history. Some authors have affirmed that she was privately united to the king at Dover the same day they returned from France, being the festival of St. Erkenwald; according to others, the nuptials were solemnized in the presence of the earl and countess of Wiltshire, and the duke and duchess of Norfolk, in the chapel of Sopewell-nunnery. This report, perhaps, was caused by a temporary retreat of Anne to that convent after her return from France, and the secret resort of the king to meet her there at a yew-tree, about a mile from this cloistered shade, of which the learned lady Juliana Berners was formerly the prioress. The unpopularity of this union was the cause of the profound secrecy with which the nuptials between Henry and his fair subject were solemnized; for the same cause it was necessary to keep the fact from publicity as long as it was possible to do so.

It is among the historical traditions of Anne's native county, Norfolk, that she was privately married to the king at Blickling-hall. Blomfield says,² that Henry came there expressly for this purpose. This report is alluded to by a Norfolk poet, Stephenson, in his lines on the visit of Charles II., and his queen, Catharine of Braganza, to Blickling-hall:—

"Blickling two monarchs and two queens has seen;
One king fetched hence, another brought a queen."

The testimony of Wyatt, however, who was not only a contemporary, but a witness too deeply interested not to be correct on such a point, confirms the assertions of Stowe and Godwin that this event, so fatal to the bride, who was to purchase the brief possession of a crown with the loss of her head, took place on St. Paul's-day, January 25, 1533.

¹ Ellis's Original Letters, vol. ii. p. 248; third series.

² Blomfield's Norfolk.

"On the morning of that day, at a very early hour," says a contemporary, "Dr. Rowland Lee, one of the royal chaplains, received the unwonted order to celebrate mass in an unfrequented attic in the west turret of Whitehall." There he found the king, attended by Norris and Heneage, two of the grooms of the chamber, and the marchioness of Pembroke, accompanied by her train-bearer Anne Saville, afterwards lady Berkeley.¹ On being required to perform the nuptial rite between his sovereign and the marchioness, in the presence of the three witnesses assembled, the chaplain hesitated; but Henry is said to have assured him that the pope had pronounced in favour of the divorce, and that he had the dispensation for a second marriage in his possession.² As soon as the marriage ceremony had been performed, the parties separated in silence before it was light, and viscount Rochford, the brother of the bride, was despatched to announce the event in confidence to Francis I. Such is the account preserved in a contemporary MS. of the romantic circumstances, as to time and place, under which the fair, ill-fated Anne Boleyn received the nuptial ring from the hand that was so soon to sign her death-warrant, and also that of her fellow-victim, Henry Norris, one of the three witnesses of her marriage. That this step had been taken by the king, not only without the knowledge but against the advice of his council and most confidential advisers, may be inferred from the fact that even Cranmer knew not of it, as he himself writes to his friend Hawkins, "till a fortnight after the marriage had been performed," which, he says, "took place about St. Paul's-day."³ He was himself consecrated archbishop of Canterbury two months afterwards.

Anne remained in great retirement, as the nature of the case required, for her royal consort was still, in the opinion of the majority of his subjects, the husband of another lady. It was, however, found impossible to conceal the marriage without affecting the legitimacy of the expected heir to the crown. Therefore, on Easter-eve, which this year was April 12, the king openly solemnized his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and she went in state as his queen. As president of the court, holden at Dunstable, to consider the legality of Henry's previous wedlock, Cranmer pronounced, on the 25th of May, the decision, that the king's marriage with his brother's widow was, and always had been, a nullity and invalid, having been contracted against the divine law. Five days after, he gave at Lambeth a judicial confirmation to Henry's union with Anne Boleyn. Anne's queenly establishment was immediately arranged,

¹ Le Grand. Tytler. Lingard. Benger. Mrs. Thompson.

² This portion of the narrative we are inclined to doubt; since Henry, weary of the delays attending the prosecution of the divorce, which in its procrastinated tedium can only be compared to a modern chancery-case, had resolved upon the bold measure of

treating his marriage with queen Katharine as a nullity. As for the scruples of Rowland Lee, they were more likely to have been overcome by the promise of the mitre of the bishopric of Lichfield, than by the fiction of a papal dispensation for the interdicted marriage.

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 81.

in which two of her own relatives, with whom she had hitherto been on bad terms, were given appointments; namely, her brother's wife, lady Rochford, and lady Boleyn, the wife of her uncle Sir Edward Boleyn.

At the establishment of Anne's household, a great multiplication of her portraits took place, all in one costume, which has given the general idea of her style of person and dress. The only one of this kind, painted on oak panel "as a tablet," which possesses a genuine pedigree, having been in the family of the late general Thornton,¹ nearly three hundred years. It was the etiquette for each of the officers of a royal household to possess a portrait of the king or queen. Before the art of locket miniatures was brought to perfection, these official portraits were painted on oak panel, about eight or nine inches square, and the face and bust appear within a ring. These were called tablets, or table-portraits. The well-known features of the oval-faced beauty are, in the Thornton portrait, painted with exquisite delicacy, though in the brunette style; the eyes are rich brown, the hair entirely drawn back under a species of banded coif; the lips beautiful, with a remarkable depth between the chin and under lip. The majesty of the head, and proud composure of expression, are remarkable; the contour of the chest, though it is long, and the form of the throat and shoulders, assist the fine air of the head. The gown is square in the bust; it seems of amber or tawny velvet, studded with emeralds: a drapery of green velvet is on the shoulders. A double string of pearls passes round the throat, and between them appears some indication of the enlargement which no engraver can be induced to copy. The cap in this original portrait is well defined: a frontlet made of the five-cornered frame of double strings of pearls, is first fitted to the face; at the back is a green velvet hood with broad scarf lappets: one of these is thrown over the back of the hood, the other hangs on the right shoulder in graceful folds.

Among the first tributes offered to Anne on her new dignity, was a small present from her zealous partisan Richard Lyst, who took an early opportunity of reminding her grace of the uncomfortable predicament in which he had placed himself with his brethren the Observant Friars, by his opposition to friar Forrest in her honour, and requested her to be good and gracious unto him. His letter on this subject is addressed to Cromwell, whom he favours with some particulars of his former mode of living, which are illustrative of the domestic statistics of the period. He says:—"I have made and composed iij glasses with waters, and I have sent two of them to the queen's grace for a poor token; and so now, by my kinsman, the bearer of this letter, I send unto your

¹ It was purchased at the sale of his effects after his decease, at his house, Grosvenor-gate, and is engraved in the illustrated edition of *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. iv.

mastership the third glass with water for a poor token. I was in time past my lord cardinal's servant, and also dwelled in London in Cheapside viij years, and made many waters for my lord cardinal, and much ipocras also, and served him of much spice; and I was both a grocer and a poticARRIER [apothecary]. And so now I have exercised one point of mine *old* occupation in making of the foresaid waters, which waters will keep in their virtue and strength these two years, if they be well kept. I beseech your mastership to have me meekly commended unto the quyne's grace, and desire her grace to remember my poor mother, her continual beedwoman."¹

As early as the 28th of April, Henry had issued his letters of summons to the wives of his peers, requiring them "to give their attendance, they and their women, at the approaching solemnity of his dearest wife queen Anne's procession from Greenwich to the Tower, and at her coronation, on the feast of Pentecost; requiring them to be at his manor of Greenwich on the Friday before that feast, to attend his said queen from thence to the Tower of London that day, and the next day to ride through the city of London with her on horseback." The ladies are to provide themselves and their women with white or grey palfreys for the occasion, "the caparisons of those to be ridden by themselves shall be furnished by the master of the horse to our said dearest wife the queen, save the bits and bosses: the liveries for their female followers, as well as their horse-gear, to be provided by the ladies themselves."² Their own robes to be delivered to them on demand by the keeper of the royal wardrobe, which proves that it was the custom of the crown to furnish the robes of the peeresses.

Early in May, the lord mayor received letters from the king, notifying that the coronation of queen Anne was to take place at Westminster on Whit-Sunday, willing him to fetch her grace by water from Greenwich to the Tower. At a common council held on this matter, the lord mayor, who belonged to the worshipful craft of the haberdashers, and bore the very appropriate name of Peacock, issued his mandate to his brethren the haberdashers to fit up and ornament a foist or wafter (which was a sort of gun-boat); likewise a barge for the bachelors, well garnished with streamers and banners.³ The broad bosom of the Thames was the theatre of this commencing scene of Anne Boleyn's triumph. In obedience to the royal order, the lord mayor and his civic train embarked at New-stairs at one o'clock, May 19. In the city state-barge was stationed a band, playing on instruments called shalms and shag-bushes; but, notwithstanding these uncivilized names, we are informed "they made goodly harmony." The

¹ Ellis's Original Letters; third series. Richard Lyst left his convent and became a secular priest in 1535: he was presented to

the vicarage of St. Dunstan's West.

² Summons to the lady Cobham, MS. Harl. 283, f. 96.

³ Hall, p. 800.

great men of the city were dressed in scarlet; all had about their necks heavy gold chains, and those who were knights wore the collar of SS. Fifty barges of the city companies followed the lord mayor. Every one in London who could procure a boat or wherry embarked on the Thames that May morning, and either accompanied the chief of the city to Greenwich, or, resting on their oars, awaited in advantageous positions to get a view of that triumphant beauty who had displaced the right royal Katharine, and was now to be publicly shown as their queen. The lord mayor's barge was immediately preceded by the foist, bristling at the sides with the small artillery called by our forefathers falcons, demi-falcons, culverins, and chambers. On the deck, the place of honour was occupied by a dragon, which capered, twirled a tremendous long tail, and spat wild-fire perpetually into the Thames. Round about the dragon was arranged a company of attendant monsters and *salvage* men, very terrible, who vomited wild-fire, and performed the most extraordinary antics. Ever and anon the city artillerymen persuaded some of the ordnance of the foist to go off, to the mingled terror and delight of the worthy commonalty, who floated round about as near as they durst. On the right of the lord mayor was the bachelors' barge, and on the left another foist, on the deck of which sat virgins round about a mount, singing the queen's praises in sweet chorus. From the mount issued a stem of gold with branches of red and white roses; in midst of them sat a white falcon crowned, holding a sceptre in one claw, and beneath, the queen's somewhat presumptuous motto, *ME AND MINE*.¹ She had assumed the white falcon as her symbol from the crest of her maternal ancestors, the Butlers, and the whole device proclaimed that by her was to be continued the line of the blended roses of Plantagenet. The barges were fitted up with innumerable little coloured flags; at the end of each hung a small bell, which, wavering in the wind, sent forth a low chime. Thus the gay flotilla rowed merrily past Greenwich, and then all turned about, so that the barges of the lowest rank prepared to lead the way back to London; and the lord mayor and his attendant pageantry cast anchor just before Greenwich-palace, and while they waited the fair queen's pleasure made the goodliest melody. Precisely at three o'clock Anne issued from her palace, attired in cloth of gold, and attended by a fair bevy of maidens. When the queen entered her barge, those of the citizens moved forwards. She was immediately preceded by the lord mayor, while the bachelors' barge claimed the privilege of rowing on the right of the royal barge, sounding notes of triumph with trumpets and wind-instruments, in which the queen took particular delight. The barge of her father the earl of Wiltshire, of the duke of Suffolk, and many of the nobility followed that of the queen. Thus was she attended up the Thames till she came opposite the Tower,

¹ Camden's remains.

when a marvellous peal of guns was shot off. Henry was in that ominous fortress, awaiting the arrival of her who was the desire of his heart and the light of his eyes. At her landing, the lord chamberlaine and the heralds were ready to receive her, and brought her to the king, who, with loving countenance, welcomed her at the postern by the water-side. As soon as he met her, he kissed her, and she turned about and thanked the lord mayor very gracefully before he returned to his barge. After the royal pair had entered the Tower, "the barges hovered before it the whole evening, making the goodliest melody;" while the dragon and his attendant *salvage* monsters continued capering and casting forth flame with increased vivacity, as the twilight of a mid-May eve descended on the admiring multitude. The noble river in front of the Tower of London was covered with boats and skiffs of every sort, size, colour, and gaudy ornament. The city poured forth its humbler population in crowds on the neighbouring wharfs: the adjacent bridge, then crested with fortified turrets and embattled gateways, swarmed with human life. It was a scene peculiar to its era, which can never occur again, for modern times have neither the power nor material to emulate it. In the midst of that picturesque splendour, who could have anticipated what was in store for Anne Boleyn on the second anniversary of that gay and glorious day? and what was to be transacted within the gloomy circle of that royal fortress, of which she then took such proud possession, when May 19 had thrice returned again?

The queen sojourned with her husband at the Tower some days, during which time seventeen young noblemen and gentlemen were made knights of the Bath, as attendants on her coronation. The royal progress through the city, which was usual to all the queens her predecessors on the eve of their coronations, was appointed for Anne Boleyn on the last day of May, and never was the ceremony performed with more pomp. The city was gravelled from the Tower to Temple-bar, and railed on one side of the streets, so "that the people should not be hurt by the horses." Cornhill and Gracechurch-street were hung with crimson and scarlet, and most part of the Chepe with cloth of gold and velvet. "The lord mayor, Sir Stephen Peacock, went in a gown of crimson velvet and a goodly collar of SS to receive the queen at the Tower-gate. The first in her procession was the retinue of the French ambassador, in blue velvet and sleeves of yellow and blue; then the judges, and next to them the new-made knights of the Bath, in violet gowns and hoods purpled with miniver, like doctors. After them the abbots; then the nobility and bishops. The duke of Suffolk that day filled the office of lord high-constable of England, bearing the verge of silver which denoted that office." Whether his thoughts were on the glaring pageantry around him, or on his royal and loving spouse then dying at Westhorpe-hall in Suffolk, no chronicler informs us; but we doubt if those who examine

the tenor of his actions must not class Charles Brandon among the most heartless of court favourites.

Then came the bright object of all this parade, Anne Boleyn, seated in an open litter—

“Opposing freely
The beauty of her person to the people.”

“The litter was covered with cloth of gold shot with white, and the two palfreys which supported the litter were clad, heads and all, in a garb of white damask, and were led by the queen’s footmen. Anne was dressed in a surcoat of silver tissue, and a mantle of the same, lined with ermine. She wore her dark tresses flowing down her shoulders, and on her head a coif, with a circlet of precious rubies. A canopy of cloth of gold was borne over her by four knights on foot. The queen’s litter was preceded by her chancellor, and followed by her chamberlain, lord Borough; William Cosyns, her master of horse, led her own palfrey, trapped down to the ground with cloth of gold. After came seven ladies, in crimson velvet, trimmed with cloth of gold, riding on palfreys, and two chariots covered with red cloth of gold; in the first of which were the old duchess of Norfolk and the marchioness of Dorset, and in the other chariot were four ladies of the bedchamber. Fourteen other court ladies followed, with thirty of their waiting-maids on horseback, in silk and velvet; and then followed the guard, in coats ornamented with beaten gold.” In Fenchurch-street they all came to a pause to view the pageant of children apparelled like merchants, who welcomed the queen with two proper propositions in French and English. At Gracechurch-street corner was a “marvellous cunning pageant,” made by the mercantiles of the Steelyard, of mount Parnassus, with Apollo and all his attendants, who made speeches. They were placed about a fountain of Helicon, which sprang up, in four jets, several yards high, and fell in a cup at top, and overflowed. This fountain of Helicon “did run with right good Rhenish wine all that day, for the refreshment of the multitude.” The next pageant was that of the white falcon, described in the water-procession, with this difference, that the falcon sat uncrowned among the red and white roses, and an angel flew down, “with great melody,” and placed a close crown of gold on the falcon’s head as the queen came opposite. At the conduit of Cornhill sat the three Graces on a throne, and before it was a spring of grace continually running with good wine. Before the fountain sat a poet, who declared to the queen the proprieties of each of the three, every one of whom gave her a gift of grace. The conduit of Cheapside ran, at one end white wine, and at the other claret, all that afternoon.”

“At Cheapside-cross stood all the aldermen, from among whom advanced master Walter, the city recorder, who presented the queen with a purse, containing a thousand marks of gold, which she very thankfully

received, with many goodly words. At the little conduit of Cheapside was a rich pageant full of melody and song, where Pallas, Venus and Juno gave the queen their apple of gold, divided in three compartments, being wisdom, riches and felicity. Over the gate of St. Paul's was a pageant of three ladies, and in a circle over their heads was written, in Latin words, 'Proceed, queer Anne, and reign prosperously;' the lady sitting in the middle had a tablet, on which was written, 'Come, friend, and receive the crown;' the lady on the right had a tablet of silver, on which was written, 'Lord, direct my steps;' and the third lady had a tablet of gold, written with azure letters, 'Confide in the Lord:' and the ladies cast down wafers, on which these words were stamped. On a scaffold, at the east end of St. Paul's, stood two hundred children, well apparelled, who rehearsed to the queen many goodly verses of poets, translated into English, which she highly commended. And when she came to Ludgate, the gate was newly burnished with gold and bice; on the leads of St. Martin's church stood a choir of men and children, singing new ballads in her praise. Fleet-street conduit was finely painted, all the scutcheons and angels were refreshed, and the chime melodiously sounding; on it were four turrets, and in each turret a cardinal virtue, which promised the queen never to leave her, but ever to be aiding and comforting her: and in the midst of the tower, closely concealed, was a concert of solemn instruments, which made a heavenly noise, and was much regarded and praised by the queen; the conduit ran with red and white wine all that afternoon. Thus the queen was brought to Westminster-hall, which was richly hung with golden arras, and newly glazed. The queen rode in her litter to the very midst of the hall, where she was taken out, and led up to the high daïs, and placed under the canopy of state. On the left side was a cupboard of ten stages, filled with cups of gold marvellous to behold." In a short time was brought to the queen "a solemn service in great standing spice-plates, and a *voide* of spice (which was no other than comfits or sugar-plums), besides *ipocras* and other wines, which the queen sent down to her ladies. When they had partaken, she gave thanks to the lord mayor, and to the ladies and nobles who had attended on her. She then withdrew herself, with a few ladies, to the whitehall, and changed her dress, and remained with the king at Westminster that night."

The bright morrow was that coronation-day, the grand desideratum on which the heart and wishes of Anne Boleyn had been for so many years steadfastly fixed. It was Whit-Sunday, and the 1st of June—of all days the most lovely in England, when the fresh smile of spring still blends with early summer. That morning of high festival saw the queen early at her toilet, for she entered Westminster-hall with her ladies a little after eight, and stood under her canopy of state in her surcoat and mantle of purple velvet, lined with ermine, and the circlet of rubies she

wore the preceding day. Then came the monks of Westminster in rich copes, and the bishops and abbots in their splendid copes and mitres. The ray-cloth (striped-cloth) was spread all the way from the daïs in Westminster-hall, through the sanctuary and palace, up to the high altar in Westminster-abbey. The procession of officiating nobles then set forth; the "marquis of Dorset, bearing the queen's sceptre, the earl of Arundel, with the rod of ivory and the dove, side by side. The earl of Oxford, lord high-chamberlain for the day, walked after them bearing the crown; after him came the duke of Suffolk, as temporary lord high-steward of England, bearing a long silver wand, and the queen's uncle, lord William Howard, with the marshal's staff. Then came the queen, the bishops of London and Winchester walking on each side of her, holding up the lappets of her robe; the freemen of the Cinque-ports, called barons, dressed in crimson, with blue points to their sleeves, bore her canopy. The queen's train was borne by the old duchess of Norfolk; she was followed by the female nobility of England in surcoats of scarlet velvet with narrow sleeves, the stomachers barred with ermine, the degree of the nobility being indicated by the number of the ermine bars. The knights' wives were in scarlet, but they had no trains, neither had the queen's gentlewomen. Then the queen was set in a rich chair, between the choir and the high altar. And after she had rested herself awhile, she descended to the high altar, and there prostrated herself while Cranmer said certain collects. Then she rose up, and he anointed her on the head and breast, and she was led up again; and after many oraisons he set the crown of St. Edward on her head, and delivered to her the sceptres, and all the choir sang *Te Deum*. Which done, the archbishop took from her head the crown of St. Edward, being heavy, and set on the crown made for her, and so went to mass; and when the offertory came, she descended again to the altar and there offered, being still crowned, and then ascended to her chair of state, where she sat till *Agnus Dei* was sung; and then she went down and kneeled before the altar, and received of Cranmer the eucharist, and returned to her place again. After mass was over she went to St. Edward's shrine, and there offered, and withdrew into a little place, made for the nonce, on one side of the choir. The nobility had, in the meantime, assumed their coronets; and when the queen had reposed herself, she returned with the procession in the former order, excepting that the proud and triumphant father of the queen supported her sceptre hand, and on her left hand she was assisted by lord Talbot, as deputy for his father the earl of Shaftesbury. Thus she was led into Westminster-hall, and then to her withdrawing chamber where she waited till the banquet was prepared."

Meantime, every lord who owed services at a coronation prepared them according to his duty. The duke of Suffolk, as high-steward, was richly

apparelled, his doublet and jacket were set with orient pearl, and his courser trapped to the ground with crimson velvet, having letters of beaten gold thereon; and by his side rode about the hall the lord William Howard, earl-marshal for his brother, whose robe was crimson velvet, and the housings of his steed purple velvet, with white lions on it, cut out in white satin and embroidered. The earl of Essex was the queen's carver; the earl of Sussex her sewer; the earl of Arundel her chief butler, on whom twelve citizens of London did wait at the cupboard. The earl of Derby was her cup-bearer; the viscount Lisle her pantler; the lord Burgoyne chief larderer; and the mayor of Oxford kept the buttery bar; while her late lover, Sir Thomas Wyatt, of poetical celebrity, acted for his father, Sir Henry Wyatt, as chief ewerer, and claimed the office of pouring scented water on the queen's hands. When all these functionaries were at their stations, the queen entered the hall with her canopy borne over her. She washed, sat down to table under the canopy of state; on the right side of her chair stood the countess of Oxford, on the left the countess of Worcester, all the dinner-time; and they often held a "fine cloth before the queen's face, whenever she listed to spit, or do otherwise at her pleasure"—a most extraordinary office, certainly, but first appointed at an earlier and less refined era than even the reign of Henry VIII. "And under the table went two gentlewomen, and sat at the queen's feet during the dinner." When the queen and all these attendants had taken their places, the duke of Suffolk and lord William Howard rode into the hall on horseback, escorting the sewer and the knights of the Bath, each bearing a dish of the first course for the queen's table, twenty-seven dishes, besides "subtleties of ships made of coloured wax, marvellous and gorgeous to behold." While this service was done, the trumpeters standing in the window at the nethermost end of the hall, played melodiously. "And all the tables in the hall were served so quickly, it was a marvel." The king took no part in all this grand ceremonial, but remained in the cloister of St. Stephen's, where was made a little closet, in which he stood privately with several ambassadors, beholding all the service it was his pleasure should be offered to his new queen.

While the dinner was proceeding, "the duke of Suffolk and lord William Howard rode up and down the hall, cheering the lords and ladies, and the lord mayor and his brethren; and when these had dined, they commanded them to stand still in their places or on their forms, till the queen had washed. Then she arose and stood in the midst of the hall, to whom the earl of Sussex brought a goodly spice-plate, and served her with comfits. After him the lord mayor brought a standing cup of gold, set in a cup of assay; and after she had drunk she gave him the cup, according to the claims of the city, thanking him and his brethren for their pains. Then she went under her canopy, borne over

her to the door of her chamber, where she turned about, and gave the canopy, with the golden bells and all, to the barons of the Cinque-ports, according to their claim, with great thanks for their service. Then the lord mayor, bearing the gold cup in his hand, with his brethren passed through Westminster-hall to the barge, and so did all the other noblemen and gentlemen return to their barges, for it was then six o'clock." On the following day, Whit-Monday, there were jousts in the Tilt-yard before the king and queen.¹

Henry, notwithstanding his separation from the see of Rome, was desirous of obtaining the pope's sanction to his second marriage,² but the fulminations from Clement were manifold on the occasion of the interdicted nuptials. That pontiff annulled Cranmer's sentence on Henry's first marriage, and on the 11th of July published his bull, excommunicating Henry and Anne, unless they separated before the ensuing September, when the new queen expected her confinement. Henry sent ambassadors to the foreign courts, announcing his marriage with his fair subject, and his reasons for what he had done. These were also set forth to his discontented lieges in the north of England by the archbishop of York, in a sermon, with this appropriate text: "I have married a wife, therefore I cannot come."³ Some ecclesiastics were not so complaisant to the king, but branded him from the pulpit with the name of a polygamist, and exhorted him to return to his lawful wife. Anne came in for a tenfold share of reviling, as the cause of his guilt. At Greenwich, friar Peyto preached boldly before the newly wedded pair, and in no measured terms denounced the most awful judgments on them both—comparing the sovereign to Ahab, and telling him that, "like that accursed Israelitish king, his blood would be licked by dogs."⁴ Cardinal Pole addressed letters of the most impassioned eloquence to his royal kinsman, reproaching him with his proceedings. Anne is styled by him "Jezebel," "sorceress," and many other offensive names; while, with the most cutting irony, in reply to those who had eulogized her virtue in rejecting all terms but those of queenship from her royal lover, he adds, "She must needs be chaste, as she chose to be the king's wife rather than his mistress; but," pursues he, "she must have known how soon he was sated with those who had served him in the latter quality and if she wanted other examples, her sister was enough." The Catholic historians have too hastily construed these reproaches into evidences of Mary Boleyn's frailty. Mary was, indeed, tempted by the king, but having been convinced of the impropriety of receiving the addresses of a married man, preserved herself from guilt by becoming the virtuous wife of a private gentleman. No one who dispassionately reads the king's letter in reply to an application from Anne Boleyn in behalf of her sister, when left a widow in destitute circumstances, can believe that

¹ Hall. Holinshed.² Burnet.³ Ibid.⁴ Holinshed. Hall.

Mary had been his mistress. Soon after Anne's elevation to a royal station, the widowed Mary gave great offence to her ambitious family, and also to the king and queen, by making a second love-match with Sir W. Stafford. The following very interesting letter from Mary to that man of universal business, Cromwell, entreating his good offices, bespeaks the feelings of a high-minded and virtuous matron, not those of the forsaken mistress of the man who had raised her sister to a throne:—

"MASTER SECRETARY,

"After my poor recommendations, which is small to be regarded from a poor banished creature, this shall be to desire you to be good to my poor husband and me, for it is not unknown to you the high displeasure that both he and I have of the king's highness and the queen's grace, by reason of our marriage without their knowledge." Good master secretary, sue for us to the king's highness, and beseech his highness that it will please him of his goodness to speak to the queen's grace for us; for I perceive her grace is so highly displeased with us both, that, without the king be so good lord to us as to sue for us, we are never like to recover her grace's favour, which is too heavy to bear. For God's sake help us, for we have now been married a quarter of a year, I thank God, and too late now to recall that again. But if I were at my liberty and might choose, I assure you, master secretary, I had rather beg my bread with him *than be the greatest queen christened.*"

Anne endeavoured to strengthen her family connection and her own influence, by inducing the king to marry his illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, to her beautiful cousin the lady Mary Howard, daughter to the duke of Norfolk. "The king's grace," writes the duchess of Norfolk to Cromwell, "had never a penny for my lady of Richmond, for queen Anne got the marriage clear for my lord my husband. When she did favour my lord my husband, I heard queen Anne say, that if my lord of Richmond did die, that my daughter should have above a thousand pounds a year to her jointure." From letters written by Anne to Cromwell, and others, there is reason to believe that much church preferment passed through her hands. Joyce, the dispossessed prioress of Catesby, affirms "that the queen undertook to negotiate with king Henry the terms of a pecuniary composition of two thousand marks, to induce him to allow that house to stand, but had not been able to obtain a decided answer from his grace." Joyce offers a bribe to Cromwell, in addition to the sum which the queen had proffered to the king, in behalf of this convent. "Master Onley," continues she, "saith he hath a grant of the house; but my very trust is in God and you to help forward that the queen's grace may obtain her request that the house may stand." There is a letter in existence, addressed by Anne to the magistrates of Bristol, telling them she desires a friend of hers to be preferred to be the head of the college of St. John Baptist in their town, at the death of the present incumbent; also she signifies her wish that the next advowsons in the said college may be granted to Sir Edward Baynton, her chamberlain, Nicholas Shaton, D.D., her almoner, and David Hutton.

At this season Anne enjoyed all that grandeur and power could

bestow. Henry, withal, in order to exalt her to the utmost in her queenly dignity, caused her initial **A** to be crowned and associated with his own regal **H** on the gold and silver coins that were struck after their marriage. Henry VIII. was the first and last monarch of England who offered this compliment to his consorts—a brief and dearly purchased honour it was to some of those unhappy ladies. Francis I. sent very friendly messages and compliments of congratulation by queen Anne's uncle Norfolk, not only to the king, but to herself, at which both were highly gratified. Henry, who fully persuaded himself that the infant of which Anne expected soon to be the mother would prove a son, invited king Francis to become its sponsor. Francis obligingly signified his consent to the duke of Norfolk, and it was agreed that the anticipated boy should be named either Henry or Edward;¹ but, to the great disappointment of king Henry, on the 7th of September, 1533, queen Anne, after a very dangerous travail, gave birth, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, to a daughter, afterwards the renowned queen Elizabeth.² This event, so auspicious to England, took place in the old palace of Placentia at Greenwich, in an apartment called the "chamber of the virgins," because the tapestry with which it was hung illustrated the parable of the ten wise and the ten foolish virgins. When Anne was informed that, instead of the eagerly anticipated boy whom the king expected her to bear, she had brought forth a daughter, she sought with ready wit to console Henry for the disappointment in the sex of the infant, by endeavouring to attach unwonted importance to a princess born under what might then be considered peculiarly felicitous circumstances. "Henceforth," said she, "they may with reason call this room the 'chamber of virgins,' for a virgin is now born in it on the vigil of that auspicious day when the church commemorates the nativity of our blessed lady the Virgin Mary."³ The "prince's chamber," in which our kings, in the last century, always robed when they attended the house of lords, was hung with curious old tapestry, representing the birth of queen Elizabeth,⁴ Anne Boleyn being in bed with her noble attendants on one side, and a nurse with the child on the other; Henry VIII. and his courtiers in the distance waiting for the intelligence, which one seems despatched to bring to the impatient sire.

So confident had Henry been of the realization of his passionate desire of a son, that in the circular which was sent to the nobility in queen Anne's name, announcing the birth of her child, the word *prince* was written in the first instance, and an *s* was added after the queen's delivery.

Anne's disappointment in the sex of her infant was not the only vexation she was doomed to suffer on the birth of her daughter. While the

¹ Burne's.² State Papers.³ Lett.⁴ Pennant's London.

first powerful instincts of maternal love were thrilling in every vein, she earnestly desired to enjoy the delight of nourishing her babe from her own bosom. Henry, with characteristic selfishness, forbade it, giving as his reason, not the rigorous etiquette of royalty, which denies the peasant-mother's sweet privilege to queens, but the probability that his rest would be broken by such an arrangement, and the frequent presence of the infant princess in his chamber might be attended with inconvenience to himself. It was, of course, through Anne's influence with her royal husband that her grandfather's widow, the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, obtained the appointment of state-governess to the new-born princess, together with the fair mansion and all the rich furniture he had presented to Anne when he created her marchioness of Pembroke.¹ Anne Boleyn was very fond of the old duchess, who was only her step-grandmother, and in consequence of espousing her cause in the feud between the duke of Norfolk and her, incurred the implacable hatred of that vindictive peer.

The succession was entailed by act of parliament on this infant, in default of heirs-male: persons were required at the same time to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and to swear fealty to the king's heirs by queen Anne, which excluded the princess Mary from the succession. Fisher bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More refused to take this twofold oath, on scruples of conscience; both had previously enjoyed a great degree of Henry's favour, both had much to lose and nothing to gain by their rejection of a test which they regarded as a snare. They were the fast friends of queen Katharine, and had incurred the animosity of her triumphant rival by counselling the king against forsaking the wife of his youth. The resentment of Anne Boleyn is supposed to have influenced the king to bring these faithful servants to the scaffold. The integrity of Sir Thomas More as lord chancellor had been some time before impugned by Anne's father, the earl of Wiltshire, but like pure gold from the crucible, it shone more brightly from the trial.² When More's beloved daughter, Margaret Roper, visited him in the Tower, he asked her "how queen Anne did?" "In faith, father," she replied, "never better. There is nothing else in the court but dancing and sporting."—"Never better?" said he. "Alas! Meg, alas! it pitieth me to think into what misery, poor soul! she will shortly come. These dances of hers will prove such dances, that she will spurn our heads off like foot-balls, but it will not be long ere her head will dance the like dance."—"And how prophetically he spoke these words," adds the kindred biographer of More, "the end of her tragedy proved."³ The account of Sir Thomas More's execution was brought to Henry while he was playing at tables with Anne: he cast his eyes reproachfully upon her, and

¹ Leti² Roper's Life of More. Hoddesden. More's Life of More.³ More's Life of More; and Roper's More.

said, "Thou art the cause of this man's death." Then rising up, he left his unfinished game, and shut himself up in his chamber in great perturbation of spirit.¹ "Had we been master of such a servant," exclaimed the emperor Charles to the English ambassador, with a burst of generous feeling, "we would rather have lost the fairest city in our dominions than such a counsellor."

A remarkable page in the state papers of France proves how soon the crowned beauty felt her precarious situation. Francis I., being desirous of making an irreconcilable rupture between Charles V. and Henry VIII., proposed marrying Anne Boleyn's daughter, the infant Elizabeth, to his third son, the duke of Angoulême. The marriage Anne Boleyn desired with passion, in order to interest the king of France to support her in the favour of her cruel and inconstant husband, who had ever ready reasons of conscience to effect a vacancy in his bed, when he had a fancy for a new wife. "The secretary Palamedes Gontier being introduced to Henry VIII. in the matted gallery at Westminster, after chatting and talking familiarly, pressed the king to take in hand some way with his daughter Mary, to hinder the competition with Elizabeth, if that princess married the son of France. The king replied that his youngest daughter had been proclaimed princess and heiress. Palamedes had a commission to treat for a visit and interview to take place between the two queens, being no other than Eleanor of Austria, queen of France, and Anne Boleyn. Henry being soon after at his chapel of Westminster-palace (St. Stephen's), during service sent his secretary Cromwell to search for Palamedes Gontier; he was then with M. de Morrette, the ostensible ambassador, but all the communication was with the lively and active Palamedes, who was introduced into a little closet of the chapel, where Henry, affecting to hear divine service, discussed private politics. Palamedes presented a letter to the king, containing a request from Francis I. for the collar of the Garter for one of his great men; but Henry VIII. explained, "there had been but a single vacancy, which investiture he had sent within a few days to his nephew, the king of Scots." "I was kept all this morning by Cromwell," continues Palamedes, "and after dinner he led me to the *salle* of the queen, Anne Boleyn: the king was there. I made to the said lady reverence, and presented her your letters, showing entirely what I had to say from you. "She complained of my long delay, which had caused and engendered in the king her spouse many strange thoughts, of which, she said, there was a great need that a remedy should be thought of, unless the king her brother [Francis I.] would that she should not be maddened and lost; for she found herself near to that, and more in pain and trouble than she had

¹ More's Life of More.² Lingard.

been since her espousals. She charged me to pray and require you on her part regarding the affair, of which she could not speak so amply to me as she would, for fear of where she was and of the eyes that were watching her countenance, not only of the said lord her husband, but of the princes with him. She told me she could not write, that she could not see me, and could no longer talk with me; with which language she left me, and went out with this lord king into the same hall I was introduced to the other day. The said lady, as I well know, is not at her ease, presuming, on my poor judgment, she has doubts and suspicions of this king, which I mentioned to you before I took this journey." During the dances, the dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cromwell and others, formed a council.¹ The projected congress of queens never took place.

The new pope, Paul III., thundered forth his anathema against Henry and Anne provided they did not separate, declaring their issue illegitimate, and forbidding Henry's subjects to pay him their allegiance. Henry fortified himself by seeking the alliance of the Protestant princes of Germany. The decided opposition of the see of Rome and the ecclesiastics of that church against Anne Boleyn's marriage with the king, and her recognition as queen of England, led her to espouse the cause of the infant Reformation as a matter of party; but as she adhered to all the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic ritual, and professed the doctrine of transubstantiation, a Protestant she cannot be called with truth. The martyrdoms of Bilney, of Frith, and several other pious reformers, were perpetrated while she was in the height of her power: there is no record of any intercession used by her to preserve these blameless martyrs from the flames. Yet it is scarcely likely that to have saved them would have been a work of greater difficulty than compassing the destruction of her political opponents. The only great boon the Reformation owes to Anne Boleyn is, that the translation of the Scriptures was sanctioned through her influence. There is an interesting letter in Ellis's royal collection, signed "Anne the Queen," for the protection of a merchant, who was involved in peril for importing from Holland some of those precious copies of the Bible, which, as yet, were contraband pearls of great price in England. Her own private copy of Tindal's translation is still in existence.

One or two traits of Anne's domestic tastes are unfolded in the correspondence of the viscountess Lisle, which lady being ambitious of obtaining appointments for two of her daughters in the royal household, took infinite pains to discover what sort of offerings would be most agreeable to the queen. Her inquiries elicited the fact, from second hand authority, "that the queen's grace set much store by a pretty dog," and delighted so much in one called "little Purboy," that when he

¹ Signed, A Londres, le 5 jour de Fevrier, Palamedes Gontier.

was unfortunately killed by a fall, no one durst inform her of it till the king's grace took upon himself to break the matter to her.¹ Would that the courtier had also recorded the manner in which bluff king Hal communicated to his then entirely beloved consort the tragic fate of his diminutive canine rival in her affections. Anne's gracious reception of two presents from lady Lisle is thus certified to the noble sender of the same by a friend in the royal household, who, in reply to a letter inquiring how the queen's grace liked her present, a linnet, and some dotterels—rare birds, which were then esteemed “a dainty dish to set before a queen,” writes, “Pleaseth you to understand that her grace liked them both very well; the one for being a special good dish, and the other for a pleasant singing bird, which doth not cease at no time to give her grace rejoicing with her pleasant song.” The important how and when the foreign dainties my lady Lisle had sent to tickle the palate of our epicure queen were served up at the royal table, are thus gravely communicated by a friend who had taken the pains of ascertaining the particulars from persons behind the scenes:—“The queen did appoint six of your dotterels for her supper, six for Monday dinner, and six for supper. My lord of Rochford presented them himself, and showed her how they were killed new at twelve of the clock in Dover; of the which she was glad, and spake many good words towards your ladyship's good report, as I was informed by them that stood by.”

In the autumn of the year 1535, queen Anne was flattered with the hope of bringing a male heir to the throne, to the great joy of the king. Anne was now at the summit of human greatness. She had won the great political game for which she had, in the bitterness of disappointed love, vindictively entered the lists with the veteran statesman who had separated her from the man of her heart: she had wreaked the vengeance she had vowed for the loss of Percy, and laid the pride and power of Wolsey in the dust; she had wrested the crown-matrimonial from the brow of the royal Katharine; the laws of primogeniture had been reversed, that the succession to the throne might be vested in her issue, and the two men who were the most deservedly venerated by the king and the people of England, More and Fisher, had been sacrificed to her displeasure. But in all these triumphs there was little to satisfy the mind of a woman whose natural impulses were those of virtue, but who had violated the most sacred ties for the gratification of the evil passions of pride, vanity and revenge. Anne Boleyn was a reader of the Scriptures, and must have felt the awful force of that text which says, “What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?” Conscious of her own responsibility, and finding far more thorns than roses in the tangled, weary labyrinth of greatness,

¹ Wood's *Letters of Royal Ladies*, vol. II. p. 311

Anne directed her thoughts to the only true source of happiness—religion, which had hitherto been practised by her rather as a matter of state policy, than as the emanation from a vital principle in the soul. She became grave and composed in manner, and, ceasing to occupy herself in the gay pursuits of pleasure, or the boisterous excitement of the chase, spent her hours of domestic retirement with her ladies, as her royal mistress Katharine had formerly done before her—in needlework and discreet communication.¹ Wyatt tells us, that the matchless tapestry at Hampton-court was for the most part wrought by the skilful hand of this queen and her ladies; “But far more precious,” he says, “in the sight of God, were those works which she caused her maidens and those about her daily to execute in shirts and other garments for the use of the poor; and not contented with that, her eye of charity, her hand of bounty, passed through the whole land: each place felt that heavenly flame burning in her—all times will remember it.”

The change that had taken place in the manners of Anne Boleyn and her court has been attributed to the influence of the celebrated reformer, Hugh Latimer,² whom she had rescued from the durance to which Stokesley bishop of London had committed him. But for the powerful protection of Anne, Latimer would, in all probability, have been called to testify the sincerity of his principles at the stake many years before he was clothed with the fiery robes of martyrdom. At her earnest solicitation the king interposed, and Latimer was restored to liberty. The queen next expressed a wish to see and hear the rescued preacher; and Latimer, instead of addressing his royal protectress in the language of servile adulation, reminded her of the vanity of earthly greatness, and the delusions of human hopes and expectations. Anne listened with humility, and entreated him to point out whatever appeared amiss in her conduct and deportment. Latimer, in reply, seriously represented to her how much it behoved her, not only to impress the duties of morality and piety on her attendants, but to enforce her precepts by example. Anne, far from being offended at his sincerity, appointed him for one of her chaplains, and afterwards obtained his promotion to the see of Worcester. To her credit it is also recorded, that she directed a certain sum from her privy-purse to be distributed to every village in England, for the relief of its distressed inhabitants. With greater wisdom she planned the institution of a variety of manufactures, with a view of giving more permanent assistance to those who were destitute of a livelihood and without employment. For the last nine months of her life she distributed 14,000*l.* in alms; she also caused many promising youths to be educated and sent to college at her ex-

¹ Hentzner, the celebrated German traveller, when he visited Hampton-court, was shown a bed, the tester of which was worked

by Anne Boleyn, and presented by her to her husband, Henry VIII.

² Benger's Anne Boleyn

pense, with the intention of rendering their talents and learning serviceable in the church.¹ In all these things Anne performed the duties of a good woman and an enlightened queen; and had she attained to her royal elevation in an honest and conscientious manner, in all probability the blessing of God would have been with her, and prospered her undertakings. But however powerful her religious impressions might have been, it is impossible that a real change of heart had taken place while she continued to incite the king to harass and persecute his forsaken queen Katharine, by depriving her of the solace of her daughter's company, and exacting from the disinherited princess submissions from which conscience and nature alike revolted. There were moments when Anne felt the insecurity of her position in a political point of view; and well must she have known how little reliance was to be placed on the stability of the regard of the man whose caprice had placed the queenly diadem on her brow. At the best, she was only the queen of a party, for the majority of the nobles and the people of England still regarded Katharine as the lawful possessor of the title and place which Henry had bestowed on her.

When the long-expected tidings of Katharine's death arrived, Anne, in the blindness of her exultation, exclaimed, "Now I am indeed a queen!" She was washing her hands in a costly basin when Sir Richard Southwell brought the intelligence to her, on which she instantly gave him both the basin and its rich cover as a reward for his tidings. The same evening she met her parents with a countenance full of pleasure, and bade them rejoice with her, for the crown was now firmly fixed on her head.² On the day of her royal rival's funeral she not only disobeyed the king's order, which required black to be worn on that day, but violated good taste and good feeling alike by appearing in yellow, and making her ladies do the same.³ The change in Henry's feelings towards Anne, may, in all probability, be attributed to the disgust caused by the indelicacy of her triumph. She had been ill and out of spirits previously to this event, which was attributed to the sufferings incidental to her condition, for she was again likely to become a mother; but after the death of queen Katharine she recovered her vivacity, and assumed so haughty a carriage that she offended every one.

¹ Bengers Anne Boleyn.

² Leti.

³ Hall and some other writers pass over this disgraceful trait in Anne Boleyn, by saying "she wore yellow for the mourning," as if it were usual to adopt it for this purpose; whereas, in king Henry's wardrobe order, black cloth is directed to be delivered to the ladies appointed to assist at queen Katharine's obsequies. A modern historian goes further than Hall in justification of Anne, by saying "she wore yellow, which was the colour worn for royal mournings at

the court of France." A reference to the splendid illuminated MS. life of Anne of Bretagne, in the King's collection, British Museum, will prove that this is a mistake, for all the ladies, mourners and attendants of that queen, are represented muffled in sable stoles after her death. It is a case in point, for Anne of Bretagne was the mother of Anne's royal patroness, queen Claude. The queens of France have been said to wear *white* as widows' mourning, because it was etiquette for them to keep their beds some days after they were widows.

The season was now at hand when Anne was, in her turn, to experience some of the bitter pangs she had inflicted on her royal mistress. Her agonies were not the less poignant, because conscience must have told her that it was retributive justice which returned the poisoned chalice to her own lips, when she, in like manner, found herself rivalled and supplanted by one of her female attendants, the beautiful Jane Seymour. Jane must have been a person of consummate art, for she was on terms of great familiarity with the king before Anne entertained the slightest suspicion of their proceedings. Entering the room unexpectedly one day, the queen surprised Jane, seated on Henry's knee, receiving his caresses with every appearance of complacency.¹ Struck, as with a mortal blow, at this sight, Anne gave way to a transport of mingled grief and indignation. Henry, dreading his consort's agitation might prove fatal to his hopes of an heir, endeavoured to soothe and reassure her, saying, "Be at peace, sweetheart, and all shall go well for thee." But the cruel shock Anne had sustained brought on the pangs of premature travail; and after some hours of protracted agony, during which her life was in imminent peril, she brought forth a dead son, January 29.

When the king was informed of this misfortune, instead of expressing the slightest sympathy for the sufferings of his luckless consort, he burst into her apartment, and furiously upbraided her "with the loss of his boy."² Anne, with more spirit than prudence, passionately retorted: "That he had no one to blame but himself for this disappointment, which had been caused by her distress of mind about that wench, Jane Seymour."³ Henry sullenly turned away, muttering, as he quitted her apartment, that "she should have no more boys by him."⁴ These scenes, which occurred in January, 1536, may surely be regarded as the first act of the royal matrimonial tragedy which, four months later, was consummated on Tower-hill.

So jealous was Henry VIII. of his conjugal proceedings being discussed by any class of his subjects, that even the idle words of certain gossips in the lying-in chamber of one of the humble matrons of Watlington were gravely investigated by a right worshipful quorum of justices at Reading, before whom it was deposed that the good woman, after commending the skill of Johane Hammulden the midwife, said, "She was worthy of being midwife to the queen of England, provided it were queen Kateryn; but she was too good for queen Anne," of whom she spoke in such scurrilous terms, that the ungrateful Johane Hammulden thought proper to inform against her. The good woman stoutly denied the charge, and endeavoured to divert the storm from herself by accusing one of her neighbours of having declared "that it was never

¹ Wyatt. Lingard.

² Wyatt's *Memoirs of Anne Boleyn*. Sanders. Lingard.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Wyatt. It is said that Anne had previously given great offence to the king, by concealing her situation from him till it became apparent.—Leti.

merry in England when there were three queens in it;" whereupon Mrs. Johane Hammukden had said "there will be fewer shortly."¹ Both the speech and oracular rejoinder being denied by the parties accused, and as no satisfactory evidence could be produced, the magistrates transmitted the depositions to the privy council. If three of the proudest peers in Henry's realm had been accused of holding such indiscreet communications on the delicate topic of *his* queens, it would probably have cost them their heads; but to lay an embargo under pains and penalties on the licence of the tongues of females of low degree, was a measure which even his despotism left unattempted. There is no record of any punishment being inflicted on either of the Watlington gossips. Their allusion to a third queen affords evidence that the passion of Henry VIII. for Jane Seymour was publicly known in the precincts of his royal palaces, even before the death of his first consort, Katharine of Arragon.

Anne slowly regained her health after her dangerous accouchement and painful disappointment, but not her spirits. She knew the king's temper too well not to be aware that her influence was at an end for ever, and that she must prepare to resign, not only her place in his affections, but also in his state, to the new star by whom she had been eclipsed. When she found that she had no power to obtain the dismissal of her rival from the royal household, she became very melancholy, and withdrew herself from all the gaieties of the court, passing all her time in the most secluded spots of Greenwich-park. It is also related, that she would sit for hours in the quadrangle court of Greenwich-palace, in silence and abstraction, or seeking a joyless pastime in playing with her little dogs, and setting them to fight with each other. The king had entirely withdrawn himself from her company ever since her rash retort to his unfeeling reproach, and now they never met in private. She had not the consolation of her infant daughter's innocent smiles and endearments to beguile her lonely sorrow, for the princess Elizabeth was nursed in a separate establishment.

The levity of Anne Boleyn's manners was doubtless one great cause of her calamities. The lively coquettish maid of honour could not forget her old habits after her elevation to a throne, and the familiarity of her deportment to those with whom she had formerly been on terms of equality in the court of queen Katharine encouraged her officers of state to address her with undue freedom. Such was her unbounded thirst for admiration, that even the low-born musician Mark Smeaton dared to insinuate his passion to her. These things were, of course, reported to her disadvantage by the household foes by whom she was surrounded. The king's impatience to rid himself of the matrimonial fetters, which precluded him from sharing his throne with the

¹ Ellis's Original Letters; third series The original is in the State-Paper office.

object of his new passion, would not brook delays, and, in the absence of any proof of the queen's disloyalty to himself, he resolved to proceed against her on the evidence of the invidious gossips' tales that had been whispered to him by persons who knew that he was seeking an occasion to destroy her. Three gentlemen of the royal household, Brereton, Weston and Norris, with Mark Smeaton, the musician, were pointed out as her paramours; and as if this had not been enough, the natural affection that subsisted between Anne and her only brother, George viscount Rochford, was construed into a presumption of a crime of the most revolting nature. This dreadful accusation proceeded from the hatred and jealousy of lady Rochford, who, being in all probability an ill-assorted companion for her accomplished husband, regarded his friendship and confidential intercourse with the queen, his sister, with those malignant feelings of displeasure which prompted her murderous denunciation of them both.

The secret plot against the queen must have been organized by the first week in April, 1536; for on the 4th of that month the parliament was dissolved,¹ as if for the purpose of depriving her of any chance of interference from that body in her behalf. The writs for the new parliament, which was to assemble on the 8th of June after her death, were issued April 27, four days previous to her arrest.² Three days before that date, a secret committee was appointed of the privy council to inquire into the charges against her. Among the commissioners were her uncle the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, the lord chancellor, her father, several earls, and some of the judges.³ It has been supposed that her father did not attend. William Brereton was summoned before this committee on Thursday the 28th, and, after his examination, was committed to the Tower. On Saturday the 30th, the queen (who was totally unconscious of this portentous circumstance) found Mark Smeaton,⁴ the musician, standing in the round window of her presence-chamber in a melancholy attitude. She asked him "Why he was so sad?"—"It is no matter," he replied. Then the queen had the folly to say, "You may not look to have me speak to you as if you were a nobleman, because you be an inferior person."—"No, no, madam," he replied, "a look sufficeth me."

There can be little doubt that Mark's dejection was caused by the fearful rumours which must have reached him of the arrest of Brereton, the proceedings of the queen's enemies in council, and the general aspect of affairs at court; and that he was loitering in the window for the purpose of giving his royal mistress a hint of the peril that threatened her. The absurd vanity which led her to attribute his troubled looks to a hopeless

¹ Parliamentary History.

² Burnet.

³ Mackintosh. Lingard.

⁴ For his great musical skill he had been promoted to the office of groom of the chamber by the queen's influence.

passion for herself, gave, perhaps, a different turn to the conversation, and diverted him from his purpose. The next day the wretched man was arrested, sent to the Tower, and loaded with irons.¹

If the queen remained in ignorance of what was going on in the palace, as most authors affirm, her powers of observation must have been very limited, and she could have had no faithful friend or counsellor immediately about her. The only reason we have to surmise that Anne was aware of the gathering storm is, that a few days before her arrest she held a long private conference with her chaplain, Matthew Parker, and gave him a solemn charge concerning the infant princess Elizabeth, it may be supposed regarding her religious education.² This fact is authenticated in a letter from Parker to one of Elizabeth's councillors, declining the archbishopric of Canterbury, in which he says, "Yet he would fain serve his sovereign lady in more respects than his allegiance, since he cannot forget what words her grace's mother said to him, not six days before her apprehension."³

On Monday, May the 1st—an evil May-day for her—Anne Boleyn appeared for the last time in the pride and pomp of royalty with her treacherous consort, at the jousts at Greenwich. Her brother, viscount Rochford, was the principal challenger, Henry Norris one of the defenders. In the midst of the pageant, which was unusually splendid, the king rose up abruptly, and quitted the royal balcony with a wrathful countenance, followed by six of his confidential attendants. Every one was amazed, but the queen appeared especially dismayed, and presently retired.⁴ The sports broke up, and lord Rochford and Henry Norris were arrested at the barrier on the charge of high treason; Sir Francis Weston was taken into custody at the same time. The popular version of the cause of this public outbreak of Henry's displeasure is, that the queen, either by accident or design, dropped her handkerchief from the balcony at the feet of Norris, who, being heated with the course, took it up, and presumptuously wiped his face with it; then handed it to the queen on the point of his lance.⁵ At this Henry changed colour, started from his seat, and retired in a transport of jealous fury,⁶ and gave orders for the arrest of the queen, and all the parties who had fallen under suspicion of sharing her favours.

It is very possible that the circumstances actually occurred as related above, and that Henry, who was anxiously awaiting an opportunity for putting his long-meditated project against the queen into execution, eagerly availed himself of the first pretext with which her imprudent disregard of the restraints of royal etiquette furnished him, to strike the

¹ Letter of Kingston; MS. Cott., Otho, x.

² Lingard.

³ Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii. Records.

p. 325. ⁴ Hall. Holinshed.

⁵ It is more likely that the courtly Norris

kissed the queen's handkerchief when he took it up, and that his action was mistaken or misrepresented.

⁶ Sanders, repeated by most of our historians.

blow. Without speaking to the queen, the king rode back to Whitehall, attended by only six persons, among whom was his devoted prisoner Norris,¹ who had hitherto stood so high in his favour, that he was the only person whom he ever permitted to follow him into his bedchamber: Norris had been, as we have mentioned, one of the three witnesses of Henry's secret marriage with Anne. On the way, Henry rode with Norris apart, and earnestly recommended him to obtain mercy by acknowledging his guilt. Norris stoutly maintained his innocence, and that of the queen, nor would he consent to be rendered an instrument in her ruin.² When they reached Westminster, he was despatched to the Tower.³

The public arrest of her brother and his luckless friends struck a chill to the heart of the queen; but of the nature of their offence, and that she herself was to be involved in the horrible charges against them, she remained in perfect unconsciousness till the following day. She sat down to dinner at the usual hour, but the meal passed over uneasily, for she took the alarm when she found that the king's waiter came not with his majesty's wonted compliment of "Much good may it do you."⁴ Instead of this greeting, she noted a portentous silence among her ladies, and that her servants stood about with downcast looks, their eyes glazed with tears, which inspired her with dismay and strange apprehensions. Scarcely was the *surnap*⁵ removed, when the duke of Norfolk, with Audley, Cromwell, and others of the lords of the council, entered. At first, Anne thought they came from the king to comfort her for her brother's arrest, but when she noticed the austerity of their countenances, and the ominous presence of Sir William Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, behind them, she started up in terror, and demanded "why they came?" They replied, with stern brevity, "that they came by the king's command to conduct her to the Tower, there to abide during his highness's pleasure."—"If it be his majesty's pleasure," rejoined the queen, regaining her firmness, "I am ready to obey;" and so, pursues our authority, "without change of habit, or anything necessary for her removal, she committed herself to them, and was by them conducted to her barge."⁶ It is, however, certain, from the evidence of Kingston's letters, that she underwent a harsh examination before the council at Greenwich before her embarkation, unless the cruel treatment, which she complained of receiving from her uncle Norfolk on that occasion took place in the barge, where, it is said, she was scarcely seated, ere he entered into the subject of her arrest, by telling her, "that her paramours had confessed their guilt." She protested her innocence vehemently,

Lingard.

² Archæologia, iii. 155.

³ Lingard.

⁴ Heywood.

⁵ The use of the *surnap* has been revived

at modern dinners, where a smaller tablecloth being placed over the large one, is withdrawn with the dishes, leaving the under one for the dessert.

⁶ Heywood.

and passionately implored to be permitted to see the king, that she might plead her own cause to him. To all her asseverations of innocence the duke of Norfolk replied with contemptuous ejaculations.

It was on the 2nd of May that Anne was brought as a woful prisoner to her former royal residence—the Tower. Before she passed beneath its fatal arch she sank upon her knees and exclaimed, “O Lord! help me, as I am guiltless of that whereof I am accused!” Then perceiving the lieutenant of the Tower, she said, “Mr. Kingston, do I go into a dungeon?”—“No, madam,” said he, “to your own lodging, where you lay at your coronation.” The recollections associated with that event overpowered her, and, bursting into a passion of tears, she exclaimed, “It is too good for me. Jesus have mercy on me!” She knelt again, weeping apace, “and, in the same sorrow, fell into a great laughter.”¹ After the hysterical paroxysm had had its way, she looked wildly about her, and cried, “Wherefore am I here, Mr. Kingston?”

The clock had been just on the stroke of five when Anne entered the Tower. The lords, with the lieutenant, brought her to her chamber, where she again protested her innocence. Then, turning to her lords, she said, “I entreat you to beseech the king in my behalf, that he will be good lord unto me;” as soon as she had uttered these words they departed. “She desired me,” says Kingston,² “to move the king’s highness that she might have the *sacrament in her closet, that she might pray for mercy*,” asseverating at the same time, in the strongest terms, her innocence of having wronged the king. “I am the king’s true wedded wife,” she added; and then said, “Mr. Kingston, do you know wherefore I am here?”—“Nay,” replied he. Then she asked, “When saw you the king?”—“I saw him not since I saw him in the Tilt-yard,” said he. “Then, Mr. Kingston, I pray you to tell me where my lord Rochford is?” Kingston answered, “I saw him before dinner in the court.”—“Oh! where is my sweet brother?” she exclaimed. The lieutenant evasively replied, “That he saw him last at York-place” (Whitehall-palace), which it seems was the case. “I hear say,” continued she, “that I shall be accused with three men, and I can say no more than—nay. Oh, Norris! hast thou accused me? Thou art in the Tower, and thou and I shall die together: and Mark, thou art here too! Oh, my mother! thou wilt die for sorrow.”³ Then, breaking off from that subject, she began to lament the dangerous state into which lady Wor-

¹ Kingston’s letters to Cromwell; MS. Cotton., Otho, C. x. fol. 225.

² *Ibid.* This is one of the passages, little understood in modern times, which mark that Anne remained a Roman Catholic. She did not demand to *communicate*, as supposed, but to have the Host in her closet or oratory for the purpose of adoration.

³ The unhappy queen alluded to her humbly born, but affectionate step-mother the countess of Wiltshire, to whom she appears to have been much attached. Her own mother had been dead four-and-twenty years.

cester had been thrown by the shock of hearing of her arrest. Interrupting herself again, she exclaimed, "Mr. Kingston, shall I die without justice?"—"The poorest subject the king hath has that," replied the cautious official. A laugh of bitter incredulity was her only comment.¹

The unfortunate queen was subjected to the insulting presence and cruel espionage of her great enemy, lady Boleyn, and Mrs. Cosyns, one of her ladies, who was equally disagreeable to her. These two never left her, either by day or night, for they slept on the pallet at the foot of her bed, and reported even the delirious ravings of her hysterical paroxysms to those by whom her fate was to be decided. They perpetually tormented her with insolent observations, and annoyed her with questions, artfully devised, for the purpose of entangling her in her talk, or drawing from her own lips admissions that might be turned into murderous evidence of her guilt. She complained "that they would tell her nothing of my lord, her father," for whose fate she was evidently apprehensive. She expressed a wish to be served in her prison by the ladies of her privy-chamber whom she favoured most, and concluded by defying her aunt. Lady Boleyn retorted in these words, "The desire and partiality you have had for such tale-bearers has brought you to this." Mrs. Cosyns impertinently demanded, "Why Norris had told her almoner on the preceding Saturday, that he could swear the queen was a good woman?"—"Marry," replied Anne, "I bade him do so, for I asked him 'why he did not go on with his marriage?' and he made answer 'that he would tarry awhile.'—'Then,' said I, 'you look for dead men's shoes. If aught but good should come to the king,' who was then afflicted with a dangerous ulcer, "'you would look to have me.' He denied it, and I told him, 'I could undo him if I would,' and thereupon we fell out." This conversation (if it be really true that Anne had the folly to repeat it to persons of whose deadly hatred she was so fully aware, and who she knew were placed about her as spies) will impress every one with the idea, that she must have been on very perilous terms with any man whom she allowed to hold such colloquies with her. No one, however, seems to have considered the possibility of the whole of this deposition being a false statement on the part of the spies who were employed to criminate her. It seems scarcely credible that a woman of Anne Boleyn's age and long experience in public life would thus commit herself by unnecessary avowals, tending to furnish evidence against herself of having imagined the death of the king her husband.

Anne betrayed a humane, but certainly imprudent care for the comforts of the unhappy gentlemen who were in durance for her sake, by inquiring of lady Kingston "whether anybody made their beds?"—

¹ Kingston's letters to Cromwell, MS. Cotton., Otho, C. x.

"No, I warrant you," was lady Kingston's familiar reply. The queen said, "that ballads would be made about her:" and as far as may be judged from the defaced passages in the MS., added, "that none could do that better than Wyatt."—"Yes," said lady Kingston, "master Wyatt; you have said true."

The next day, Kingston reported the queen's earnest desire to have the eucharist in her closet, and also to see her almoner. Devett is the name of him whom she desired, but Cranmer was appointed by Henry. Her mind was agitated by various passions that day. "One hour," says her gaoler, "she is determined to die; and the next hour much contrary to that."¹ "Yesterday," continues he, "I sent for my wife, and also for mistress Cosyns, to know how she had done that day; and they said she had been very merry, and made a great dinner, and yet soon after called for her supper, having marvel 'where I was all day. At my coming she said, 'Where have you been all day?' I made answer, and said, 'I had been with the prisoners.'—'So,' said she, 'I thought I heard Mr. Treasurer.' I assured her he was not here. Then she began to talk, and said, 'I was cruelly handled at Greenwich with the king's council, by my lord of Norfolk; who said, 'Tut, tut, tut!' shaking his head three or four times. 'As for my lord treasurer,' she said, 'he was in Windsor-forest all the time.' This was her father.

Thus, in Kingston's letters to Cromwell are her minutest sayings detailed; but it is to be observed, that he often speaks from the reports of her pitiless female tormentors. He states, that "The queen expressed some apprehension of what Weston might say in his examination, for that he had told her on Whit-Monday last, 'that Norris came more into her chamber for her sake than for Madge,' one of her maids of honour." By way of postscript, Kingston adds, "Since the making of this letter, the queen spake of Weston, that she had told him he did love her kinswoman, Mrs. Skelton,² and that he loved not his wife; and he answered her again, that 'He loved one in her house better than them both.' She asked him 'Who?' to which he replied, 'Yourself;' on which she defied him."³ When they told her Smeaton had been laid in irons, she said, "That was because he was a person of mean birth, and the others were all gentlemen." She assured Kingston that "Smeaton had never been but once in her chamber, and that was when the king was at Winchester, and she sent for him to play on the virginals; for there," said she, "my lodging was above the king's." Her passionate love for music, in which she herself greatly excelled, had undoubtedly led her to treat

¹ Kingston's letters to Cromwell; Cotton. MS., Otho, C. x.

² Mrs. Skelton, the lady to whom Weston was making love, was the first cousin of the queen, the daughter of her father's sister, Anne Boleyn of Blickling-hall, who first

married Sir John Skelton, and afterwards Sir Thomas Calthorpe, both Norfolk gentlemen.

³ Kingston's letters to Cromwell; MS. Otho, C. x.

this person with a greater degree of familiarity than was becoming in a queen.¹

There were times when Anne would not believe that Henry intended to harm her; and, after complaining that she was cruelly handled, she added, "But I think the king does it to prove me;" and then she laughed, and affected to be merry—merriment more sad than tears, reminding us of

"Moody madness, laughing wild
Amidst severest woe."

Reason must indeed have tottered when she predicted "that there would be no rain in England till she was released from her unmerited thralldom." To this wild speech Kingston familiarly rejoined, "I pray, then, it be shortly, because of the dry weather." She said—"If she had her bishops, they would plead for her."² Cranmer, from whom she probably expected most, wrote in the following guarded strain to Henry on the subject:—

"If it be true what is openly reported of the queen's grace, if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your grace's honour to be touched thereby, but her honour only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed; for I never had a better opinion in woman than I had of her, which maketh me think that she should not be culpable. Now I think that your grace best knoweth that, next unto your grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Therefore I most humbly beseech your grace to suffer me, in that which both God's law, nature, and her kindness bindeth me unto, that I may (with your grace's favour) wish and pray for her. And from what condition your grace, of your only mere goodness, took her, and set the crown upon her head, I repute him not your grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true to the realm, that would not desire the offence to be without mercy punished, to the example of all others. And as I love her not a little, for the love I judged her to bear towards God and his holy gospel, so, if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his gospel that will ever favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they love the gospel, the more they will hate her, for then there never was creature in our time that so much slandered the gospel."³

Anne entreated Kingston to convey a letter from her to Cromwell, but he declined so perilous a service. She was, at times, like a newly caged eagle in her impatience and despair. "The king wist what he did," she said, bitterly, "when he put such women as my lady Boleyn and Mrs. Cosyns about her." She had two other ladies in attendance on her in her doleful prison-house, of more compassionate dispositions we may presume, for they were not allowed to have any communication with her, except in the presence of Kingston⁴ and his wife, who slept at her chamber-door. Her other ladies slept in an apartment further off. Among the few faithful hearts whose attachment to Anne Boleyn survived the awful change in her fortunes, were those of Wyatt and his

¹ George Cavendish, in his *Metrical Visions*, gives the following version of Smeaton's parentage:—

"My father a carpenter, and laboured with his hand,
With the sweat of his face he purchased his living,
For small was his rent, and much less was his land:
My mother in cottage used daily spinning;
Lo! in what misery was my beginning."—*Singer's Cavendish*.

² Kingston's letters to Cromwell; Cotton. MS., Otho. C. x. f. 225.

³ Burnet's *Hist. Reformation*.

⁴ Singer, p. 219. Ellis.

sister. Wyatt is supposed to have had a narrow escape from sharing the fate of the queen, her brother, and their fellow-victims. It is certain that he was at this period under a cloud, and in one of his sonnets he significantly alludes "to the danger which *once* threatened him in the month of May"—the month which proved so fatal to queen Anne. Very powerful was the sympathy between them; for, even when a guarded captive in the Tower, Anne spake with admiration of Wyatt's poetical talents.¹ It was probably by the aid of his sister that Anne, on the fourth day of her imprisonment, found means to forward the following letter, through Cromwell's agency, to the king:—

"Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, that what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send to me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain you favour), by such a one, whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by *him*, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall, with all willingness and duty, perform your command. But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded. And to speak a truth, never a prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bulen—with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but that I always looked for such alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration was fit and sufficient (I knew) to draw that fancy to some other subject.

"You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire; if, then, you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy or bad counsel of my enemies withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain—that unworthy stain—of a disloyal heart towards your good grace ever cast so foul a blot on me, and on the infant princess your daughter.

"Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and as my judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shames. Then shall you see either my innocency cleared, your suspicions and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatever God and you may determine of, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace may be at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party² for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since, have pointed unto—your grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the joying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin herein, and likewise my enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strait account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear; and in whose just judgment, I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me), mine innocency shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, whom, as I understand, are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight—if ever the name of Anne Bulen have been pleasing in your ears—then let me obtain this request; and so I will leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayer to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.

"From my doleful prison in the Tower, the 6th of May.

"ANN BULEN."

¹ Letter of Sir W. Kingston; Cotton, MS., Otho, C. x.

² Jane Seymour.

The authenticity of this beautiful letter has been impugned for various reasons, but chiefly because the handwriting differs from the well-known autograph of Anne Boleyn; but the fact that it was found among Cromwell's papers four years after her death, proves it to be a contemporary document. The cautious but pathetic indorsement, "To the king, from the ladye in the Tower," identifies it, no less than the peculiar nature of the contents, as the composition of the captive queen. The original, we may reasonably suppose, had been forwarded to the king by Mr. Secretary Cromwell. The only real objection which occurs to us is, that the letter is signed "Ann Bulen," instead of "*Anna the quene*." It is, however, possible, in the excited state of feeling under which this passionate appeal to the fickle tyrant was written, that his unfortunate consort fondly thought, by using that once-beloved signature, to touch a tender chord in his heart. But the time of sentiment, if it ever existed with Henry, was long gone by; and such a letter from a wife whom he had never respected, and had now ceased to love, was more calculated to awaken wrath than to revive affection. Every word is a sting, envenomed by the sense of intolerable wrong. It is written in the tone of a woman who has been falsely accused; and imagining herself strong in the consciousness of her integrity, unveils the guilty motives of her accuser, with a reckless disregard to consequences perfectly consistent with the character of Anne Boleyn. Her appeal in behalf of the unfortunate gentlemen who were involved in her calamity is generous, and looks like the courage of innocence. A guilty woman would scarcely have dared to allude to the suspected partners of her crime. It is strange that the allusion to the infant Elizabeth in this letter is made without any expression of maternal tenderness.

On the 10th of May, an indictment for high treason was found by the grand jury of Westminster "against the lady Anne, queen of England; George Boleyn, viscount Rochford; Henry Norris, groom of the stole; Sir Francis Weston and William Brereton, gentlemen of the privy-chamber; and Mark Smeaton, a performer on musical instruments—a person specified as of low degree, promoted for his skill to be a groom of the chambers."¹ The four commoners were tried in Westminster-hall, May 10, by a commission of oyer and terminer, for the alleged offences against the honour and the life of their sovereign. A true bill had been found against them by the grand juries of two counties, Kent as well as Middlesex, because some of the offences specified in the indictment were said to have taken place at Greenwich, others at Hampton-court and elsewhere.² Smeaton endeavoured to save his life by pleading guilty to the indictment. He had previously confessed, before the council, the crime with which he and the queen were charged. The three gentlemen, Norris, Weston, and Brereton,

¹ Birch MSS. Burnet. Lingard. Turner.

² Burnet. Birch. Lingard. Turner.

resolutely maintained their innocence, and that of their royal mistress, though urged by every persuasive, even the promise of mercy, if they would confess. They persisted in their plea, and were all condemned to death.¹ On what evidence they were found guilty no one can now say, for the records of the trial are not in existence; but in that reign of terror, English liberty and English law were empty words. Almost every person whom Henry VIII. brought to trial for high treason was condemned as a matter of course; and at last he omitted the ceremony of trials at all, and slew his noble and royal victims by acts of attainder.

Every effort was used to obtain evidence against Anne from the condemned prisoners, but in vain. "No one," says Sir Edward Baynton, in his letters to the treasurer, "will accuse her, but *alonely* Mark, of any actual thing." How Mark's confession was obtained, becomes an important question as to the guilt or innocence of the queen. Constantine, whose testimony is anything but favourable to Anne Boleyn, says, "that Mark confessed, but it was reported that he had been grievously racked first." According to Grafton, he was beguiled into signing the deposition which criminated himself, the queen, and others, by the subtlety of the admiral, Sir William Fitzwilliam, who, perceiving his hesitation and terror, said, "Subscribe, Mark, and you will see what will come of it." The implied hope of preserving a dishonoured existence prevailed: the wretched creature signed the fatal paper, which proved the death-doom of himself as well as his royal mistress. He was hanged, that he might tell no tales. Norris was offered his life if he would confess, but he declared "that he would rather die a thousand deaths, than accuse the queen of that of which he believed her in his conscience innocent." When this noble reply was reported to the king, he cried out, "Hang him up, then! hang him up!"²

Queen Anne and her brother, lord Rochford, were brought to trial, May 16, in a temporary building which had been hastily erected for that purpose within the great hall in the Tower. There were then fifty-three peers of England; but from this body a selected moiety of twenty-six were named by the king as "lords triers," under the direction of the duke of Norfolk, who was created lord high-steward for the occasion, and sat under the cloth of state. His son, the earl of Surrey, sat under him as deputy earl-marshal.³ The duke's hostility to his unfortunate niece had already betrayed him into the cruelty of brow-beating and insulting her in her examination before the council at Greenwich. It has been erroneously stated by several writers that Anne's father, the earl of Wiltshire, was one of the "lords triers," but this was not the case. The duke of Suffolk, one of her determined enemies, was one of her judges; so also was Henry's natural son, the

* Burnet. Birch. Lingard. Turner.

² Bishop Goodwin's Annals.

³ Nott's Life of Surrey. Mackintosh. Burnet.

duke of Richmond, who had married her beautiful cousin the lady Mary Howard, the daughter of the duke of Norfolk. This youth, as well as Suffolk, as a matter of course, voted according to the king's pleasure. The earl of Northumberland, Anne's first lover, was named on the commission for her trial. He appeared in his place, but was taken suddenly ill, the effect, no doubt, of violent agitation, and quitted the court before the arraignment of the lord Rochford, which preceded that of the queen.¹ He died a few months afterwards.

Lady Rochford outraged all decency by appearing as a witness against her husband. The only evidence adduced in proof of the crime with which he was charged, was, that one day, when making some request to his sister the queen, he leaned over her bed, and was said by the bystanders to have kissed her.² Rochford defended himself with great spirit and eloquence, so that his judges were at first divided,³ and had the whole body of the peers been present, he might have had a chance of acquittal; but, as we have shown, the lords triers were a number selected by the crown for this service. The trial was conducted within strong walls, the jurors were picked men, and by their verdict the noble prisoner was found guilty. After he was removed, Anne queen of England was called into court by a gentleman usher. She appeared immediately in answer to the summons, attended by her ladies and lady Kingston, and was led to the bar by the lieutenant and the constable of the Tower. The royal prisoner had neither counsel nor adviser of any kind, but she had rallied all the energies of her mind to meet the awful crisis: neither female terror nor hysterical agitation were perceptible in that hour. The lord of Milherve tells us, "that she presented herself at the bar with the true dignity of a queen, and curtsied to her judges, looking round upon them all without any sign of fear." Neither does it appear that there was anything like parade or attempt at theatrical effect in her manner, for her deportment was modest and cheerful. When the indictment was read, which charged her with such offences as never Christian queen had been arraigned for before, she held up her hand courageously, and pleaded "not guilty." She then seated herself in the chair which had been provided for her use while the evidence against her was stated.

Of what nature the evidence was, no one can now form an opinion. The records of the trial have been carefully destroyed. The indictment alone exists, in its extravagant and unverified coarseness, which cannot be permitted to sully the pages of any work intended for family reading.⁴ Burnet affirms that he took great pains in searching for documents calculated to throw some light on the proceedings, and the chief result of his labours was an entry made by Sir John Spelman in his

¹ Remarkable Trials, vol. i.
[•] Wyatt. Mackintosh.

² Burnet

³ "Can we believe," asks Mr. Froude,
[•] that Cromwell would have invented that

private note-book, supposed to have been written on the bench, when he sat as one of the judges before whom Norris, Weston, Brereton and Smeaton were tried for the alleged offences in which they had been, as it was said, participators with the queen. These are the words quoted by Burnet:—"As for the evidence of the matter, it was discovered by the lady Wingfield, who had been a servant to the queen, and becoming suddenly infirm before her death, did swear this matter to one of her" ¹ Here the page containing the important communication of the dying lady is torn off, and with it all the other notes the learned judge had made on these mysterious trials were destroyed; so that, as Burnet has observed, the main evidence brought against the queen and her supposed paramours was the oath of a dead woman, and that, we may add, on hearsay evidence. Crispin's account of the origin of the charge is, "That a gentleman reproving his sister for the freedom of her behaviour, she excused herself by alleging the example of the queen, who was accustomed," she said, "to admit Sir Henry Norris, Sir Francis Weston, master Brereton, Mark Smeaton the musician, and her brother lord Rochford, into her chamber at improper hours," adding "that Smeaton could tell a great deal more." ²

The crimes of which the queen was arraigned were, that she had wronged the king her husband, at various times, with the four persons above named, and also with her brother lord Rochford: that she had said to each and every one of those persons, that the king never had her heart: that she privately told each, separately, "that she loved him better than any person in the world," which things tended to the slander of her issue by the king. To this was added "a charge of conspiring against the king's life." "For the evidence," says Wyatt, "as I never could hear of any, small I believe it was. The accusers must have doubted whether their *proofs* would not prove their *reproofs*, when they durst not bring them to the light in an open place." This observation is most important, for Wyatt was high sheriff for Kent that year, ³ and must have heard all that was opened to the grand jury, who found a true bill against the queen, her brother, and the gentlemen named in the indictment; therefore, it must be concluded that the assertions of the crown lawyers were accepted, untested, by the loyal jurymen of Kent, dark accusation?" To which we reply, that a more likely person to act as the compounder of a false accusation, to gratify an unscrupulous tyrant, could scarcely have been mentioned, than the minister who shamelessly asserted "that which pleaseth the king is law. Have ye not heard," continued he, "that in civil law *quod principi placuit*?"—Foxe ii., 65. Cromwell rendered himself the unblushing tool of the king, in procuring the illegal and murderous sentence of the venerable countess of Salisbury, without trial, by attainder. He became a renegade in the vain hope of preserving his dis-

honoured life; and in his last craven appeal for mercy, subscribed himself the king's "poor slave." Would such a minister have hesitated to frame a false indictment of the woman it pleased his royal master to destroy? Cromwell's eldest son married Jane Seymour's sister, be it remembered.

¹ Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol i. p. 197.

² Crispin lord of Milherve's Metrical History: Meteren's History of the Low Countries.

³ Great stress is laid on this circumstance by the eloquent vindicator of the royal woman-butcher, Henry VIII.

who found the bill, making good the sarcastic observation of Wolsey, previous to his fall: "If the crown were prosecutor, and asserted it, juries would be found to bring in a verdict that Abel was the murderer of Cain." Every right-thinking man must, indeed, doubt the truth of accusations which cannot be substantiated according to the usual forms of justice. The queen defended her own cause with ready wit and great eloquence. Wyatt says, "It was reported without the doors, that she had cleared herself in a most wise and noble speech." Another of the floating rumours that were in circulation among the people before the event of her trial was publicly known, was, that having a quick wit, and being a ready speaker, the queen did so answer all objections, that her acquittal was expected;¹ "And," says bishop Godwin, "had the peers given their verdict according to the expectation of the assembly, she had been acquitted; but through the duke of Suffolk, one wholly given to the king's humour, they did pronounce her guilty."² The decision of the peers is not required, like the verdict of a jury, to be unanimous, but is carried by a majority. If all had voted, she would probably have been saved. After the verdict was declared, the queen was required to lay aside her crown and other insignia of royalty, which she did without offering an objection, save that she protested her innocence of having offended against the king.³

This ceremony was preparatory to her sentence, which was pronounced by her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, as lord high-steward of England, and president of the court commissioned for her trial. She was condemned to be burnt or beheaded, at the king's pleasure. Anne Boleyn heard this dreadful doom without changing colour or betraying the slightest symptom of terror; but when her stern kinsman and judge had ended, she clasped her hands, and raising her eyes to heaven, made her appeal to a higher tribunal in these words: "Oh, Father! oh, Creator! Thou, who art the way, the life and the truth, knowest whether I have deserved this death." Then turning to her earthly judges, she said, "My lords, I will not say your sentence is unjust, nor presume that my reasons can prevail against your convictions. I am willing to believe that you have sufficient reasons for what you have done; but then they must be other than those which have been produced in court, for I am clear of all the offences which you then laid to my charge. I have ever been a faithful wife to the king, though I do not say I have always shown him that humility which his goodness to me and the honour to which he raised me merited. I confess I have had jealous fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not discretion and wisdom enough to conceal at all times. But God knows, and is my witness, that I never sinned against him in any other way. Think not I say this in the hope to prolong my life. God hath taught me how to die, and he will strengthen my faith.

¹ Harleian MS. Holinshed. ² Godwin's Henry VIII. ³ Burnet. Sharon Turner.

Think not that I am so bewildered in my mind as not to lay the honour of my chastity to heart now in mine extremity, when I have maintained it all my life long, as much as ever queen did. I know these my last words will avail me nothing but for the justification of my chastity and honour. As for my brother, and those others who are unjustly condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths to deliver them; but, since I see it so pleases the king, I shall willingly accompany them in death, with this assurance, that I shall lead an endless life with them in peace." Then, with a composed air, she rose up, made a parting salutation to her judges, and left the court as she had entered it. Such is the graphic account that has been preserved of Anne Boleyn's looks, words, and demeanour on this trying occasion by a foreign contemporary,¹ who was one of the few spectators who were permitted to witness it.

The lord mayor, who was present at the arraignment of Anne Boleyn, said afterwards, that "*he* could not observe anything in the proceedings against her but that they were resolved to make an occasion to get rid of her." As the chief judge in the civic court of judicature, and previously as an alderman of the city of London, this magistrate had been accustomed to weigh evidences and pronounce judgments on criminal causes, therefore his opinion is of importance in this case. Camden tells us "that the spectators deemed Anne innocent, and merely circumvented." This accords with the lord mayor's opinion. Smeaton was not confronted with her, and, as far as can be gathered of the grounds of her condemnation, it must have been on his confession only. It is said she objected "that one witness was not enough to convict a person of high treason," but was told "that in *her* case it *was* sufficient." In these days the queen would have had the liberty of cross-questioning the witnesses against her, either personally or by fearless and skilful advocates. Moreover, it would have been in her power to have summoned even her late attendant, mistress Jane Seymour, as one of her witnesses. The result of that lady's examination might have elicited some curious facts. After her trial, Anne was conveyed back to her chamber, the lady Boleyn, her aunt, and lady Kingston, only attending her.

The following is Kingston's methodical letter to Cromwell, on the subject of the dreadful preparations for the execution of the death-doomed queen and her brother:—

"This day I was with the king's grace, and declared the petitions of my lord of Rochester wherein I was answered. Sir, the said lord much desireth to speak with you, which toucheth his conscience much, *as he saith*; wherein I pray you that I may know your pleasure. And also I shall desire you further to know the king's pleasure touching the queen, as well for her comfort as for the preparations of scaffolds, and other necessities concerning. The king's

¹ Crispin, lord of Milherve; Meteren's Hist. of the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 20. He has left us a metrical version of this thrilling scene, which has been regarded by Meteren, the historian of the Low Countries, as a valuable and authentic historical document. He

has used it as such, and his example has been followed by Burnet, Mackintosh, Tytler and, to a certain degree, by Dr Lingard, though he cautions his readers as to the possibility of the poet having adorned his touching record with heightened tints.

grace showed me that my lord of Canterbury should be her confessor, and he was here this day with the queen. And note in that matter, sir, the time is short, for the king supposeth the gentlemen to die to-morrow, and my lord Rochford, with the rest of the gentlemen, are yet without confession, which I look for; but I have told my lord Rochford, that he be in readiness to-morrow to suffer execution, and so he accepts it very well, and will do his best to be ready."

The same day on which this letter was written, the king signed the death-warrant of his once passionately loved consort, and sent Cranmer to receive her last confession. Anne appeared to derive comfort and hope from the primate's visit—hope, even of life; for she told those about her, "that she understood she was to be banished, and she supposed she should be sent to Antwerp." Cranmer was aware of Henry's wish to dissolve the marriage with Anne Boleyn, in order to dispossess the little princess Elizabeth of the place she had been given in the succession, and he had probably persuaded the unfortunate queen not to oppose his majesty's pleasure in that matter. The flattering idea of a reprieve from death must have been suggested to Anne, in order to induce her compliance with a measure so repugnant to her natural disposition and her present frame of mind. When she was brought as a guarded prisoner from Greenwich to the Tower, she had told the unfriendly spectators of her disgrace "that they could not prevent her from dying their queen," accompanying these proud words with a haughty gesticulation of her neck.¹ Yet we find her, only the day after her conference with the archbishop, submitting to resign this dearly prized and fatally purchased dignity without a struggle.

She received, May 17, a summons to appear, "on the salvation of her soul, in the archbishop's court at Lambeth, to answer certain questions as to the validity of her marriage with the king." Henry received a copy of the same summons; but as he had no intention of being confronted with his unhappy consort, he appeared by his old proctor in divorce affairs, Dr. Sampson. The queen, having no choice in the matter, was compelled to attend in person, though a prisoner under sentence of death. She was conveyed privately from the Tower to Lambeth. The place where this strange scene in the closing act of Anne Boleyn's tragedy was performed, was, we are told, a certain low chapel or crypt in Cranmer's house at Lambeth, where, as primate of England, he sat in judgment on the validity of her marriage with the king. The unfortunate queen went through the forms of appointing doctors Wotton and Barbour as her proctors, who, in her name, admitted the pre-contract with Percy, and every other objection that was urged by the king against the legality of the marriage. Wilkin and some others have supposed, that Anne submitted to this degradation as the only means of avoiding the terrible sentence of burning.² Cranmer pronounced "that the marriage between Henry and Anne was null and void, and always had been so." Cromwell was present in his capacity of vicar-general.³

¹ Cassal. Feyjoo.

² Wilkin's Concilia. Nichols' Lambeth.

³ Heylin affirms that "the sentence was pronounced by him."

Thus did Henry take advantage of Percy's engagement with Anne, by using it as a pretext against the validity of her marriage with himself, and this, too, for the sake of illegitimizing his own child. With equal injustice and cruelty he denied his conjugal victim the miserable benefit which her degradation from the name of his wife and the rank of his queen appeared to offer her; namely, an escape from the sentence which had been passed upon her for the alleged crime of adultery, to which, if she were not legally his wife, she could not in law be liable. But Henry's vindictive purpose against her was evident from the beginning, and nothing would satisfy him but her blood. If he had insisted on the invalidity of their union as early as May 13, when Percy was required to answer whether a contract of marriage did not exist between him and the queen, Anne could not have been proceeded against on the charges in her indictment, and the lives of the five unfortunate men who were previously arraigned and sentenced on the same grounds, would have been preserved as well as her own. In that case, she could only have been proceeded against as marchioness of Pembroke, and on a charge of conspiring against the life of the king. Percy, however, denied on oath, to the duke of Norfolk, the lord chancellor, and others, that any contract was between him and the queen,¹ though he had verbally confessed to cardinal Wolsey "that he was so bound in honour to Anne Boleyn, that he could not in conscience marry another woman."² It is probable that Anne's haughty spirit, as well as her maternal feelings, had also prompted her to repel the idea of a divorce with scorn, till the axe was suspended over her. Perhaps she now submitted in the fond hope of preserving, not only her own life, but that of her beloved brother, and the three gallant and unfortunate gentlemen who had so courageously maintained her innocence through all the terrors and temptations with which they had been beset. If so, how bitter must have been the anguish which rent her heart when the knell of these devoted victims, swelling gloomily along the banks of the Thames, reached her ear as she returned to her prison after the unavailing sacrifice of her own and her daughter's rights had been accomplished at Lambeth! That **very** morning her brother and the other gentlemen were led to execution, a scaffold having been erected for that purpose on Tower-hill. Rochford exhorted his companions "to die courageously," and entreated those who came to see him suffer "to live according to the gospel, not in preaching, but in practice," saying, "he would rather have one good liver according to the gospel, than ten babblers."³ He warned his old companions of the vanity of relying on court favour and the smiles of fortune, which had rendered him forgetful of better things. As a sinner, he bewailed his unworthiness, and acknowledged the justice of his punishment in the sig-

¹ See his letter in Burnet.² Cavendish³ Memorial of John Constantyne, in Appendix to Mackintosh's *Henry VIII.*

of God. "The king," he said, "he had never offended, yet he prayed for him that he might have a long and happy life." He forgave all his enemies, and prayed "that he also might be forgiven by all whom he had injured."¹ Then kneeling down, he calmly submitted his neck to the axe.

By some writers it has been regarded as a proof of the queen's guilt, that her brother neither attempted to exonerate himself nor her from the horrible offence with which they had been branded; but an innocent man might, with equal delicacy and dignity, have been silent on such a subject before such an audience. The accusation, if false, was properly treated with the contempt its grossness merited. There is, however, a reason for lord Rochford's silence which has never been adduced by historians. He had made most earnest supplication for his life, and even condescended to entreat the intercession of his unworthy wife with the king to prolong his existence; and as Henry was no less deceitful than cruel, it is possible that he might have tempted Rochford with false hopes to admit the justice of his sentence.² General professions of unworthiness and lamentations for sin on the scaffold were customary with persons about to suffer the sentence of the law; even the spotless and saint-like lady Jane Grey expresses herself in a similar strain. Therefore, as Sir Henry Ellis observes, "no conclusions, as to the guilt of the parties accused, can reasonably be drawn from such acknowledgments." Norris, Weston, and Brereton, taking their cue from Rochford's form of confession, made general acknowledgments of sinfulness, and requested the bystanders to judge the best of them. Sir Francis Weston was a very beautiful young man, and so wealthy, that his wife and mother offered to purchase his life of the king at the ransom of 100,000 crowns. Henry rejected both the piteous supplication and the bribe.

Mark Smeaton, being of ignoble birth, was hanged. He said, "Masters, I pray you all to pray for me, for I have deserved the death." This expression is considered ambiguous, for either he meant that he had committed the crime for which he was to die, or that he merited his punishment for having borne false witness against his royal mistress. It was, however, reported, even at the time, that Mark Smeaton's confession was extorted by the rack,³ and that he was not confronted with the queen lest he should retract it. Anne evidently expected that he

¹ Meteren. *Excerpte Historica*.

² George Boleyn, viscount Rochford, was governor of Dover and the Cinque-ports, he was employed on several embassies to France. It is said by Anthony à Wood that George Boleyn, on the evening before his execution, composed and sang the celebrated lyric, "Farewell, my lute," which is well known to the connoisseurs in our Early English poetry. It had however been previously printed, with other poems of his, among those written by his friend Sir

Thomas Wyatt. Probably George Boleyn whiled away his heavy prison hours with his instrument, and the refrain of this lyric was peculiarly applicable to his situation:—

"Farewell, my lute, this is the last
Labour that thou and I shall waste,
For ended is that we begun;
Now is the song both sung and past,
My lute be still, for I have done."

³ Constantyne's Memorial, in Mackintosh's History of England.

would make the *amende* on the scaffold, for when she was informed of the particulars of the execution and his last words, she indignantly exclaimed, "Has he not, then, cleared me from the public shame he hath done me? Alas! I fear his soul will suffer from the false witness he hath borne. My brother and the rest are now, I doubt not, before the face of the greater King, and I shall follow to-morrow."¹

The renewed agony of hope, which had been cruelly and vainly excited in the bosom of the queen by the mockery of declaring that her marriage with the sovereign was null and void, appears soon to have passed away. She had drunk of the last drop of bitterness mingled malice and injustice could infuse into her cup of misery, and when she received the awful intimation that she must prepare herself for death, she met the fiat like one who was weary of a troublesome pilgrimage, and anxious to be released from its sufferings. Such are the sentiments pathetically expressed in the following stanzas, which she is said to have composed after her condemnation, when her poetical talents were employed in singing her own dirge:—

"Oh, Death! rock me asleep,
Bring on my quiet rest,
Let pass my very guiltless ghost
Out of my careful breast.
Ring out the doleful knell,
Let its sound my death tell—
For I must die,
There is no remedy,
For now I die.

My pains who can express?
Alas! they are so strong,
My dolour will not suffer strength
My life for to prolong!

Alone in prison strange,
I wail my destiny;
Woe worth this cruel hap, that I
Should taste this misery!
Farewell my pleasures past,
Welcome my present pain,
I feel my torments so increase
That life cannot remain.
Sound now the passing-bell,
Rang is my doleful knell,
For its sound my death doth tell
Death doth draw nigh,
Sound the knell dolefully,
For now I die!"²

Of a more prosaic nature, yet containing literal truth as to the events to which they allude, are the verses she wrote after her return from her trial:—

"Defiled is my name full sore,
Through cruel spite and false report,
That I may say for evermore,
Farewell to joy, adieu comfort!

For wrongfully ye judge of me,
Unto my fame a mortal wound;
Say what ye list, it may not be,
Ye seek for that shall not be found."

Anne was earnest in preparing herself for death with many and fervent devotional exercises, and whatever may have been said in disparagement of her by Romish historians, it is certain that she did not die a Protestant. She passed many hours in private conference with her confessor, and received the sacraments according to the doctrine of transubstantiation.³ The penance she imposed upon herself for her injurious treatment of her royal step-daughter, the remembrance of which lay heavily upon her mind when standing upon the awful verge of eternity, is most interestingly recorded by Speed, who quotes it from the relation of a noble-

¹ Meteren. ² This dirge was popular in the reign of Elizabeth, as the commencing line is quoted as a familiar stave by Shakespeare.

³ Kingston's letters, Cott. Otho, C. cx.; likewise edited by Sir Henry Ellis, in his first series of *Historical Letters*.

man : "The day before she suffered death, being attended by six ladies in the Tower, she took the lady Kingston into her presence-chamber, and there, locking the door upon them, willed her to sit down in the chair of state. Lady Kingston answered, 'that it was her duty to stand, and not to sit at all in her presence, much less upon the seat of state of her the queen.'—'Ah! madam,' replied Anne, 'that title is gone : I am a condemned person, and by law have no estate left me in this life, but for clearing of my conscience. I pray you sit down,'—'Well,' said lady Kingston, 'I have often played the fool in my youth, and, to fulfil your command, I will do it once more in mine age ;' and thereupon sat down under the cloth of estate on the throne. Then the queen most humbly fell on her knees before her, and, holding up her hands with tearful eyes, charged her, 'as in the presence of God and his angels, and as she would answer to her before them when all should appear to judgment, that she would so fall down before the lady Mary's grace, her step-daughter, and in like manner, ask her forgiveness for the wrongs she had done her ; for, till that was accomplished,' she said, 'her conscience could not be quiet.'" This fact is also recorded in Kingston's letters to Cromwell, but not so circumstantially as in the account quoted by Speed, from which we learn that Anne Boleyn continued to occupy her own royal apartments in the Tower (with the presence-chamber and canopied chair of state), commonly called the queen's lodgings, and that she had the free range of them, even after the warrant for her execution was signed, although tradition points out more than one dismal tower of the royal fortress as the place of her imprisonment.¹

The queen was ordered for execution on the 19th of May, and it was decreed by Henry that she should be beheaded on the green within the Tower. It was a case without precedent in the annals of England, for never before had female blood been shed on the scaffold ; even in the Norman reigns of terror, woman's life had been held sacred, and the most merciless of the Plantagenet sovereigns had been too manly, under any provocation or pretence, to butcher ladies. But the age of chivalry was over, and not one spark of its ennobling spirit lingered in the breast of the sensual tyrant who gave the first example of sending queens and princesses to the block, like sheep to the shambles. Perhaps there were moments when the lovely and once passionately beloved Anne Boleyn doubted the possibility of his consigning her to the sword of the execu-

¹ In one of the apartments in that venerable part of the Tower occupied by Edmund Swifte, esq., the keeper of her majesty's jewels, I was shown by that gentleman the rude intaglio of a rose and the letter H., with A. Boulton deeply graven on the wall with a nail, or some other pointed instrument. Mr. Swifte argued, from this circumstance, that the captive queen had been confined in the Martin tower, which was then used as a

prison lodging ; but, as it is certain that she occupied the royal apartments, it is not unlikely that her name, with this device, was traced by one of the unfortunate gentlemen who paid so dearly for having felt the power of her charms. When the apartments in the Martin tower were under repair some years ago, Mr. Swifte, by a fortunate chance, preserved this interesting relic from being obliterated by the masons.

tioner; Henry was certainly aware that his doing so would be deemed an outrage on public decency, by his ordering all strangers to be expelled from the Tower. There is an expression in Kingston's letter which implies that a rescue was apprehended; at any rate, the experiment was yet to be tried how Englishmen would brook the spectacle of seeing their beautiful queen mangled by a foreign headsman, that the sovereign might be at liberty to bestow her place on her handmaid. As it was the king's pleasure that his conjugal victim should be decollated with a sword, after the French manner of execution, the headsman of Calais was brought over to England for the purpose, a man who was considered remarkably expert at his horrible calling. The unfortunate queen was duly apprized of this circumstance, with the other preparations for the last act of the tragedy that was to terminate her brilliant but fatal career. She had had mournful experience of the vanity and vexation of all the distinctions that had flattered her: beauty, wealth, genius, pleasure, power, royalty, had all been hers, and whither had they led her?

On Friday, the 19th of May, the last sad morning of her life, Anne rose two hours after midnight, and resumed her devotions with her almoner. Her previous desire of having the consecrated elements remain *in her closet* (which in such case is always for the purposes of adoration) and the fact that she termed the sacrament "the good Lord," proves plainly that she did not die a Protestant. When she was about to receive the sacrament she sent for Sir William Kingston, that he might be a witness of her last solemn protestation of her innocence of the crime for which she was sentenced to die before she became partaker of the holy rite.¹ It is difficult to imagine any person wantonly provoking the wrath of God by incurring the crime of perjury at such a moment. She had evidently no hope of prolonging her life, and appeared not only resigned to die, but impatient of the unexpected delay of an hour or two before the closing scene was to take place. This delay was caused by the misgivings of Henry, for Kingston had advised Cromwell not to fix the hour for the execution so that it could be exactly known when it was to take place, lest it should draw an influx of spectators from the city. He says, "Sir, if the hour be not certain, so as it be known in London, I think there will be but few; and I think a reasonable number were best, for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman, for all men but the king, at the hour of her death."

It does not appear that Anne condescended to implore the mercy of the king. In her letter of the 6th of May she had appealed to his justice, and reminded him that "he must hereafter expect to be called 'to a strict account for his treatment of her, if he took away her life on false and slanderous pretences;" but there is no record that she caused a single supplication to be addressed to him in her behalf. She knew his

¹ Kingston's letters to Cromwell. *Fili's Letters.*

pitiless nature too well even to make the attempt to touch his feelings after the horrible imputations with which he had branded her, and this lofty spirit looks like the pride of innocence, and the bitterness of a deeply-wounded mind. While Kingston was writing his last report to Cromwell of her preparations for the awful change that awaited her, she sent for him and said, "Mr. Kingston, I hear I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefor, for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain."—"I told her," says Kingston, "that the pain should be little, it was so subtle." And then she said, "I have heard say the executioner is very good, and I have a little neck," and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. "I have seen men and women also executed, and they have been in great sorrow," continues the lieutenant of the Tower, "but, to my knowledge, this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her almoner is continually with her, and hath been since two o'clock after midnight." There must have been one powerful tie to bind the hapless queen to a world from which she appeared eager to be released. She was a mother, and was leaving her infant daughter to the domination of the treacherous beauty who was to take her place in Henry's state, as she had already done in his fickle fancy, and Anne Boleyn had no reason to expect that Jane Seymour would prove a kinder step-dame to Elizabeth, than she had been to the princess Mary—an agonizing thought in the hour of death. It is not known whether Anne requested to see her little one, who was quite old enough to know her, and to return her caresses, for Elizabeth was at the attractive age of two years and eight months; but if the unfortunate queen preferred such a petition it was fruitless, and she was led to the scaffold without being permitted to bestow a parting embrace on her child. Perhaps she felt that such an interview would unfit her for acting her part in the last trying scene that awaited her with the lofty composure which its publicity required.

The great historian, lord Bacon, assures us that Anne protested her innocence with undaunted greatness of mind at the time of her death. He tells us, "that by a messenger, faithful and generous as she supposed, and one of the king's privy-chamber, she, just before she went to execution, sent this message to the king: 'Commend me to his majesty, and tell him he hath ever been constant in his career of advancing me. From a private gentlewoman he made me a marchioness, from a marchioness a queen; and now he hath left no higher degree of honour, he gives my innocency the crown of martyrdom.' But the messenger durst not carry this to the king, then absorbed in a new passion, yet tradition has truly transmitted it to posterity." This sarcastic message is noted as a memorandum on the letter which Anne wrote to Henry from the Tower, probably by Cromwell or his secretary, and it has frequently been quoted by historians; but lord Bacon is the only person who places it in its apparently true chronology—the day of her death, when hope was gone,

and the overcharged heart of the victim dared to give vent to its last bitterness in those memorable words.

A traditionary anecdote of Anne Boleyn, attested by the preservation of a curious contemporary trinket, has been communicated by a clergyman in whose family it has been handed down from generation to generation. The trinket is a small golden *etui*, about an inch, is richly chased, and in the form of a pistol, the barrel serving the purpose of a whistle, and enclosing a set of toothpicks; round the handle a serpent is coiled. This is asserted to have been given by the unfortunate queen, on the morning of her execution, to the officer on guard, Captain Gwyn, in token of her sense of his respectful conduct towards her. On presenting it, she told him "it was the first token the king gave her," bidding the officer observe, "that a serpent formed part of the device, and a serpent," she said, "the giver had proved to her." In corroboration of this curious incident, there is evidence that there was a Captain Gwyn, a man of considerable property in Swansea, in the service of Henry VIII.¹

The scaffold prepared for the decapitation of the unfortunate queen was erected on the green before the church of St. Peter-ad-Vincula. The hour appointed by her ruthless consort for her execution having been kept a profound mystery, only a few privileged spectators were assembled to witness the dreadful, yet strangely exciting pageant. A few minutes before twelve o'clock, the portals through which she was to pass for the last time were thrown open, and the royal victim appeared, led by the lieutenant of the Tower, who acted as her lord chamberlain at this last fatal ceremonial. Anne was dressed in a robe of black damask, with a deep white cape falling over it on her neck. Instead of the pointed black velvet hood edged with pearls, which is familiar to us in her portraits, she wore a small hat with ornamented coifs under it. The high resolve for which she had nerved herself to go through the awful scene that awaited her as became a queen, had doubtless recalled the lustre to her eyes, and flushed her faded cheek with hues of feverish brightness, for she came forth in fearful beauty. "Never," says an eye-witness of the tragedy, "had the queen looked so beautiful before."² She was attended by the four maids of honour who had waited upon her in prison.³ Having been assisted by Sir William Kingston to ascend the steps of the scaffold, she there saw assembled the lord mayor and some of the civic dignitaries, and her great enemy the duke of Suffolk, with Henry's natural son, the duke of Richmond, who had, in defiance of all decency and humanity, come thither to disturb her last moments with their unfriendly espionage, and to feast their eyes upon her blood. There, also, was the ungrateful blacksmith-secretary of state, Cromwell; who, though he had been chiefly indebted to the patronage of Anne

¹ Communicated by the Rev. W. S. Bevan, Vicar of Hay, South Wales.

² Letter of a Portuguese contemporary, published by Sir H. Nicolas in *Excerpta Historica*.

³ *Excerpta Historica*. Lingard. Meteren.

Boleyn for his present greatness, had shown no disposition to succour her in her adversity. The fact was, he meant to make alliance offensive and defensive with the family of Henry's bride-elect, Jane Seymour. The climbing *parvenu* was an active superintendent of the preparations for the death of queen Anne,¹ and lent his aid in affixing the stigma of illegitimacy on her daughter. Anne must have been perfectly aware of his motives, but she accorded him and the other *reptilia* of the privy council the mercy of her silence when she met them on the scaffold. "She came there," as she with true dignity observed, "to die, and not to accuse her enemies." When she had looked round her, she turned to Kingston, and entreated him "not to hasten the signal for her death till she had spoken that which was on her mind to say;" to which he consented, and she then spoke:—"Good Christian people, I am come hither to die according to law, for by the law I am judged to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it.² I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused, as I know full well that aught that I could say in my defence, doth not appertain unto you,³ and that I could draw no hope of life from the same. But I come here only to die, and thus to yield myself humbly unto the will of my lord the king. I pray God to save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler or more merciful prince was there never. To me he was ever a good and gentle sovereign lord. If any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the best. Thus I take my leave of the world and of you, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me."⁴ She then, with her own hands, removed her hat and collar, which might impede the action of the sword, and taking the coifs from her head, delivered them to one of her ladies. Then covering her hair with a little linen cap (for

¹ In Kingston's last letter to Cromwell relating to Anne Boleyn, it may be observed that no sort of title is vouchsafed to the fallen queen, not so much as that of the lady Anne, which in common courtesy would have been rendered to her as the daughter of the earl of Wiltshire, but she is designated by the unceremonious pronoun *she* throughout. Yet there is something in Kingston's letters which betrays more interest and kindly feeling towards the royal prisoner than he ventures openly to show to the person he is addressing, and which gives us the idea that she might have fallen into the hands of a harder gaoler.

² Hall. Wyatt.

³ Excerpta Historica.

⁴ Her speech as related in the account of her execution in Nichols, differs in some respects from this, and is much shorter and more naturally expressed; it is as follows:—"Masters, I here humbly submit me to the law, as the law hath judged me; and as for my offences (I here accuse no man), God knoweth them. I remit them to God, be-

seeching him to have mercy on my soul, and I beseech Jesu to save my sovereign and master the king, the most godliest, noblest, and gentlest prince that is, and make him long to reign over you." These words she spake with a smiling countenance. That Anne as a Christian could forgive and pray for her husband we can readily believe, but that she praised him for qualities so entirely contradicted by his conduct, is scarcely credible. Struggling as the unfortunate queen was with hysterical emotion, and the conflicts of suppressed feelings, her utterance must have been choked and imperfect, and the probabilities are that her speech was reported by her friend, Mr. Secretary Cromwell, or some other person equally interested in the cause of truth and justice, in such terms as would not only be most agreeable to the king, but best suited to calm the public mind; for if the simple and honest class, who seldom look below the outward semblance of things, could be persuaded that the queen herself was satisfied with her sentence, they would see no reason why they should be otherwise.

it seems as if her ladies were too much overpowered with grief and terror to assist her, and that she was the only person who retained her composure), she said, "Alas, poor head! in a very brief space thou wilt roll in the dust on the scaffold; and as in life thou didst not merit to wear the crown of a queen, so in death thou deservest not better doom than this."¹

All present were then in tears, save the base court sycophants who came to flatter the evil passions of the sovereign. Anne took leave of her weeping ladies in these pathetic words:—"And ye, my damsels, who, whilst I lived, ever showed yourselves so diligent in my service, and who are now to be present at my last hour and mortal agony, as in good fortune ye were faithful to me, so even at this my miserable death ye do not forsake me. And as I cannot reward you for your true service to me, I pray you take comfort for my loss; howbeit, forget me not, and be always faithful to the king's grace, and to her whom, with happier fortune, ye may have as your queen and mistress. And esteem your honour far beyond your life; and, in your prayers to the Lord Jesu, forget not to pray for my soul."² Among these true-hearted adherents of the fallen queen was the companion of her childhood, Mrs. Mary Wyatt, Sir Thomas Wyatt's sister, who, faithful through every reverse, attended her on the scaffold.³ To this tried friend Anne Boleyn gave, as a parting gift, her last possession—a little book of devotions, bound in gold, and enamelled back, which she held in her hand from the time she left the Tower till she commenced her preparations for the block. Mary always wore this precious relic in her bosom.⁴ Some mysterious last words, supposed to be a message to Sir Thomas Wyatt, the queen was observed to whisper very earnestly to Mrs. Mary Wyatt before she knelt down.

It had been said that Anne refused to allow her eyes to be covered, and that, whenever the executioner approached her, his purpose was disarmed by his encountering their brilliant glances; till, taking off his shoes, he beckoned to one of the assistants to advance on one side as he softly approached on the other, and when the queen, deceived by this subterfuge, turned her eyes in the direction whence she heard the steps, he struck her head off with one blow of the Calais sword.⁵ The account given by the Portuguese spectator of this mournful scene is as follows:—"And being minded to say no more, she knelt down upon both knees, and one of her ladies covered her eyes with a bandage; and then they

¹ From the letter of a Portuguese gentleman, who was an eye-witness of the execution.

² *Excerpta Historica*.

³ Life of Wyatt, in Strawberry-hill MSS.

⁴ In Singer's learned notes to the memorials left by Sir Thomas Wyatt of Anne Boleyn, there is a minute description of a little book, which was carefully preserved in the Wyatt family as having once belonged to Anne Boleyn, and which is, we doubt not, the identical volume presented by that unfortunate queen to the poet's sister. It was

of diminutive size, containing 104 leaves of vellum, one inch and seven-eighths long, by one and five-eighths broad; it contained a metrical version of parts of thirteen Psalms, bound in pure gold, richly chased, with a ring to append it to the neck-chain or girdle. It was seen in 1721, by Mr. Vertue, in the possession of Mr. George Wyatt, of Charterhouse-square. Such little volumes were presented by Anne to each of her ladies in the last year of her fatal royalty.

⁵ The tragic fate of Anne Boleyn is thus

withdrew themselves some little space, and knelt down over against the scaffold, bemoaning bitterly and shedding many tears. And thus, and without more to say or do, was her head struck off; she making no confession of her fault, but saying, 'O Lord God, have pity on my soul!'"¹ This being the record of an eye-witness, we think it is deserving of credit, and it agrees with the dignified composure of Anne's behaviour on the scaffold. Gratian says she died with great resolution and so sedately as to cover her feet with her garments, in like manner as the Roman poet records of the royal Polyxena, when about to be sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles. According to another authority, her last words were, "*In manus tuas.*" "The bloody blow came down from his trembling hand who gave it," says Wyatt, "when those about her could not but seem to themselves to have received it upon their own necks, she not so much as shrinking at it." Spelman has noted, that Anne Boleyn's eyes and lips were observed to move when her head was held up by the executioner. It is also said, that before those beautiful eyes sank in the dimness of death, they seemed for an instant mournfully to regard her bleeding body as it fell on the scaffold.²

It does not appear that the last moments of Anne were disturbed by the presence of lady Boleyn and Mrs. Cosyns. The gentler females who, like ministering angels, had followed their royal mistress to her doleful prison and dishonouring scaffold, half-fainting and drowned in tears as they were, surrounded her mangled remains, now a spectacle appalling to women's eyes; yet they would not abandon them to the ruffian hands of the executioner and his assistants, but, with unavailing tenderness, washed away the blood from the lovely face and glossy hair, that scarcely three years before had been proudly decorated with the crown of St. Edward, and now, but for these unbought offices of faithful love, would have been lying neglected in the dust. Our Portuguese authority informs us, "that one weeping lady took the severed head, the others the bleeding body of the unfortunate queen, and having reverentially covered them with a sheet, placed them in a chest which there stood ready, and carried them to the church, which is within the Tower; "where," continues he, "they say she lieth buried with the others," meaning her fellow-victims, who had two days before preceded her to the scaffold. There is, however, some reason to doubt whether the mangled remains of this hapless queen repose in the place generally pointed out in St. Peter's church within the Tower as the spot where she was interred. It is true that her warm and almost palpitating form was there conveyed in no better coffin than

¹ briefly recorded by a contemporary: "The xix of May, quene Ann Boleyn was beheaded in the Towre of London, by the hands of the hangman of Calais, with the swerde of Calais."—Chronicle of Calais in the reigns of

Henry VII. and Henry VIII., edited by John Gough Nichols, esq., F.S.A., p. 97: published by the Camden Society.

² Excerpta Historica; Sir H. Nicolas.

³ Leti.

an old elm-chest that had been used for keeping arrows,¹ and there, in less than half an hour after the executioner had performed his office, thrust into a grave that had been prepared for her by the side of her murdered brother. And there she was interred, without other obsequies than the whispered prayers and choking sobs of those true-hearted ladies who had attended her on the scaffold, and were the sole mourners who followed her to the grave. It is to be lamented that history has only preserved one name out of this gentle sisterhood, that of Mary Wyatt, when all were worthy to have been inscribed in golden characters in every page sacred to female tenderness and charity.

In Anne Boleyn's native county, Norfolk, a curious tradition has been handed down from father to son, for upwards of three centuries, which affirms that her remains were secretly removed from the Tower church under cover of darkness, and privately conveyed to Salle church, the ancient burial-place of the Boleyns,² and there interred at midnight, with the holy rites that were denied to her by her royal husband at her first unhallowed funeral. A plain black marble slab, without any inscription, is still shown in Salle church as a monumental memorial of this queen, and is generally supposed, by all classes of persons in that neighbourhood, to cover her remains. The mysterious sentence with which Wyatt closes his eloquent memorial of the death of this unfortunate queen, affords a singular confirmation of the local tradition of her removal and re-interment: "God," says he, "provided for her corpse *sacred burial*, even in a place as it were consecrate to innocence."³ This expression would lead us to infer that Wyatt was in the secret, if not one of the parties who assisted in the removal of Anne Boleyn's remains. After all, there is nothing to violate probability in the tale, romantic though it be. King Henry, on the day of his queen's execution, tarried no longer in the vicinity of the metropolis than till the report of the signal gun, booming faintly through the forest-glade, reached his ear, and announced the joyful tidings that he had been made a widower. He then rode off at fiery speed to his bridal orgies at Wolf-hall. With him went the confidential myrmidons of his council, caring little, in their haste to offer their homage to the queen of the morrow, whether the mangled form of the queen of yesterday was securely guarded in the dishonoured grave, into which it had been thrust with indecent haste that noon. There was neither singing nor saying for her—no *chapelle ardente*, nor midnight requiem, as for other queens; and, in the absence of these

¹ Sir John Spelman's Notes in Burnet.

² The stately tower of Salle church is supposed to be the loftiest in Norfolk, and it is certainly one of the most magnificent in the east of England. The profound solitude of the neighbourhood where this majestic fane rises in lonely grandeur, remote from the haunts of village life, must have been

favourable for the stolen obsequies of this unfortunate queen, if the tradition were founded on fact. Her father was the lord of the soil, and all his Norfolk ancestry were buried in that church. It is situate between Norwich and Reepham, on a gentle eminence. ³ Singer's edition of Cavendish's Wolsey, vol. ii. p. 215.

solemnities, it was easy for her father, for Wyatt, or even his sister, to bribe the porter and sextons of the church to connive at the removal of the royal victim's remains. That old elm-chest could excite no suspicion when carried through the dark narrow streets and the Aldgate portal of the city to the eastern road : it probably passed as a coffer of stores for the country, no one imagining that such a receptacle enclosed the earthly relics of their crowned and anointed queen.

It is remarkable, that in the ancient church of Horndon-on-the-Hill, in Essex, a nameless black marble monument is also pointed out by village antiquaries as the veritable monument of this queen. The existence of a similar tradition of the kind in two different counties, but in both instances in the neighbourhood of Sir Thomas Boleyn's estates, can only be accounted for on the supposition that rumours of the murdered queen's removal from the Tower chapel were at one time in circulation among the tenants and dependants of her paternal house, and were by them orally transmitted to their descendants as matter of fact. Historical traditions are, however, seldom devoid of some kind of foundation ; and whatever be their discrepancies, they frequently afford a shadowy evidence of real but unrecorded events, which, if steadily investigated, would lend a clue whereby things of great interest might be traced out. A great epic poet¹ of our own times has finely said—

"Tradition ! oh, tradition ! thou of the seraph tongue,
The ark that links two ages, the ancient and the young."

The execution of the viscount Rochford rendered his two sisters the co-heiresses of their father, the earl of Wiltshire. The attainder of Anne Boleyn, together with Cranmer's sentence on the nullity of her marriage with the king, had, by the law of the land, deprived her and her issue of any claim on the inheritance of her father. Yet, on the death of the earl of Wiltshire, king Henry, in defiance of his own acts, did with equal rapacity and injustice, seize Hever-castle and other portions of the Boleyn patrimony in right of his divorced and murdered wife Anne, the elder daughter, reserving for their daughter Elizabeth all that Mary Boleyn and her heirs could otherwise have claimed.

Greenwich-palace was Anne Boleyn's favourite abode of all the royal residences. The park is planted and laid out in the same style as her native Blickling, and with the same kind of trees. It is natural to suppose that the noble intersected arcades of chestnuts, which form the principal charm of the royal park, were planted under the direction of this queen, in memory of those richer and more luxuriant groves beneath whose blossomed branches she sported in careless childhood with her sister Mary, her brother Rochford, and their playmate Wyatt. Happy would it have been for Anne Boleyn, if parental ambition had never aimed at her fulfilling a higher destiny than becoming the wife of the

¹ Adam Mickiewicz.

accomplished and true-hearted Wyatt—that devoted friend, whose love, surviving the grave, lives still in the valuable biographical memorials which he preserved of her life.¹ Sir Thomas Wyatt died four years after the execution of Anne Boleyn; Percy only survived her a few months.

The motives for Anne's destruction were so glaringly unveiled by the indecorous and inhuman haste with which the king's marriage with Jane Seymour was celebrated, that a strong presumption of her innocence has naturally been the result to unprejudiced readers. André Thévet, a Franciscan, affirms "that he was assured by several English gentlemen, that Henry VIII., on his death-bed, expressed peculiar remorse for the wrong he had done Anne Boleyn by putting her to death on a false accusation."² The Franciscans, as a body, had suffered so much for their steadfast support of the cause of queen Katharine, in opposition to the rival interests of queen Anne, that a testimony in favour of the latter from one of that order ought to be regarded as impartial history. Superficial readers have imagined, that the guilt of Anne Boleyn has been established by the discovery of documents mentioned in the report of the Record Commission as the contents of the "*Baga de Secretis*." This bag, which was always known to be in existence, contains merely the indictment, precepts, and condemnation of that unfortunate queen, and not a tittle of the evidence produced in substantiation of the revolting crimes with which she was charged. It has been suspected by many persons, that the depositions of the witnesses were destroyed by the order of Elizabeth; but surely, if she had destroyed the evidence, she would never have allowed the indictment, which branded her unhappy mother as a monster of impurity, to be preserved. It is more according to probability that Henry and his accomplices in this judicial murder, being well aware that no evidence of Anne's guilt was produced that would bear an impartial legal investigation, took effectual measures to prevent its ever appearing in her justification.

Anne Boleyn had been maid of honour to four queens; namely, Mary and Claude, queens of France, Margaret queen of Navarre, and Katharine of Arragon, the first consort of Henry VIII., whom, in an evil hour for both, she supplanted in the affections of the king, and succeeded in her royal dignity as queen of England. She only survived the broken-hearted Katharine four months and a few days, and was in her thirty-sixth year at the time of her execution.

¹ There is a beautiful Italian MS. on the subject of this unfortunate queen in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, bart., of Middle Hill, written just after the death of queen Elizabeth. It professes to be the history of Anne Boleyn, but can only be

regarded as the earliest historical romance on her eventful career. It seems to have been the foundation of the popular Italian opera of *Anna Bolena*.

² Universal Cosmography; book xvi. c. 5

JANE SEYMOUR,

THIRD QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

“JANE SEYMOUR was the fairest, the discreetest, and the most meritorious of all Henry VIII.’s wives.” This assertion has been generally repeated by all historians to the present hour, yet, doubtless, the question has frequently occurred to their readers, in what did her merit consist? Customs may alter at various eras, but the laws of moral justice are unalterable: difficult would it be to reconcile them with the first actions known of this discreet lady, for discretion is the attribute peculiarly challenged as her own. Yet Jane Seymour’s shameless conduct in receiving the courtship of Henry VIII. was the commencement of the severe calamities that befell her mistress, Anne Boleyn. Scripture points out as an especial odium the circumstance of a handmaid taking the place of her mistress. Odious enough was the case when Anne Boleyn supplanted the right royal Katharine of Arragon, but the discreet Jane Seymour received the addresses of her mistress’s husband, and passively beheld the mortal anguish of Anne Boleyn when that unhappy queen was in a state which peculiarly demanded feminine sympathy; she knew that the discovery of Henry’s inconstancy had nearly destroyed her, whilst the shock actually destroyed her infant. Jane saw murderous accusations got up against the queen, which finally brought her to the scaffold, yet she gave her hand to the regal ruffian before his wife’s corpse was cold. Yes; four-and-twenty hours had not elapsed since the sword was reddened with the blood of her mistress, when Jane Seymour became the bride of Henry VIII. And let it be remembered that a royal marriage could not have been celebrated without previous preparation, which must have proceeded simultaneously with the heart-rending events of Anne Boleyn’s last agonized hours. The wedding-cakes must have been baking, the wedding-dinner providing, the wedding-clothes preparing, while the life-blood was yet running warm in the veins of the victim, whose place was to be rendered vacant by violent death. The picture

is repulsive enough, but it becomes tenfold more abhorrent when the woman who caused the whole tragedy is loaded with panegyric.

Jane Seymour had arrived at an age when the timidity of girlhood could no longer be pleaded as excuse for passive acquiescence in such outrages on common decency. All genealogies¹ concur in naming her as the eldest of Sir John Seymour's numerous family. As such, she could not have been younger than Anne Boleyn, who was much older than is generally asserted. Jane was the eldest of the eight children of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf-hall, Wiltshire, and Margaret Wentworth, daughter of Sir John Wentworth, of Nettlestead, in Suffolk. The Seymours were a family of country gentry who, like most holders of manorial rights, traced their ancestry to a Norman origin. One or two had been knighted in the wars of France, but their names had never emerged from the herald's visitation-rolls into historical celebrity. They increased their boundaries by fortunate alliances with heiresses, and the head of the family married into a collateral branch of the lordly line of Beauchamp. After that event, two instances are quoted of Seymours serving as high sheriff of Wilts. Through Margaret Wentworth, the mother of Jane Seymour, a descent from the blood-royal of England was claimed from an intermarriage with a Wentworth and a supposed daughter of Hotspur and lady Elizabeth Mortimer, grand-daughter to Lionel duke of Clarence. Few persons dared dispute a pedigree with Henry VIII., and Cranmer granted a dispensation for nearness of kin between Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour—rather a work of supererogation, since the parties could not be related within the forbidden degree. Although the royal kindred appears somewhat doubtful, yet it is undeniable that the sovereign of England gained by this alliance one brother-in-law who bore the name of Smith, and another whose grandfather was a blacksmith at Putney.²

Jane's childhood and early youth are involved in great obscurity, but there is reason to suppose that, like Anne Boleyn, her education was finished and her manners formed at the court of France. Her portrait in the Louvre, as a French maid of honour, has given rise to this idea. It is probable that she entered the service of Mary Tudor in 1514, which her brother certainly did; for in a list of the persons forming the bridal retinue of that queen, signed by the hand of Louis XII.,³ may be observed, among the children or pages of honour, the son of M. Seymour. This must have been Jane's brother Edward, afterwards known as the Protector Somerset. He was younger, however, than Jane, and it is very possible that she had an appointment also, though not of such importance as Anne Boleyn, who was grand-daughter to the duke of Norfolk, and was associated with two of the sovereign's kinswomen, the ladies Gray, as maid of honour to Mary queen of France. Jane could boast of no such

¹ Collins' *Peerage*.² *Ibid*.³ Cotton. MS.

high connections as these, and, perhaps from her comparatively inferior birth, did not excite the jealousy of the French monarch like the ladies of maturer years. It is possible that Jane Seymour was promoted to the post of maid of honour in France after the dismissal of the other ladies. Her portrait in the Louvre, a whole-length, and one of Holbein's master-pieces, represents her as a beautifully full-formed woman, of nineteen or twenty, and seems an evidence that, like Anne, she had obtained a place subsequently in the household of queen Claude, where she perfected herself in the art of coquetry, though in a more demure style than her unfortunate compeer, Anne Boleyn. It was Sir John Seymour¹ who first made interest for his daughter to be placed as maid of honour to Anne Boleyn. Anne Stanhope, afterwards the wife of his eldest son, Edward Seymour, was Jane's associate.

Henry's growing passion for Jane soon awakened suspicion in the mind of queen Anne; it is said that her attention was one day attracted by a jewel which Jane Seymour wore about her neck, and she expressed a wish to look at it. Jane faltered and drew back, and the queen, noticing her hesitation, snatched it violently from her, so violently that she hurt her own hand,² and found that it contained the portrait of the king, which, as she most truly guessed, had been presented by himself to her fair rival. Jane Seymour had far advanced in the same serpentine path which conducted Anne herself to a throne, ere she ventured to accept the portrait of her enamoured sovereign, and well assured must she have been of success in her ambitious views before she presumed to wear such a love-token in the presence of the queen. Anne Boleyn was not of a temper to bear her wrongs patiently, but Jane Seymour's influence was in the ascendant, hers in the decline: her anger was unavailing. Jane maintained her ground triumphantly; one of the king's love-letters to his new favourite seems to have been written while the fallen queen was waiting her doom in prison.

"HENRY VIII. TO JANE SEYMOUR.³

"MY DEAR FRIEND AND MISTRESS,

"The bearer of these few lines from thy entirely devoted servant will deliver into thy fair hands a token of my true affection for thee, hoping you will keep it for ever in your sincere love for me. Advertising you that there is a ballad made lately of great derision against us, which if it go abroad and is seen by you, I pray you to pay no manner of regard to it. I am not at present informed who is the setter forth of this malignant writing; but if he is found out, he shall be straitly punished for it.

"For the things ye lacked, I have minded my lord to supply them to

¹ Fuller's Worthies, 848.

² Heylin. Fuller's Worthies.

³ Halliwell; Letters of the Kings of England.

you as soon as he could buy them. Thus hoping shortly to receive you in these arms, I end for the present,

“Your own loving servant and sovereign,

“H. R.”

While the last act of that diabolical drama was played out which consummated the destruction of poor Anne, it appears that her rival had the discretion to retreat to her paternal mansion, Wolf-hall, in Wiltshire. There the preparations for her marriage with Henry VIII. were proceeding with sufficient activity to allow her royal wedlock to take place the day after the executioner had rendered the king a widower. Henry himself remained in the vicinity of the metropolis, awaiting the accomplishment of that event. Richmond-park and Epping-forest are each named by traditions as the place where he waited for the announcement of his wife's death. Richmond-park has decidedly the best claim, for the spot pointed out is a promontory of the highest portion of the cliff or ridge commanding the valley of the Thames, called Richmond-hill. About a quarter of a mile to the left of the town an extensive view to the west reposes under the eye. The remains of the oak beneath which Henry VIII. stood are now enclosed in the grounds at present occupied by lord John Russell. Henry, at this spot, was a full hour nearer Wiltshire than if he had started from the hunting-tower at Pleshet, near East Ham. On the morning of the 19th of May, Henry VIII., attired for the chase, with his huntsmen and hounds around him, was standing under the spreading oak, breathlessly awaiting the signal-gun from the Tower which was to announce that the sword had fallen on the neck of his once “entirely beloved Anne Boleyn.” At last, when the bright summer sun rode high towards its meridian, the sullen sound of the death-gun boomed along the windings of the Thames. Henry started with ferocious joy. “Ha, ha!” he cried with satisfaction, “the deed is done. Uncouple the hounds and away!” The chase that day bent towards the west, whether the stag led it in that direction or not. The tradition of Richmond adds, that the king was likewise advised of the execution by a signal from a flag hoisted on the spire of old St. Paul's, which was seen through a glade of the park to the east.

At night the king was at Wolf-hall, in Wilts, telling the news to his elected bride; the next morning he married her, May 20, 1536. It is commonly asserted that the king wore white for mourning the day after Anne Boleyn's execution; he certainly wore white, not as mourning, but because he on that day wedded her rival. Wolf-hall, the scene of these royal nuptials, was a short distance from Tottenham-park, in Wiltshire. Of the ancient residence some remains now exist, among which is the kitchen, where tradition declares a notable royal wedding.

dinner was cooked; a detached building is likewise still entire, in which the said dinner was served up, and the room hung, on this occasion, with tapestry.¹ In the last century there were tenter-hooks, on which small bits of tapestry were hanging. The people of the neighbourhood showed these tatters as proof of the honourable use to which it had been put. Between Wolf-hall and Tottenham was a noble avenue bordered with lofty trees, in which the royal bride and bridegroom walked; it was in the seventeenth century known by the name of "King Harry's walk."²

Several favourite members of the king's obsequious privy council were present at the marriage, therefore the authenticity of its date is beyond all dispute. Among others, was Sir John Russell (afterwards earl of Bedford), who, "having been at Tottenham, the parish church, with the royal pair," gave as his opinion, "That the king was the goodliest person there, and that the richer queen Jane was dressed the fairer she appeared; on the contrary, the better Anne Boleyn was apparelled the worse she looked: but that queen Jane was the fairest of all Henry's wives, though both Anne Boleyn, and queen Katharine in her younger days, were women not easily paralleled."³ The bridal party proceeded after dinner to Marwell, near Winchester, once a country-seat belonging to the bishops of that see, which Henry had already wrested from the church and bestowed on the Seymours. Old Marwell was pulled down in the last century, with a reputation of being haunted; the queen's chamber used to be shown there.⁴ From Marwell the king and his bride went to Winchester, where they sojourned a few days, and from thence returned to London, in time to hold a great court on the 29th of May. Here the bride was publicly introduced as queen, and her marriage festivities were blended with the celebration of Whitsuntide. St. Peter's-eve, June 29, the king paid the citizens the compliment of bringing his fair queen to Mercers'-hall, and she stood in one of the windows to view the annual ceremony of setting the city watch.

The lord chancellor Audley, when parliament met a few days after, introduced the subject of the king's new marriage in a speech so tedious in length, that the clerks who wrote the parliamentary journals gave up its transcription in despair. Yet they fortunately left extant an abstract, containing a curious condolence on the exquisite sufferings the monarch had endured in matrimony. "Ye well remember," pathetically declaimed chancellor Audley, "the great anxieties and perturbations this invincible sovereign suffered on account of his first unlawful marriage; so all ought to bear in mind the perils and dangers he was under when he contracted his second marriage, and that the lady Anne and her complices have

¹ Britton's Wiltshire.

³ Lord Herbert.

² Defoe's Tour through Great Britain.

⁴ Milner's Winchester.

since been justly found guilty of high treason, and had met their due reward for it. What man of middle life would not this deter from marrying a third time? Yet this our most excellent prince again condescendeth to contract matrimony, and hath, on the humble petition of the nobility, taken to himself a wife this time, whose age and fine form give promise of issue." He said, "that the king had two objects in view in summoning a parliament; to declare the heir-apparent, and to repeal the act in favour of the succession of Anne Boleyn's issue." The crown was afterwards entailed on the children of queen Jane, whether male or female. After expatiating on all the self-sacrifices Henry had endured for the good of his people, chancellor Audley concluded by proposing "that the lords should pray for heirs to the crown by this marriage," and sent the commons to chose a speaker. The speaker they chose was the notorious Richard Rich, who had sworn away the life of Sir Thomas More; he outdid the chancellor Audley in his fulsome praises of the king, thinking proper to load his speech with personal flattery, "comparing him, for strength and fortitude to Samson, for justice and prudence to Solomon, and for beauty and comeliness to Absalom." Thus did the English senate condescend to encourage Henry in his vices, calling his self-indulgence self-denial, and all his evil good; inflating his wicked wilfulness with eulogy, till he actually forgot, according to Wolsey's solemn warning, "that there was both heaven and hell." While the biographer is appalled as the domestic features of this moral monster are unveiled, surely some abhorrence is due to the union of servility and atrocity that met in the hearts and heads of his advisers and flatterers.

It is worthy of notice, that the dispensation by Cranmer of kindred and all other impediments in the marriage of the king and Jane Seymour, is dated on the very day of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn's death, May 19, 1536. The abhorrent conduct of Henry in wedding Jane so soon after the sacrifice of her hapless predecessor, has left its foul traces on a page where truly Christian reformers must have viewed it with grief and disgust. In the dedication of Coverdale's Bible, printed at Zurich the preceding year, the names of Henry and his queen are introduced; but as Anne Boleyn was destroyed between the printing and publication, an attempt was made to accommodate the dedication to the caprice of Henry's passions, by printing J, for Jane, over the letters which composed the name of the unfortunate Anne.¹

Bitter complaints were made that the new queen, in all possible ways, strove to depress the connections of her fallen mistress and to exalt her own. Of course the power of so doing was the chief inducement for her

¹ State Papers.

marriage, with all its odious circumstances. Her brothers, uncles, sisters, and cousins promptly filled every great and lucrative office at court, imitating closely the unpopular precedent of the kin of Elizabeth Woodville.

Queen Jane ostensibly mediated the reconciliation between the princess Mary and the king. In the correspondence which ensued between the father and daughter, about twenty days after the marriage of Jane Seymour, she is frequently mentioned by the princess as "her most natural mother the queen:" she congratulates her on her marriage with the king, praying God to send them a prince. These letters were chiefly dictated by Thomas Cromwell, whose son afterwards married a sister of the new queen. Mary certainly regarded Jane Seymour as her friend; nevertheless, the terms were so cruel on which Mary was restored to her father's presence, that her majesty had not ventured very far in her intercession between them. From one of Mary's earlier letters, it is evident that she had known Jane Seymour previously to her marriage, and had been treated kindly by her.¹ The Roman catholic historians have mentioned queen Jane with complacency, on account of her friendliness to Henry's ill-treated daughter; the Protestants regard her with veneration as the mother of Edward VI. and the sister of Somerset; and thus, with little personal merit, accident has made her the subject of unlimited praise. Her kindness to Mary bears an appearance of moral worth, if the suspicion did not occur that it arose entirely from opposition to Anne Boleyn. The princess Mary was permitted to visit her step-mother at the palaces of Richmond and Greenwich, 1536-7. That season was saddened to queen Jane by the loss of her father, Sir John Seymour. He died in his sixtieth year, the preceding December, leaving his family at the very pinnacle of exaltation—his eldest daughter the triumphant queen of England; his eldest son created lord Beauchamp, and lord chamberlain for life. The queen's aunt, Joanna Seymour,² was the wife of Andrew Huddleston; their son Andrew obtained a command in Henry VIII.'s guards, called gentlemen-at-arms, and riches, favour, and honour were showered profusely on every member of the house of Seymour.

Jane Seymour supported her unwonted burden of dignity as queen with silent placidity. Whether from instinctive prudence or natural taciturnity, she certainly exemplified the wise proverb, "that the least said is the soonest mended;" for she passed eighteen months of regal life without uttering a sentence significant enough for preservation. Thus she avoided making enemies by sallies of wit and repartee, in which her incautious predecessor so often indulged: indeed, it was generally considered that queen Jane purposely steered her course of royalty

¹ Hearne's *Syloga*.

² *Lysons' Cumberland*.

so that her manners appeared diametrically opposite to those of queen Anne. As for her actions, they were utterly passive, and dependent on the will of the king. The only act of Jane Seymour's queenly life of which a documentary record has been preserved, is an order to the park-keeper at Havering-atte-Bower "to deliver to her well-beloved the gentlemen of her sovereign lord the king's chapel-royal, two bucks of high season." For this very trifling exercise of the power and privileges of a queen of England she names the king's warrant and seal as her authority, as if her own were insufficient.

The terror of the axe seems to have kept even this favoured queen in the most humiliating state of submission during the brief term of her sceptred slavery. In consonance with this assumption of submission, which was in all things to prove a contrast to her predecessor, Jane Seymour took for her motto BOUND TO OBEY AND SERVE. One of her gold standing-cups, set with diamonds and pearls, remained among the plate of Charles I., till sold by him in his distress; it is described as ornamented with an H and I knit together, and Jane Seymour's arms supported by two boys.¹

Some traces of her sojourn in the Tower are to be found in a list of Henry VIII.'s furniture, for among the appurtenances of a room called the "lower study," is enumerated "a box containing a writing touching the jointure of queen Jane;" likewise "a pair of little screens made of silk, to hold against the fire." Who could have supposed that the grim fortress ever contained anything so consonant to modern taste as a pair of hand-screens? But many of the luxuries and elegances presumed to pertain solely to the modern era are indicated in the wardrobe-lists, inventories, and privy-purse expenses of royal personages who belonged to an earlier period than Jane Seymour and Henry VIII. The most remarkable of this queen's proceedings was, that she crossed the frozen Thames to Greenwich-palace in the severe January of 1536-7, on horseback, with the king, attended by their whole court. In the summer she went with him on a progress to Canterbury, and in the monastery of St. Augustine was very honourably received by Thomas Goldwell, prior of Christchurch. From thence the king and queen went to Dover to see the pier, "to his great cost and charge then begun."

Jane Seymour, like many other persons suddenly raised in the world, laid down very rigorous rules regarding the etiquette of dress at her court. The maids of honour were expected to wear very costly girdles of pearls, and if not very fully set, they were not to appear in her royal presence. The number of pearls required was more than one hundred and twenty, since lady Lisle sent that number to Anne Basset, one of her

¹ Lord Orford.

daughters, who was maid of honour to the new queen.¹ But the girdle was not sufficiently rich; the pearls were too few, therefore the young lady could not exhibit it before the queen. As the king's two former wives (though afterwards repudiated and dis-crowned) had received the honour of splendid coronations, he was of course desirous of thus distinguishing the beloved Jane Seymour. Of this there is full evidence in the despatches of Rich and Paget² to the rest of the privy council remaining at, Westminster. "We found the king," says the latter, "one evening in the queen's chamber, ready to wash and sit down to supper with her; and after supper his grace returned into his chamber, and immediately called me to him, saying that he had digested and resolved in his breast the contents of your last, and perceiving how the plague had reigned in Westminster, and in the abbey itself, he stood in a suspense whether it were best to put off the time of the queen's coronation."

Jane's coronation, thus delayed by the pestilence, was still further procrastinated by her hopeful condition, which promised the long-desired heir to the throne. Henry VIII. announced this expectation to the duke of Norfolk by an autograph letter, in which may be perceived some allusion to the loss of Anne Boleyn's son, owing to the grief of heart the mother's jealousy occasioned. To obviate the chance of his present consort taking any fancies in her head, "considering she was *but* a woman," he graciously announces his intention of remaining near her in these very original words:³ "Albeit she is in every condition of that loving inclination and reverend conformity that she can well content, rest, and satisfy herself with anything which we shall think expedient and determine, yet, considering that, being *but a woman*, upon some sudden and displeasing rumours and bruits that might by foolish or light persons be blown abroad in our absence, being specially so far from her, she might take to her stomach such impressions as might engender no little danger or displeasure to the infant with which she is now pregnant (which God forbid!), it hath been thought by our council very necessary that, for avoiding such perils, we should not extend our progress further from her than sixty miles." The place chosen for queen Jane's lying-in was Hampton-court, where it appears, from a letter to Cromwell from the earl of Southampton, that she took to her chamber September 16, 1537, with all the ceremonies appertaining to the retirement of an English queen in her situation.⁴

The splendid gothic banqueting-hall at Hampton-court was finished at this juncture, for queen Jane's initials are entwined with those of her husband among the decorations. It was an inconvenient whim of Henry VIII., whose love was so evanescent, to knit the initials of whomsoever happened to be the object of his temporary passion in enduring

¹ Lisle Papers.² State-Paper office.³ Chapter-house.⁴ State Papers.

stone-work. The Italian fashion of inlaying popular names on festal days in mosaics of flowers, called *infiorata*, had been the more convenient compliment, since fading flowers would have been better memorials of his passion for Anne Boleyn than the love-knots of stone at King's college and at Hampton-court. The commemoration of his love for her rival, in the architectural ornaments of the latter, likewise remains a signal monument of the transitory nature of human felicity. At the entrance of the chapel, on each side of the doorway, is a species of coloured stone picture, containing Henry's arms and initials on the right, and queen Jane's arms with the interchanged initials I H, and H I, with love-knots intertwined. The motto, arms, and supporters of Jane Seymour as queen are among the archives of Herald's college.¹ Over the shields is inscribed BOUND TO OBEY AND SERVE, in English. Her supporters were, on the right side, a unicorn, with a collar of roses round his neck, alternately a red and a white one. It seems the unicorn was adopted for her as the emblem of chastity. On the left side was a horse ducally collared. Her family shield of the Seymour arms is entire, not impaled with the royal arms, emblazoned in an escutcheon of the usual broad form; the crown of England is over the shield, and beneath it written REGINA JANE.

The original outline sketch of queen Jane by Holbein, preserved in her majesty's collection at Windsor, was probably taken at this time—a time most unpropitious to the beauty of the sitter: indeed, it is difficult to trace any beauty in the portrait, which represents her as a coarse, apathetic-looking woman, with a large face and small features. Her expression is sinister: the eyes are blue; the mouth very small; also the lips thin, and closely compressed; the eyebrows very faintly marked; high cheek-bones, and a thickness at the point of the nose quite opposed to an artist's idea of beauty. Hans Holbein, however, generally gave a faithful representation of his subjects: in one instance only has he been accused of flattery. Queen Jane wears the same five-cornered hood and plaited cap beneath, familiar to us in the portraits of Henry's first three queens. Her hair appears plainly folded in cross bands. Her dress is unfinished; a square corsage is faintly defined. The sketch is evidently the same from which the whole-length portrait was painted by Holbein, which represents her as queen, standing with Henry VIII., Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York at the four corners of an altar or tomb. Queen Jane is not quite so plain in this picture, but makes a complete contrast to the serene face of Elizabeth; her complexion is fine, and her features regular, but their expression cold and hard, her figure stiff, and her elbows very square. She wears a flowing scarlet robe, on the train of which is curled up a queer little white poodle; and which looks the sourest, the mistress or dog, it would be difficult to decide. She appears

¹ T 2, p. 15.

a middle-aged woman : it would be a compliment to her to guess her at thirty-three, her probable age. These pictures were her queenly portraits. Her earlier pictures were most likely painted at the time of her marriage : they are much handsomer.¹

An insalubrious state etiquette after Jane had taken to her chamber (according to the queenly custom), obliged her to confine herself therein a whole month preceding her accouchement, and during this long space of time the royal patient was deprived of the needful benefits of air and exercise. When the hour came in which the heir of England was expected to see the light, it was by no means "the good hour" so emphatically prayed for in the ceremonial of her retirement. After a martyrdom of suffering, the queen's attendants put to Henry the really cruel question, of "whether he would wish his wife or infant to be saved?" It is affirmed, and it must be owned the speech is too characteristic of Henry to be doubted, that he replied, "The child by all means, for other wives could be easily found."² The following historical ballad tells, in its homely strains, the same tale in a version meant to be complimentary to the king, long before Sanders had embodied it in his prejudiced history, which, in sonorous Latin, has preserved so many scandals of Henry and his favourites. The ballad alludes to the loss of Henry VIII.'s large ship, the *Mary Rose*, and embodies several minutæ which would have been forgotten if it had not been nearly contemporary : —

" When as king Henry ruled this land
He had a queen, I understand,
Lord Seymour's daughter, fair and bright,
Yet death, by his remorseless power,
Did blast the bloom of this fair flower.
O mourn, mourn, mourn, fair ladies,
Your queen the flower of England's dead!

The queen in travail pained sore
Full thirty woful hours and more,
And no ways could relieved be,
As all her ladies wished to see;
Wherefore the king made greater moan
Than ever yet his grace had done.

Then, being something eased in mind,
His eyes a troubled sleep did find;
Where, dreaming he had lost a rose,
But which he could not well suppose
A ship he had, a *Rose* by name,—
Oh, no; it was his royal Jane!

Being thus perplexed with grief and care,
A lady to him did repair,
And said, ' O king, show us thy will,
The queen's sweet life to save or spill?'

¹ See her portrait, Illustrated edition of the Queens of England, vol. iii., by Agnes Strickland, in 8 vols. Longman and Co.

Sanders.

'Then, as she cannot saved be,
Oh, save the flower though not the tree.'
O mourn, mourn, mourn, fair ladies,
Your queen the flower of England's dead!"

Another authority affirms, that the queen entreated her assistants to take care of her infant in preference to herself. After all, it is expressly declared, by a circular notification, "that the queen was happily delivered of a prince on Friday, October 12, being the vigil of St. Edward's-day;" and had she been kept in a state of rational quiet, it is probable she might have recovered. But the intoxication of joy into which the king and the court were plunged at the appearance of the long-desired heir of England, seemed to deprive them of all consideration of consequences, or they would have kept the bustle attendant on the ceremonial of his christening far enough from her. When all the circumstances of this elaborate ceremony are reviewed, no doubt can exist that it was the ultimate cause of queen Jane's death: it took place on the Monday night after the birth of the prince. The arrangement of the procession, which commenced in her very chamber, was not injurious enough for the sick queen, but regal etiquette imperiously demanded that she should play her part in the scene; nor was it likely that a private gentlewoman raised to the queenly state would seek to excuse herself from any ceremony connected with her dignity, however inconvenient. It was the rule for a queen of England,¹ when her infant was christened, to be removed from her bed to a state pallet, which seems anciently to have fulfilled the uses of a sofa. This was decorated at the back with the crown and arms of England, wrought in gold thread; it was furnished with two long pillows, and two square ones, a coverture of white lawn five yards square, and a counterpane of scarlet cloth lined with ermine. The queen reclined, propped with four cushions of crimson damask with gold; she was wrapped about with a round mantle of crimson velvet, furred with ermine.

The baptism of the prince took place by torchlight, in the chapel of Hampton-court, where the future defender of the reformed religion was presented at the font by his sister and Roman-catholic successor, the princess Mary. There, too, unconscious of the awful event that had changed her fortunes in the dawn of her existence, after she had been proclaimed heiress of the realm, came the young motherless Elizabeth, who had been roused from her sweet slumbers of infant innocence, and arrayed in robes of state, to perform the part assigned to her in the ceremony. In this procession Elizabeth, borne in the arms of the aspiring Seymour (brother to the queen), with playful smiles carried the chrysom for the son of her whose advancement had caused her mother's

¹ Ordinances, by Margaret Beaufort.

blood to have been shed on the scaffold, and herself to be branded with the reproach of illegitimacy. And there the earl of Wiltshire, the father of the murdered Anne Boleyn, and grandfather of the disinherited Elizabeth, made himself an object of contemptuous pity to every eye by assisting at this rite, bearing a taper of virgin wax, with a towel about his neck. How strangely associated seem the other personages who met in this historical scene! how passing strange, in the eyes of those before whom the scroll of their after life has been unrolled, it is to contemplate the princess Mary joining Cranmer (afterwards sent to the stake in her reign), who was associated with his enemy the duke of Norfolk, all as sponsors in this baptismal rite!

The font of solid silver was guarded by Sir John Russell, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Francis Bryan, and Sir Anthony Browne in aprons, and with towels about their necks. The marchioness of Exeter carried the child under a canopy, which was borne by the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and lord William Howard. The prince's wet-nurse (whom he afterwards called "mother Jack," from her name of Jackson), walked near to her charge, and after her came the queen's domestics, among whom was the midwife. While his attendants were making the royal infant ready in the traverse (which was a small space screened off from the rest of the chapel), *Te Deum* was sung. The ceremonial was arranged for the lord William Howard to give the towel, first to the lady Mary, lord Fitzwalter to bear the covered basins, lord Delawar to uncover them, and lord Stourton to give the towels to Cranmer and the duke of Norfolk. After the prince was baptized, his style was thus proclaimed by Garter: "God, in his Almighty and infinite grace, grant good life and long to the right high, right excellent, and noble prince Edward, duke of Cornwall and earl of Chester, most dear and entirely-beloved son of our most dread and gracious lord Henry VIII." The lady Mary gave her godson a cup of gold, by lord Essex; Cranmer gave him three great bowls and two great pots, which were borne by the father of Anne Boleyn. The duke of Norfolk presented a similar offering. In the returning procession, the infant Elizabeth was led away by the princess Mary, her sister. The train of Elizabeth—for, though only four years old, she had a train—was carried by the lady Herbert, sister of a future queen, Katharine Parr. The heir of England was borne back in solemn state, with trumpets sounding before him, to his mother's chamber, there to receive her blessing, and that the maternal lips might first address him by his Christian name. At Hampton-court is a grand old staircase, leading direct from the chapel-royal to a fine archway, forming an entrance from the third landing to the queen's private suit of lodging-rooms. The archway has been recently restored, after being long defaced and walled up: it coincides in every

part of architecture with the chapel and the entrances to Wolsey's hall. It communicates with a corridor, called in the tradition of the palace the "silver-stick gallery," where chamberlains and other court officers used to wait. At this entrance the trumpet-flourishes announced the return of the infant prince from his baptism in the neighbouring chapel.

King Henry had remained seated by the queen's pallet during the whole of the baptismal rite, which, with all its tedious parade, was not over till midnight. What with the presence of king Henry—rather a boisterous inmate for a sick chamber; what with the procession setting out from the chamber, and the braying of the trumpets at its entrance when it returned (the herald especially notes the goodly noise they made there); and, in conclusion, the exciting ceremonial of bestowing her maternal benediction on her newly baptized babe, the poor queen had been kept in a complete hurry of spirits for many hours. The natural consequence of such imprudence was, that on the day after she was indisposed, and on the Wednesday so desperately ill, that all the rites of the Roman catholic church were administered to her: the official statements are still extant, and prove how completely mistaken those writers are who consider Jane Seymour was a Protestant. Equally mistaken are those who affirm that she died, either directly after the birth of Edward VI., or even two days afterwards: the fact is, she survived upwards of twelve days.

In a circular bulletin extant, minute accounts are given of the queen's health; to which is added, "Her confessor hath been with her grace this morning, and hath done that which to his office appertaineth, and even now is about to administer to her grace the sacrament of unction. At Hampton-court, this Wednesday morning,¹ eight o'clock." Nevertheless, the queen amended, and was certainly alive on the 24th of October, as Sir John Russell's writing, dated that day from Hampton-court, to Cromwell, proves:—"The king was determined, as this day, to have removed to Esher; and because the queen was very sick this night, and this day, he tarried; but to-morrow, God willing, he intendeth to be there. If she amend, he will go; but if she amend not, he told me, this day, 'he could not find it in his heart;' for, I assure you, she hath been in great danger yesternight and this day. Thanked be God, she is somewhat amended; and if she 'scape this night, the *fyshisious* be in good hope that she be past all danger." She did not live over the night; for the amendment mentioned was but the rally often occurring before death. "The departure of queen Jane was as heavy to the king as ever was heard tell of. Directly she expired, the king withdrew himself, as not to be spoken to by any one. He left Hampton-court for Windsor, part of his council remaining to order the funeral." In a despatch from the council to the ambassador of France,

¹ State Papers.

the death of the queen is clearly attributed to having been suffered to take cold and eat improper food. "On Thursday, October 25, she was embalmed; and wax-chandlers did their work about her. The next day, Friday, 26, was provided, in the chamber of presence, a hearse with twenty-four tapers, garnished with pensils and *other decencies*. Also, in the same chamber was provided an altar, for mass to be said, richly apparelled with black, garnished with the cross, images, censers, and other ornaments; and daily masses were said by her chaplains. The corpse was reverently conveyed from the place where she died, under a hearse covered with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and a cross set thereupon; lights were burning night and day upon the altar all divine service time. All ladies were in mourning habits, with white kerchiefs over their heads and shoulders, kneeling about the hearse all service time in lamentable wise, at mass forenoon and at dirige after."¹ A watch of these ladies, with the princess Mary at their head as chief mourner, was kept nightly in the queen's chamber round the royal corpse till the last day of October, when the bishop of Carlisle, her almoner, entering *in pontificalibus*, assisted by the sub-dean and the bishop of Chichester, performed all ceremonies, as censuring with holy water, and attended the removal of the coffin, with great solemnity, to Hampton-court chapel. Here the ceremonies were renewed, day by day, till November 12, when the queen's funeral procession set out from Hampton to Windsor, where interment took place in St. George's chapel, with all pomp and majesty. The corpse of Jane Seymour was covered with a rich pall; over it was placed her wax statue, exactly representing her in her robes of state, the hair flowing on the shoulders; a crown of state on the head, a sceptre of gold in the right hand, the fingers covered with rings of precious stones, and the neck with ornaments of jewels; the shoes and hose of gold cloth. The head rested on a pillow of gold cloth and gems, and the car was drawn by six horses. The princess Mary paid all the duty of a daughter to her friendly step-mother, by attending as chief mourner.² In every instance the rites of the ancient church were performed. "I have caused," writes Sir Richard Gresham, from the city, to Cromwell,³ "1200 masses to be said for the soul of our most gracious queen. And whereas the lord mayor and aldermen were lately at Paul's, and there gave thanks unto God for the birth of our prince my lord, I do think it convenient that there should also be at Paul's a solemn dirge and mass, and that the mayor and aldermen should pray and offer for her grace's soul."

A Latin epitaph was composed for Jane, comparing her, in death, to the phoenix, from whose death another phoenix, Edward VI., sprang; thus translated:—

"Here a phoenix lieth, whose death
 To another phoenix gave breath:
 It is to be lamented much,
 The world at once ne'er knew two such."

Two queens of Henry had been previously consigned to their last repose. Katharine of Arragon was buried as his brother's widow, and not as his own wife. As to Anne Boleyn, her poor mangled corpse was not vouchsafed, as far as her unloving spouse was aware, the religious rites bestowed on the remains of the most wretched mendicant who expires on the highway of our Christian land. Jane Seymour was the first spouse out of three, whom he owned at her death as his wedded wife. Henry VIII. wrote an exulting letter to Francis I. on the birth of his heir, at the end of which he acknowledges that the death of the mother had cost him some pain, yet his joy far exceeded his grief. His respect for the memory of his lost queen can be best appreciated by the circumstance of his wearing black for her loss, even at the Christmas festival, when the whole court likewise appeared in deep mourning.¹ As this monarch detested the sight of black, or anything that reminded him of death, so entirely that he was ready to drive from his presence persons who presumed to come to court in mourning for their friends, the extent of his self-sacrifice may be imagined, for he did not change his widower's habiliments till Candlemas (February 2, 1537-8). Already he had been thrice married, yet it was the first time he had comported himself like a dutiful widower; and though he married thrice afterwards, he never wore mourning for a wife. The letters of condolence he received were numerous. One shall serve as a specimen, addressed to him by Tunstall, bishop of Durham:—"Almighty God hath taken from your grace, to your great discomfort, a most blessed and virtuous lady; consider what he hath given to your highness, to the *rejoice* of all us your subjects—our most noble prince, to whom God hath ordained your majesty to be mother as well as father. God gave to your grace that noble lady, and God hath taken her away as pleased him."

The infant prince, whose birth cost Jane her life, was nursed at Havering-Bower. Margaret lady Bryan, who had faithfully superintended the childhood of Henry's two daughters, had now the care of Jane Seymour's motherless boy. Her descriptions of his infancy at Havering are pretty: "My lord prince's grace is in good health and merry; and his grace hath three teeth out, and the fourth appearing." She complains, however, "that the princely baby's best coat was only tinsel, and that he hath never a good jewel to set on his cap; howbeit, she would order all things for his honour as well as she could, so that

¹ Speed.

the king (Henry VIII.) should be contented withal." The lord chancellor Audley visited the royal nursing at Havering, in the summer: he assures Cromwell that he never saw so goodly a child of his age, "so merry, so pleasant, so good and loving of countenance, and so earnest an eye, which, as it were, makes sage judgment of every one that approacheth his grace. And, as it seemeth to me, his grace well increaseth in the air that he is in."¹

Jane Seymour was undeniably the first woman espoused by Henry VIII., whose title, as wife and queen, was neither disputed by himself nor his subjects. Whilst Katharine of Arragon lived, a great part of the people considered Anne Boleyn but as the shadow of a queen. Both Katharine and Anne were removed by death from rivalry. It was owing to this circumstance, as well as the dignity she derived from being the sultana-mother of his heir, that Henry, in his last will, commanded "that the bones and body of his true and 'loving wife, queen Jane,' were to be placed in his tomb."

Both their statues were to be placed on the tomb: the effigy of Jane was to recline, not as in death, but as one sweetly sleeping; children were to sit at the corners of the tomb, having baskets of roses, white and red, made of fine oriental stones—jasper, cornelian, and agate, "which they shall *show* to take in their hands, and cast them down on and over the tomb, and down on the pavement; and the roses they cast over the tomb shall be enamelled and gilt, and the roses they cast on the steps and pavement shall be formed of the said fine oriental stones."² This beautiful idea was not realized; the monument was, indeed, commenced, but the materials were either stolen or sold in the civil wars. When George IV. searched the vaults of St. George's chapel for the body of Charles I. in 1813, queen Jane's coffin was discovered close to the gigantic skeleton of Henry VIII., which some previous accident had exposed to view. George IV. would not suffer her coffin to be opened, and the vault where she lies, near the sovereign's side of the stalls of the Garter, was finally closed up.³ The bed in which Edward VI. was born and his mother died, was long shown to the public. Hentzner mentions seeing it in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign; but in recent years every fragment of the furniture of the ancient queenly apartments at Hampton-court has disappeared, and what became of the bed it would be difficult to discover. The rooms seem to have been altered when the arch of the beautiful state-entrance from the great staircase was defaced and walled up,⁴ a proceeding wholly unaccountable, unless it were connected with an

¹ See *Life of Edward VI.*, by Agnes Strickland.

² Speed.

³ Sir Henry Hallford.

⁴ It has been lately discovered by Mr. Wilson, of Hampton-court, and beautifully restored under his care.

absurd story, still traditional as Hampton-court gossip, concerning that mysterious angle of the palace. It is told, with suitable awe, "that ever as the anniversary of Edward VI.'s birth-night returns, the spectre of Jane Seymour is seen to ascend those stairs, clad in flowing white garments, with a lighted lamp in her hand." Is it possible that the archway leading to the "silver-stick gallery" and queenly sleeping-rooms was filled up to impede the entrance of the shade of the queen?

ANNE OF CLEVES,

FOURTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII. had disposed of three queens before he sought the hand of Anne of Cleves, and, though historians have said much of his devotion to the memory of Jane Seymour, she had not been dead a month ere he made a bold attempt to provide himself with another wife. Francis I., when Henry requested to be permitted to choose a lady of the royal blood of France for his queen, replied, "that there was not a damsel of any degree in his dominions who should not be at his disposal." Henry took this compliment so literally, that he required the French monarch to bring the fairest ladies of his court to Calais, for him to take his choice. The gallantry of Francis was shocked at such an idea, and he replied, "that it was impossible to bring ladies of noble blood to market, as horses were trotted out at a fair."

Chatillon, the French ambassador, gives Francis a lively account of the pertinacious manner in which Henry insisted on marrying Marie of Lorraine, duchess-dowager of Longueville. "I have told him," says his excellency, "she is engaged to the king of Scotland, but he does not give credit to it. I asked him if he would marry the wife of another? and he said, 'He knew that she had not passed her word yet, and that he will do twice as much for you as the king of Scots can.' He says, 'Your daughter is too young; and as to mademoiselle Vendome, he will not take the refusings of the king of Scotland.'" ¹ Chatillon describes Henry as still harping on the fair Longueville some days after, but, at the same time, talking of four other marriages, in which he projected disposing of himself and his three children as follows: "himself to a daughter of Portugal, or the duchess of Milan; his son, then four months old, to the daughter of the emperor; the lady Mary to the infant of Portugal; and his youngest girl to the king of Hungary. In the succeeding month he again importuned for madame Longueville." The ambassador proposed her handsome sister, or mademoiselle Vendome: Henry reiterated his demand that

"they should be brought to Calais for his inspection." Chatillon said "that would not be possible, but his majesty could send some one to look at them."—"Pardie!" exclaimed Henry, "how can I depend upon any one but myself?"¹ He was also very desirous of hearing the ladies sing, and seeing how they looked while singing. "I must see them myself, and see them sing," he said. After alternately wheedling and bullying Chatillon for nearly a year on this subject,² Henry reluctantly resigned his sultan-like idea of choosing a bride from the beauties of the French court, and turned his attention elsewhere. But as it was universally reported that his three queens had all come by their deaths unfairly—Katharine of Arragon by poison, Anne Boleyn by the axe, and Jane Seymour for want of proper care in childbed—he found himself so greatly at discount among such princesses as he deemed worthy of the honour of his hand, that, despairing of entering a fourth time into the wedded state, he remained queenless and forlorn for upwards of two years.

Reasons of a political nature, combined with his earnest wish of obtaining a fair and gentle helpmate for his old age, induced him to lend an ear to Cromwell's flattering commendation of the princesses of the house of Cleves. The father of these ladies, John III., surnamed "the Pacificator," was duke of Cleves, count of Mark, and lord of Ravenstein. By his marriage with Marie, the heiress of William duke of Juliers, Berg, and Ravensburgh, he added those possessions to his patrimony when he succeeded to the dominions of his father, John the Clement, in 1521. Anne was the second daughter of this noble pair. She was born the 22nd of September, 1516, and was brought up a Lutheran, her father having established those doctrines in his dominions.³ The device of Anne, as princess of Cleves, was two white swans, emblems of candour and innocence. They were derived from the fairy legend celebrated in the lays of the Rhine, her native river, of "the knight of the swan," her immediate ancestor, who came mysteriously to the heiress of Cleves in a boat, guided down the noble river by two white swans, and departed in the same way. From this legend the princely house of Cleves took the swans as supporters. Their family motto was CANDIDA NOSTRA FIDES—"our faith is spotless."

Anne's elder sister, Sybilla, was married in 1527 to John Frederick duke of Saxony, who became the head of the Protestant confederation in Germany, known in history by the term of "the Smalcaldic league." He was the champion of the Reformation, and for his invincible adherence to his principles, and his courage in adversity, was surnamed "the lion-hearted Elector." Sybilla was in every respect worthy of her illustrious consort; she was famed for her talents, virtues, and conjugal tenderness, as well as for her winning manners and great beauty, and

¹ *Dépêches de Chatillon*, Feb. 11, 1537.

² *Ibid.*

Anderson's Genealogies; table cccxlvii. p. 536. *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, tom. iii. p. 165.

was generally esteemed as one of the most distinguished ladies of the era in which she lived. Much, indeed, might the influence of a queen like Sybilla have done for the infant Reformation in England; but never were two ladies of the same parentage so dissimilar, as the beautiful and energetic electress of Saxony and her passive sister, Anne of Cleves. It was, however, mentioned as a peculiar recommendation for Anne and her younger sister, the lady Amelie, that they had both been educated by the same prudent and sensible mother who had formed the mind of Sybilla, and it was supposed their acquirements were of a solid kind, since accomplishments they had none, with the exception of needlework.¹

Henry commissioned Hans Holbein to paint the portraits of both Anne and Amelie for his consideration; but though he determined to take his choice, Cromwell's agents at the courts of Cleves and Saxony had predisposed him in favour of Anne, by the reports they had written of her charms and amiable qualities. Christopher Mount, who was employed to negotiate the treaty of alliance with the duke of Cleves, was urgent with the duke to employ his own painter to execute her portrait for Henry's inspection. The duke, it seems, knew better; but here is what Cromwell states, in his letter to the king:—"The said Christopher instantly sueth every day that the picture may be sent. Whereunto the duke answered, 'that he should find some occasion to send it, but that his painter, Lucas, was left sick behind him at home.' Every man praiseth the beauty of the said lady, as well for her face as for her person, above all other ladies excellent. One among others said to them of late, that she as far excelleth the duchess of Saxony, as the golden sun excelleth the silver moon. Every man praiseth the good virtues, and honesty with shamefacedness, which plainly appeareth in the gravity [serenity] of her countenance."² The noble mind of John Frederick of Saxony revolted at the proposal of linking his amiable sister-in-law to a prince so notoriously deficient in conjugal virtue as Henry VIII.; Christopher Mount, however, assured him "that the cause of Protestantism in Europe would be greatly advanced by the influence of a Lutheran queen of England, for Henry was so uxorious, that the best way of managing him was through his wives." The other princes of the Smalcaldic league looked only to political expediency, and the conscientious scruples of the heroic Saxon were disregarded.

The death of the duke of Cleves, Anne's father, which occurred February 6, 1539,³ occasioned a temporary delay in an early stage of the proceedings; but her mother, as well as her brother duke William (who succeeded to the duchy), were eager to secure so powerful an ally to the Protestant cause as the king of England, and to see Anne elevated to the rank of a queen. According to Burnet, Dr. Barnes was the most active agent employed by Cromwell in the negotiations for the matri-

Ellis, Royal Letters.

² State Papers, 1538.

³ *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*.

monial treaty, and was never forgiven by Henry for the pains he took in concluding the alliance. Henry's commissioner for the marriage, Nicholas Wotton, gives his sovereign the following particulars of Anne of Cleves. After stating the assurance of the council of the duke her brother, that she is not bounden by any contract made by her father to the duke of Lorraine, but perfectly free to marry where she will, he says:—"As for the education of my said lady, she hath from her childhood been like as the lady Sybille was till she married, and the lady Amely hath been and now is, brought up with the lady duchess her mother, and in manner never from her elbow—the lady duchess being a very wise lady, and one that very straitly looketh to her children. All the gentlemen of the court, and other that I have asked, report her to be of very lowly and gentle conditions, by which she hath so much won her mother's favour, that she is very loath to suffer her to depart from her. She occupieth her time much with the needle. She can read and write her own [language], but French and Latin, or other language she knoweth not, nor yet can sing or play on any instrument; for they take it here in Germany for a rebuke and an occasion of lightness, that great ladies should be learned, or have any knowledge of music. Her wit is so good, that no doubt she will in a short space learn the English tongue, whenever she putteth her mind to it. I could never hear that she is inclined to the good cheer of this country; and marvel it were if she should, seeing that her brother, in whom it were somewhat more tolerable, doth so well abstain from it. Your grace's servant, Hans Holbein, hath taken the effigies of my lady Anne and the lady Amely, and hath expressed their images very lively."¹ The grave manner in which the matrimonial commissioner reports the favourable replies to his secret inquiries as to the gentle and amiable temper of the princess, and above all her sobriety, is sufficiently amusing.

The choice of a queen for Henry had been the grand desideratum for which Catholics and Protestants had contended ever since the death of Jane Seymour. Cromwell, in matching his sovereign with the sister-in-law of Frederick of Saxony, appeared to have gained a mighty victory over Gardiner, Norfolk, and his other rivals in Henry's privy council. The magic pencil of Hans Holbein was the instrument by which Cromwell, for his own confusion, achieved this great political triumph. The miniature executed by Holbein was exquisite as a work of art, and the box, in which it came over, "worthy the jewel it contained:" was in the form of a white rose, delicately carved in ivory, which unscrewed, and showed the miniature at the bottom. The colours are faded by the operation of time, but the features are regular, although the costume, a stiff German imitation of the prevailing mode, is unbecoming.² The five-cornered hood of Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour was modified into a heavy coif of white lawn or lace. The waist short, and the elbows

¹ MS. Cotton., Vitell., B xxi. fol. 186.² Anecdotes of Painters.

loaded with drapery without form or taste. The face of the young lady, however, appeared sufficiently lovely to decide Henry on accepting her, and the negotiation was completed at Windsor early in the same month in which arrived Holbein's flattering portrait. The contract of marriage was signed at Dusseldorf, September 4, 1539.¹ The chancellor of the duke of Cleves was the plenipotentiary on the part of the lady's brother, and as soon as the preliminaries were arranged, great preparations were made in anticipation of her coming.² Though the leaders of the Catholic party were greatly averse to Henry's marriage with a Lutheran princess, the idea of a Flemish queen was agreeable to the people in general, for the illustrious Philippa of Hainault, the best and greatest of all the queens-consort of England, was still remembered. Marillac gave his sovereign the following particulars of what was going on in England at this crisis:—"On the 5th of November, the king told his lords 'that he expected the arrival of his spouse in about twenty days, and that he proposed to go to Canterbury to receive her.' November 14.—The king has left this city for Hampton-court, where he will remain till certain news arrive of the arrival of the lady. Last day of November.—The courier, who had been sent to Cleves to learn the time of the new queen's departure, has arrived two days ago, and brings letters stating that on the eighth of next month the said lady will be at Calais, where the duke of Suffolk, the admiral, and many other lords of this court, will go to receive her. The duke of Norfolk and the lord Cromwell will follow in a little time, to attend her at Canterbury." Our diplomatic gossip then informs his court that all Henry's ministers will receive the royal bride, and conduct her to their lord at a place about two miles from "*Greenwigs*" (Marillac's way of spelling Greenwich), "and in this palace of *Greenwigs*," pursues he, "they will complete the marriage, and keep the Christmas festivals. On the first day of the year they will make their entrance into the city of London, and thence conduct her to the king's royal house at *Valse-maistre* [Westminster], where (on the day of Our Lady of Candlemas) she will be crowned." At length all matters of state policy and royal ceremonials were arranged, and the bride-elect bade a long, and, as it proved, a last farewell to her mother, her brother and sisters, by all of whom she was tenderly beloved. She quitted her native city of Dusseldorf the first week in October, 1539, and, attended by a splendid train and escort, left the pleasant banks of the Rhine for the stranger-land of which she was now styled the queen.

Among the unpublished records in the State-Paper office, there is a curious programme of the journey of the lady Anne of Cleves from Dusseldorf to Calais. At Antwerp "many English merchants met her grace four miles without the town," says our MS., "In fifty velvet coats and chains of gold; and at her entering into Antwerp she was

¹ MSS. Cotton., Vespasian, F 5104.

² *Excerpta Historica*.

received with twice fourscore torches, beginning in the daylight, and so brought her to her English lodging, where she was honourably received, and they kept open household one day for her and her train." She arrived in the English pale at Calais, 11th of December, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, so that she and her ladies must have commenced their journey long before it was light.

She was received on the frontier by the lord Lisle, deputy of Calais, the lieutenant of the castle, the knight porter, and the marshal of Calais; Sir George Carew, captain of Rysbank, with the captains of the spears and the cavalry belonging to the garrison, all freshly and gallantly appointed for the occasion, and the men-at-arms with them in velvet coats and chains of gold, with all the king's archers; and so was she brought towards Calais, one of the king's gentlemen-at-arms riding with one of those belonging to the queen. About a mile from the town she was met by the earl of Southampton, lord admiral of England, the lord William Howard, and many other lords and gentlemen. Gregory Cromwell (the brother-in-law of the late queen Jane Seymour) headed twenty-four gentlemen in coats of satin-damask and velvet, besides the aforesaid lords, who wore four colours of cloth of gold and purple velvet, with chains of gold of great value, and two hundred yeomen in the king's colours, red and blue cloth.¹ It is curious that in the train by whom Anne of Cleves was received at Calais, there were kinsmen of five out of the six queens of Henry VIII.

"The earl of Southampton, as the lord admiral of England, was dressed in a coat of purple velvet, cut on cloth of gold, and tied with great aiglettes and trefoils of gold, to the number of four hundred; and *baldrick-wise* he wore a chain, at which hung a whistle of gold (the insignia of his office), set with rich stones of great value. In this company were thirty gentlemen of the king's household, very richly apparelled, with great and massy chains; Sir Francis Bryan and Sir Thomas Seymour's chains were of especial value and *straunge* fashion. The lord admiral had also a number of gentlemen in blue velvet and crimson satin, and his yeomen in damask of the same colours. The mariners of his ship wore satin of Bruges. The lord admiral with a low obeisance welcomed the royal bride, and brought her into Calais by the lantern-gate, where the ships lay in the haven garnished with their banners, pensils and flags, pleasant to behold; and at her entry was shot such a peal of guns, that all her retinue were astonished." The town of Calais echoed the royal salute with a peal of ordnance along the coast. "When she entered the lantern-gate, she staid to view the king's ships called the Lyon and the Sweepstakes, which were decked with one hundred banners of silk and gold, wherein were two master-gunners, mariners, thirty-one trumpets, and a double drum, that was never seen in England before: and so her grace entered into Calais, at whose entering there was

¹ State Paper MS., 31st Henry VIII.

150 rounds of ordnance let out of the said ships, which made such a smoke, that not one of her train could see the other. The soldiers in the king's livery of the retinue of Calais, the mayor of Calais with his brethren, with the commons of Calais, the merchants of the king's staple, stood in order, forming a line through which she passed to her lodgings; and so the mayor and his brethren came to her lodging, and gave her fifty sovereigns of gold, and the mayor of the staple gave her sixty sovereigns of gold;¹ and on the morrow after, she had a cannon shot, jousting, and all other royalty that could be devised in the king's garrison-royal, and kept open household there during the time that she did there remain, which was twenty days, and had daily the best pastimes that could be devised." The lord admiral wrote to the king great commendations of the virtues and excellent beauty of his bride-elect, and at the same time did his best to add to her slender stock of accomplishments by teaching her to play at cards, for the kind purpose of rendering her more attractive to her royal spouse.

As the king had been a widower nearly three years, the anticipation of a new queen excited a great sensation in the court, and all the place-hunters were on the alert to obtain preferment, either for themselves or their relations, in the household of the royal bride. Anne Basset, daughter of the viscountess Lisle, having been maid of honour to queen Jane Seymour, writes to her mother in high spirits, being certain of retaining her post when the new queen should arrive. "Howbeit," she says, "I trust to God that we shall have a mistress shortly; and then I trust I shall see you here when she comes over." Lady Lisle was very desirous to obtain a similar appointment for her daughter Katharine, and not content with moving her influential friends at court with letters and presents to further her suit, she endeavoured to propitiate bluff king Hal himself by an offering of sweetmeats. This gift consisted of quince-marmalade and damson-cheese (better suited, one would think, to the tastes of his baby boy of three years old), was presented by the fair hand of the graceful maid of honour Anne Basset, and proved so acceptable to the royal epicure, that he craved for more—ay, and that soon. The young lady says:—

"The king doth so well like the conserves you sent him last, that his grace commanded me to write unto you for more of the codiniac [quince-marmalade] of the clearest making, and of the conserves of damascenes; and this as soon as may be."²

This letter is dated from York-place (afterwards Whitehall), where the court was then sojourning, the Monday before Christmas-day, the very time when lady Lisle, as the wife of the constable of Calais,³ was doing

¹ MS. Journey of the lady Anne of Cleves, in State-Paper office. Hall says that the merchants of the staple presented her with one hundred marks of gold, in a rich purse, which she gratefully accepted.

² Wood's Letters, from the Lisle Papers in the State-Paper office.

³ Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, was an illegitimate brother of king Henry's mother, Elizabeth of York, being the natural son of Edward IV. by lady Elizabeth Lucy. The Bassets were his lady's numerous and needy family by her first husband.

the honours of the government house to the royal bride elect, and therefore enjoyed an excellent opportunity of recommending her daughters personally to their future queen. Anne, having rashly filled every appointment in her household, save those offices which the king had imperatively reserved for the great ladies of the court, his nieces and near relations, with her own countrywomen, of whom she was bringing a numerous and unwelcome importation, could not appoint any new English maids of honour-at that juncture. Notwithstanding this unpopular arrangement, her deportment was such as to give general satisfaction to the English who waited upon her during her protracted stay at Calais. That lady Lisle herself had made a very pleasant report of Anne's manners and disposition to her daughter Anne Basset, is apparent from the following comment in the young lady's reply:—

"I humbly thank your ladyship of the news you write me of her grace, that she is so good and gentle to serve and please. It shall be no little rejoicement to us her grace's servants here that shall attend daily upon her, and most comfort to the king's majesty, whose highness is not a little desirous to have her grace here."¹

Henry beguiled the days of suspense while impatiently awaiting the advent of his long-expected bride, by the executions of the venerable abbot of Glastonbury, the abbot of Tendring, and two others²—an ominous preparation for the reception of a consort, whose religious opinions differed so materially from his own. Anne was detained by the perversity of winds and waves so long, that she kept her Christmas festival perforce at Calais. On the 27th, being St. John's-day, the weather changed: about noon she embarked with her train, and, attended by a royal convoy of fifty ships, sailed with a prosperous wind, and landed at Deal the same day at five o'clock. She was honourably received by Sir Thomas Cheyney, lord warden of the port, and proceeded immediately to a castle newly built, supposed to be Walmer-castle, where she changed her dress, and remained till the duke and duchess of Suffolk and the bishop of Chichester, with a great company of knights esquires, and the flower of the ladies of Kent, came to welcome her to England; by them she was conducted to Dover-castle, and there she rested till the Monday,³ which was a wintry and inclement day. But notwithstanding the storm that raged abroad, she obeyed the instructions that had been issued for the manner and order of her journey, and commenced her progress to Canterbury. On Barham-downs she was met by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, St. Asaph, St. David's, and Dover, and a great company of gentlemen, who attended her to St. Augustine's without Canterbury, where she lodged that night, and on the 30th she came to Sittingbourne, where she slept. The next day, which was New-year's even, the duke of Norfolk, the lord Dacre

¹ Wood's Letters of Illustrious Ladies.

² Marillac's Despatches. Lingard.

³ Hall, p. 833.

of the south, the lord Mountjoy, and a great company of knights and esquires of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the barons of the Exchequer, all clad in coats of velvet, with chains of gold, met her at Reynham, and having made their *devoir*, conducted her to Rochester, where she remained in the bishop's palace all New-year's day.¹

Henry, who "sore desired to see her grace," told Cromwell "that he intended to visit her privily on the morrow, to nourish love."² Accordingly, he, with eight gentlemen of his privy-chamber, all dressed alike in coats of marble colour (some sort of grey), rode to Rochester *incognito*, expecting, no doubt, that his highly praised German bride would rival the bright-eyed Boleyn and the fair Seymour, and fondly thought to commence a year of love and joy by stealing a look at her beauty. On his arrival, he despatched Sir Anthony Browne, his master of the horse, to inform Anne that "he had brought her a New-year's gift, if she would please to receive it." The knight afterwards declared, "that he was struck with consternation when he was shown the queen, and was never so much dismayed in his life as to see a lady so far unlike what had been represented."³ He had, however, the discretion to conceal his impression, well knowing how greatly opinions vary as to beauty, and left the king to judge for himself. When Henry, whose impatience could no longer be restrained, entered the presence of his betrothed, a glance sufficed to destroy the enchantment which Holbein's pencil had created: the goods were not equal to pattern, and he considered himself an injured man. He recoiled in bitter disappointment, and lord Russell, who was present, testified "that he never saw his highness so marvellously astonished and abashed as on that occasion."⁴

It is possible, that Anne was not a wit more charmed with Henry's appearance and deportment than he was with hers, especially as the burly tyrant was not in the most gracious of moods. But, although somewhat taken by surprise at the abrupt entrance of the formidable spouse to whom she had been consigned by the will of her country, she sank upon her knees at his approach, and did her best to offer him a loving greeting.⁵ Evilily as Henry was disposed towards the luckless princess, he was touched with the meekness and deep humility of her behaviour. He did violence to his feelings so far as to raise her up with some show of civility. Hall says, "He welcomed her with gracious words, and gently took her up, and kissed her." The same chronicler adds, "that the king remained with her all the afternoon, communing and devising with her, and supped with her in the evening." From the

¹ Hall, p. 833.

² Cromwell's letter.—See Burnet, vol. i, p. 182.

³ Strype, Tytler. Losely MS.

⁴ Tytler. Lingard. Losely MS.

⁵ This memorable interview is thus noticed in the contemporary record of queen Anne's

journey: "On the New-year's day her grace tarried at Rochester, on which day the king's highness, only with certain of his privy-chamber, came to her and banqueted with her, and after departed to Greenwich again." —Unpublished MSS. in State-Paper office.

evidences in Strype's Memorials, we learn that the interview only lasted a few minutes, and that scarcely twenty words were exchanged. Anne's mother-tongue, the German of the Rhine, familiarly called "high Dutch," was so displeasing to Henry's musical ears, that he would not make any attempts to converse with her by means of an interpreter; yet he was previously aware that "his wife could speak no English, he no Dutch." The moment he quitted her presence, he sent for the lords who had brought her over, and indignantly addressed the following queries to the lord admiral: "How like you this woman? Do you think her so personable, fair, and beautiful as report hath been made unto me? I pray you tell me true." The admiral evasively rejoined, "I take her not for *fair*, but to be of a *brown* complexion."—"Alas!" said the king, "whom shall men trust? I promise you I see no such thing as hath been shown me of her by pictures or report. I am ashamed that men have praised her as they have done, and I love her not."¹

The New-year's gift which he had provided for Anne, was a partlet of sable skins to wear about her neck, and a *muffly* furred; that is to say, a muff and tippet of rich sables.² This he had intended to present with his own hand to her, but not considering her handsome enough to be entitled to such an honour, he sent it to her the following morning by Sir Anthony Browne, with as cold a message as might be.³ He made bitter complaints of his hard fate to lord Russell, Sir Anthony Browne, and Sir Anthony Denny.⁴ The latter gentleman told his sovereign, "that persons of humble station had this great advantage over princes; that they might go and choose their own wives, while great princes must take such as were brought them." This observation afforded no consolation to the dainty monarch, who had been so pertinaciously desirous of seeing with his own eyes the beauties of France who were proposed to his consideration. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy, and when he saw Cromwell, gave vent to a torrent of vituperation against those who had provided him with so unattractive a consort, whom, with his characteristic brutality, he likened to a "great Flanders mare." Cromwell endeavoured to shift the blame from himself to the admiral, Fitzwilliam earl of Southampton, for whom he had no great kindness, by saying, "that when that nobleman found the princess so different from the pictures and reports which had been made of her, he ought to have detained her at Calais till he had given the king notice that she was not so handsome as had been represented." The admiral replied bluntly, "that he was not invested with any such authority: his commission was to bring her to England, and he had obeyed his orders." Cromwell retorted upon him, "that he had spoken

¹ Stowe's Annals, by Howes, p. 834.³ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 307.² Strype. Lingard. Losely MS.⁴ Herbert. Burnet. Rapin. Guthrie.

in his letters of the lady's beauty in terms of commendation, which had misled his highness and his council." The admiral, however, represented, "that as the princess was generally reported for a beauty, he had only repeated the opinions of others; for which no one ought reasonably to blame him, especially as he supposed she would be his queen."¹

This very original altercation was interrupted by the peremptory demand of the king, "that some means should be found for obviating the necessity of his completing his engagement." A council was summoned in all haste, at which the pre-contract of the lady with Francis of Lorraine was objected by the council as a legal impediment to her union with the king.² Anne, who had advanced as far as Dartford (with a heavy heart no doubt), was delayed in her progress, while Osliger and Hostodon, her brother's ambassadors, by whom she had been attended to England, were summoned to produce documentary evidence that the contract was dissolved. They had no legal proofs to show, but declared that the engagement between the lady Anne of Cleves and the marquis of Lorraine had been merely a conditional agreement between the parents of the parties when both were in their minority; and that in the year 1535 it had been formally annulled. This they said was registered in the chancery of Cleves, from which they promised to produce an authentic extract within three months.³ Such of the council as were willing to humour the king in his wish of being released from his engagement to Anne, replied, "that this was not enough, as an illegal marriage might endanger the succession:" but Cranmer and the bishop of Durham were of opinion that no just impediment to the marriage existed.⁴ Cromwell also represented to the king the impolicy of embroiling himself with the princes of the Smalcaldic league, in such forcible terms, that Henry at length passionately exclaimed, "Is there, then, no remedy, but that I must needs put my neck into the yoke?"⁵ Having, in these gracious words, signified his intention of proceeding to the solemnization of his nuptials with the insulted lady, who awaited the notification of his pleasure at Dartford, he ordered the most splendid preparations to be made for his marriage.

"Wednesday last," says Marillac,⁶ "it was notified by a horseman, who made a public outcry in London, that all who loved their lord the king should proceed to *Greenwigs* on the morrow, to meet and make their *devoir* to my lady Anne of Cleves, who would shortly be their queen." If the sight-loving mania of the good people of London in the days of that king of pageants and processions, Henry VIII., any way resembled what it is now, we may imagine the alacrity with which the royal requisition was obeyed by the thousands and tens of thousands

¹ Burnet's Hist. Reformation, vol. i. p. 260.

Guthrie,

² Burnet. Rapin. Strype. Guthrie.

Lingard.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Lingard. Herbert. Losely MS.

⁵ Dépêches de Marillac: Bibliothèque du Roi.

⁶ Burnet.

who poured in an eager, animated stream towards the courtly bowers of Greenwich, which had been prepared for the reception of Henry's fourth bride. Marillac records, that "He and the ambassador of the emperor were both invited to attend, in order to render the ceremonial the more honourable; and when they arrived at Greenwich, they found five or six thousand horsemen assembled to form the procession."

The first public meeting between Henry and his Flemish bride took place on Saturday, January 3. "On the fair plain of Blackheath, at the foot of Shooter's-hill, was pitched a rich tent of cloth of gold, and divers other tents and pavilions, in which were made fires, with perfumes, for her grace and her ladies," an arrangement which the coldness of the season and the bleak situation of the station rendered necessary. "From the tents to the park gate at Greenwich all the furze and bushes were cut down, and an ample space cleared for the view of all spectators. Next the park pales, on the east side stood the merchants of the Steel-yard, and on the west side stood the merchants of Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Spain, in coats of velvet. On both sides the way stood the merchants of the city of London, and the aldermen and council. Next the tents were knights, and fifty gentlemen pensioners in velvet, with chains of gold; behind the gentlemen stood the serving men, well horsed and apparelled, that whosoever viewed them well might say that they, for tall and comely personages, and clean of limb and body, were able to give the greatest prince in Christendom a mortal breakfast, if he were the king's enemy. The gentlemen pertaining to the lord chancellor, lord privy-seal, lord admiral, and other nobles, beside their costly liveries, wore chains of gold. These, to the number of upwards of twelve hundred, were ranged in a double file from the park gates to the cross upon the heath, and there awaited the return of the king with her grace. About twelve o'clock her grace, with all the company that were of her own nation, to the number of one hundred horse, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the archbishop of Canterbury, with the other bishops, lords, and knights who had conducted her from France, came down from Shooter's-hill towards the tents, and a good space from the tents she was met by the earl of Rutland, her lord chamberlain, Sir Thomas Denny, her chancellor, with all her other officers of state and councillors."¹ Then Dr. Kaye, her almoner, presented to her, on the king's behalf, all the officers and servants of her household, and addressed her in an elegant Latin oration, of which the unlearned princess understood not a word; but it was answered with all due solemnity in her name by her brother's secretary, who acted as her interpreter. "Then the king's nieces, the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the queen of Scots, and the marchioness of Dorset, daughter to the queen of France, with the duchess of Richmond, and the countesses of Rutland and

¹ Hall.

Hertford, and other ladies, to the number of sixty-five, saluted and welcomed her grace." Anne alighted from the chariot in which she had performed her long journey, and with most goodly manner and loving countenance returned thanks, and kissed them all; her officers and councillors kissed her hand, after which she, with all the ladies, entered the tents and warmed themselves.¹

Marillac says, "The king met them all at the foot of the mountain [meaning Shooter's-hill], attended by five or six thousand horsemen, partly of his household, and partly of the gentlemen of the country, besides those summoned from the city of London, who always assist at these English triumphs, wearing massy chains of gold." The ambassador does not give a flattering description of Anne, who, probably from the coldness of the day, and the painful frame of mind in which she must have been thrown by Henry's demurs, did not appear to advantage. "From what one may judge," he says, "she is about thirty years old [she was but twenty-four]. She is tall of stature, pitted with the small-pox, and has little beauty. Her countenance is firm and determined." The circumstance of her being marked with the small-pox explains the mystery why Holbein's portrait pleased the king so much better than the original. No artist copies the cruel traces of that malady in a lady's face; therefore the picture was flattered, even if the features were faithfully delineated. "The said lady," proceeds Marillac, "has brought with her from her brother's country, for her companions, twelve or fifteen damsels, who are even inferior in beauty to their mistress, and are, moreover, dressed after a fashion so heavy and tasteless, that it would make them appear frightful, even if they were *belles*." A Frenchman, however, is always hypercritical on such points. How much opinions differ on matters of the kind our readers may see from the glowing details which Anne's stanch admirer, Hall, has given of her dress and appearance on this occasion. "When the king knew that she was arrived in her tent, he with all diligence set out through the park. First came the king's trumpeters, then the king's officers of his council; after them the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber, some apparelled in coats of velvet embroidered, others had their coats guarded with chains of gold, very rich to behold. After them came the barons, the youngest first; and Sir William Hollys, the lord mayor, rode with the lord Parr, being youngest baron. Then the ambassadors of the emperor and the king of France, the lord chancellor, with the other great state-officers, and Garter king-at-arms. These lords were, for the most part, arrayed in purple velvet, and the marquis of Dorset, in the same livery, bore the king's sword of state. After him, but at a good distance, came the king, mounted on a goodly courser, trapped in rich cloth of gold, traversed all over, lattice-

¹ Hall's Chronicle, reprint, p. 834.

wise, with gold embroidery, pearled on every side of the embroidery: the buckles and pendants were all of fine gold.¹ The king was apparelled in a coat of purple velvet, made somewhat like a frock, all over embroidered with flat gold of damask, with small lace mixed between, traverse-wise, so that little of the ground appeared; about which garment was a rich guard, very curiously embroidered. The sleeves and breast were cut and lined with cloth of gold, and clasped with great buttons of diamonds, rubies, and orient pearls; his sword and girdle adorned with stones and *special* emeralds, his cap garnished with stones, but his bonnet was so rich of jewels, that few men could value them." The royal bridegroom must certainly have intended to rival the king of diamonds in this gorgeous display. "Besides all this," continues Hall, whose loyal raptures increase with every additional jewel which he records as decorating bluff king Hal—"besides all this, he wore a collar of such balas-rubies, and pearl, that few men ever saw the like; and about his person ran ten footmen, richly apparelled in goldsmiths work. And notwithstanding that this rich apparel and precious jewels were pleasant to the nobles and all present to behold, yet his princely countenance, his goodly personage and royal gesture, so far exceeded all other creatures present, that, in comparison of his person, all his rich apparel was little esteemed. After him followed his lord chamberlain; then came Sir Anthony Browne, master of his horse, a goodly gentleman of comely personage, well mounted and richly apparelled, leading the king's horse of estate by a long rein of gold, which horse was trapped in manner like a barb, with crimson velvet and satin, all over embroidered with gold after an antique fashion, very curiously wrought.

"When her grace was advertised of the king's coming, she issued out of her tent, being apparelled in a rich gown of cloth of gold raised, made round, without any train, after the Dutch fashion; and on her head a caul, and over that a round bonnet or cap, set full of orient pearl, of very proper fashion; and before that, she had a cornet of black velvet, and about her neck she had a partlet set full of rich stone, which glistened all the field. At the door of the tent she mounted on a fair horse, richly trapped with goldsmiths' work; and so were her footmen, who surrounded her, with the 'black lion'² embroidered, and on the shoulder a carbuncle set in gold; and so she marched towards the king, who, perceiving her approach, came forward somewhat beyond the cross on the heath,³ and there paused a little in a fair place till she came nearer. Then he put off his bonnet, and came forward to her, and with most loving countenance and princely behaviour saluted, welcomed, and embraced her, to the great rejoicing of the beholders; and she likewise,

¹ Hall's Chronicle, reprint, p. 834.

² The armorial bearing of Hainault.

³ This was the antique mound on B'ack-

heath, once a Saxon tumulus, now crowned with a few stunted firs. The cross was there in the time of Charles II.

not forgetting her duty, with most amiable aspect and womanly behaviour, received his grace with many sweet words, thanks, and great praises given him."

When the king had conversed a little with the lady Anne, which must have been by means of an interpreter, "he put her on his right hand, and so with their footmen they rode as though they had been coupled together. Oh!" continues the enraptured chronicler, "what a sight was this, to see so goodly a prince and so noble a king to ride with so fair a lady, of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenance, and, in especial, of so good qualities! I think no creature could see them but his heart rejoiced."¹ Few, perhaps, of the spectators of this brave show imagined how deceptive a farce it was; nor does Hall, who was an eye-witness of all he describes, appear to have been in the slightest degree aware how false a part his sovereign was acting, or how hard a trial it must have been to that gaily decorated victim, the bride, to smother all the struggling feelings of female pride and delicacy, to assume a sweet and loving demeanour towards the bloated tyrant by whom she had been so rudely scorned and depreciated. Certainly, Anne had the most reasonable cause for dissatisfaction of the two, when we consider that, if she were not quite so handsome as Holbein had represented her, she was a fine young woman of only four-and-twenty, who had been much admired in her own country. Henry was more than double her age, unwieldy and diseased in person, with a countenance stamped with all the traces of the evil passions which deformed his mind. Thoughts of the broken heart of his first queen, the bloody scaffold of his second, and the early grave of his third consort, could scarcely fail to occur appallingly to his luckless bride, when she perceived that she was already despised by her formidable spouse. What woman but would have shuddered at finding herself in Anne of Cleves' predicament?

Hall thus resumes his rich narrative: "When the king and the lady Anne had met, and both their companies joined, they returned through the ranks of knights and squires which had remained stationary. First came her trumpets, twelve in number beside two kettle-drums, on horseback; next followed the king's trumpets, then the king's councillors, the gentlemen of the privy-chamber; then the gentlemen of her grace's country, in coats of velvet, riding on great horses; after them the mayor of London, in crimson velvet with a rich collar, coupled with the youngest baron; then all the barons, followed by the bishops; then the earls, with whom rode the earls of Waldeck and Overstein, Anne's countrymen. Then came the dukes, the archbishop of Canterbury, and duke Philip of Bavaria, followed by the ambassadors, the lord privy-seal, and the lord chancellor; then the lord marquis, with the king's sword. Next followed the king himself, riding with his fair lady;

¹ Hall's Chronicle, reprint, p. 835.

behind him rode Sir Anthony Browne, with the king's horse of estate ; behind her rode Sir John Dudley, master of her horse, leading her spare palfrey, trapped in rich tissue down to the ground. After them came the lady Margaret Douglas, the lady marquise Dorset, the duchesses of Richmond and Suffolk, the countesses of Rutland and Hertford, and other countesses ; next followed her grace's chariot."¹ The description of the equipage is worthy of attention with regard to the costume of the era. "The chariot was well carved and gilt, with the arms of her country curiously wrought, and covered with cloth of gold : all the horses were trapped with black velvet, and on them rode pages of honour in coats of velvet ; in the chariot rode two ancient ladies of her country. After the chariot followed six ladies and gentlewomen of her country, all richly apparelled with caps set with pearls and great chains of divers fashions, after the custom of their country, and with them rode six ladies of England, well 'beseen.' Then followed another chariot, gilt and furnished as the other was. Then came ten English ladies well apparelled. Next them another chariot, covered with black cloth ; in that were four gentlewomen, her grace's chamberers : then followed all the remnant of the ladies, gentlewomen, and maidens, in great number, which did wear that day French hoods. After them came the royal bride's three washerwomen, launderers as they are called, who had a place in the procession, occupying a chariot covered with black ; then a horse-litter, of cloth of gold of crimson velvet paled [striped], with horses trapped accordingly, which was a present from the king. Last of all came the serving-men of her train, all clothed in black, mounted on great Flemish horses."²

"In this order they rode through the ranks into the park, and at the late Friars'-wall³ all men alighted, save the king, the two masters of the horse, and the henchmen, which rode to the hall-door, and the ladies rode to the court-gate. As they passed, they beheld from the wharf how the citizens of London were rowing up and down on the Thames, every craft in his barge garnished with banners, flags, streamers, pensils, and targets, some painted and blazoned with the king's arms, some with those of her grace, and some with the arms of their craft or mystery. Beside the barges of every craft or city company, there was a barge made like a ship, called the bachelors' bark, decked with pensils, and pennons of cloth of gold, and targets in great number, on which waited a foyst, that shot great pieces of artillery. In every barge were divers sorts of instruments, with men and children singing and playing in chorus as the king and the lady passed on the wharf, which sight and noises they much praised."

¹ Hall's Chronicle.² Ibid., 836.³ Supposed to be that of the convent of the Observant Friars at Greenwich, which was situate close to the palace.

A splendid scene it must have been, that gorgeous cavalcade, extending from Blackheath, through the park, to the water's edge, and the broad-bosomed Thames, so gaily dight with the flags and gilded barges of the queen of merchant-cities, and all the aquatic pageantry which wealth and loyalty could devise to do honour to the sovereign's bride. But to return to her whose advent had given the citizens of London so proud a holiday, and filled the leafless bowers of Greenwich with unwonted animation at that wintry season of the year. "As soon as she and the king had alighted from their horses in the inner court, the king lovingly embraced her, and bade her 'welcome to her own;' then led her by the left arm through the hall, which was *furnished* below the hearth with the king's guard, and above the hearth with the fifty pensioners with their battle-axes, and so brought her up to her privy-chamber, which was richly prepared for her reception." There Henry, eager to be released from the irksome part of playing the loving bridegroom and gracious sovereign, left her, and retired to give vent to his discontent in his own. He was attended by his anxious premier Cromwell, to whom he exclaimed, "How say you, my lord; is it not as I told you? Say what they will, she is nothing fair. Her person is well and seemly, but nothing else." The obsequious minister assented to the royal opinion—nay, swore "by his faith, that his sovereign said right;" yet ventured to observe, by way of commendation, "that he thought she had a queenly manner withal." This Henry frankly allowed. Cromwell lamented "that his grace was no better content," as well indeed he might, since his own ruin was decreed from that hour.¹

Though Henry had committed himself by his public reception of the lady, he commanded Cromwell to summon the council, and devise with them some pretext whereby he might excuse himself from fulfilling his engagement with her. The council met, and Osliger and Hostoden, the envoys of the duke of Cleves, just after assisting at the pompous ceremonial of the king of England's public welcome of their princess as his bride elect, found themselves called upon a second time to answer to a formal inquiry, in the name of that prince, if the said lady were not already the affianced wife of another? They appeared like men perplexed, and deferred their replies till the next day.²

Meantime the crowd of spectators and the inferior actors in the state pageant dispersed, for which Hall tells us the signal was given by the mighty peal of guns that was shot from Greenwich tower when the king and queen entered the court together. Then all the horsemen broke their ranks, and had leave to depart to London, or to their lodgings. "To see how long it was or ever the horsemen could pass, and how late

¹ King Henry's deposition of what passed between himself and Cromwell on the subject of the lady Anne of Cleves.—Haynes' State Papers.

² Cromwell's deposition, in Burnet's Hist. of Reformation.

it was ere the footmen could get over London-bridge," pursues he, "I assure you it was wondrous to behold."

When the lord chamberlain inquired of the king, "What day his majesty would be pleased to name for the coronation of the queen?"—"We will talk of that when I have made her my queen," was the ominous reply of the moody monarch.¹ The next morning, Sunday, Cromwell came by the private way to Henry's private chamber, and informed him that the ambassadors of Cleves treated the idea of the pre-contract with contempt, and had offered to remain in prison as pledges for the arrival of the revocation of the spousalia. Henry was much annoyed at this intelligence, and exclaimed, "I am not well handled;"² adding, "if it were not that she is come so far into my realm, and the great preparations that my states and people have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffle in the world, and of driving her brother into the hands of the emperor and the French king, who are now together, I would not now marry her." After dinner, on the same Sunday, Henry sent for all his council, and repeated his favourite expression, "that he was not well handled about the contract with the prince of Lorraine," and required that Anne should make a solemn protestation that she was free from all pre-contracts. This she did in the presence of all his council and notaries. When Henry was informed by Cromwell that the lady had made the above protest in the most clear and positive terms, he repeated his first ungracious exclamation, "Is there, then, none other remedy, but I must needs against my will put my neck into the yoke?" Cromwell escaped from the royal presence as quickly as he could, leaving his master in what he politely terms "a study or pensiveness;"³ in other words, an access of sullen ill-humour, in which Henry remained till the Monday morning, when he declared "that it was his intention to go through with it," and directed that the nuptials should be solemnized on the following day, January 6, being the Epiphany or feast of kings, commonly called Twelfth-day, and set about preparing himself for the ceremonial. Short notice this for the bride, but her feelings had been outraged in every possible way.

Next came the question, Who should lead her to the altar? Two noblemen of her own court, the earl of Overstein and the grand-master Hostoden, had come to England with her expressly for that purpose, and to superintend all the arrangements for her marriage. Henry chose to associate the earl of Essex with the earl of Overstein in the honour of leading her. Then, as if to render everything as inconvenient as possible to the princess, he fixed the early hour of eight in the morning for the solemnity. The earl of Essex was not punctual to the time, on which Henry deputed Cromwell to take the office of conducting the bride, and sent him to her chamber for that purpose; but before Anne

¹ Lett.² Cromwell's letter : Burnet, vol. i. p. 183.³ Ibid.

was ready, Essex arrived. However reluctant the royal bridegroom was to fulfil his distasteful matrimonial engagement, he made his personal arrangements that morning with much greater speed than the bride, and had donned his wedding garments so long before she was ready, that he thought proper to exercise his conjugal privilege beforehand by grumbling at having to wait. His bridal costume is thus described by Hall: "His grace was apparelled in a gown of cloth of gold, raised with great flowers of silver, and furred with black jennettes. His coat, crimson satin, slashed and embroidered, and clasped with great diamonds, and a rich collar about his neck." In this array he entered his presence-chamber, and calling Cromwell to him, said, "My lord, if it were not to satisfy the world and my realm, I would not do what I must do this day for any earthly thing."¹ Then one of the officers of the household informed him the queen was ready. On which he, with his lords and officers of state, advanced into the gallery next the closets and there paused, and, with some expressions of displeasure that she was so long in coming, sent the lords to fetch the queen.

The tardy bride had endeavoured, it should seem, to console herself for Henry's insulting demurs and discourtesies by taking her own time, and making a very elaborate and splendid toilette. She was dressed in a gown of rich cloth of gold, embroidered very thickly with great flowers of large oriental pearls. It was made round and without a train, after the Dutch fashion, which, it appears, was not admired in England. She wore her long, luxuriant *yellow* hair flowing down her shoulders, and on her head a coronal of gold full of costly gems and set about with sprigs of rosemary, a herb of grace which was used by maidens both at weddings and funerals.² About her neck and waist she wore jewels of great price. Thus arrayed, Anne of Cleves came forth from her closet between the earl of Overstein and the earl of Essex, and, according to Hall, "with most demure countenance and sad [composed] behaviour passed through the king's chamber." The lords went before her in procession, and when they reached the gallery where the king was, she greeted him with three low obeisances and curtsies. Then the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, received them, and married them together. The earl of Overstein gave Anne away: round her wedding-ring was inscribed,

God Send Me Well to keepe.

A more appropriate motto could scarcely have been chosen for a wife of Henry VIII. No doubt the poor queen had that prayer very often on her lips. When the nuptial rites were ended, the royal pair walked hand in hand into the king's closet, and there heard mass, and offered their tapers. After mass was over, they took wine and spices;⁴ then the king

¹ Cromwell's letter, Burnet.

² For *souvenance*.

³ Kempe's *Losely MS.*

⁴ Hall.

departed to his chamber, and all the ladies attended the queen to her chamber, the duke of Norfolk walking on her right hand, the duke of Suffolk on her left.

Brief was the repose that was allowed her there, ere she was summoned to attend another mass; for we find that "the king, in a gown of rich tissue, lined with crimson velvet, embroidered, came to his closet, and she, in the same dress in which she was married, came to her closet, with her serjeant-of-arms and all her officers before her, like a queen. And the king and she went openly in procession, and offered and dined together. After dinner," continues our authority,¹ "the queen changed into a dress made like a man's gown, of tissue, with long sleeves, girt to her, and furred with rich sables. Her under sleeves were very costly. On her head she wore such a cap as on the preceding Saturday, with a cornet of lawn, which cap was so rich of pearls and gems, that it was judged to be of great value. Her ladies and gentlemen were apparelled very richly, after her fashion," which, from Marillac's report, we have seen was not the most becoming in the world. They were all decorated with rich chains. In the dress just described, our Lutheran queen Anne accompanied her lord to even-song, as she had in the morning to mass, and afterwards supped with him. "After supper were banquets, masques, and divers disports, till the time came that it pleased the king and her to take their rest."

Henry's countenance bore a more portentous aspect on the morrow, and when his trembling premier, Cromwell, entered his presence to pay his duty, he received him with a frown, and angrily reproached him for having persuaded him to a marriage so repugnant to his taste. Solemn jousts were, nevertheless, kept in honour of the royal nuptials on the Sunday, which much pleased the foreigners. "On that day," continues Hall, "the queen was apparelled, after the English fashion, with a French hood, which so set forth her beauty and good visage, that every creature rejoiced to behold her." Not a word does the chronicler relate of the king's ill-humour, or of his contempt for his new queen. Another contemporary historian, who is evidently an admirer of Anne, quaintly observes, "Well; it pleased his highness to dislike her grace, but to me she always appeared a brave lady." The only allusion Henry was ever known to make to his beautiful and once-idolized queen Anne Boleyn, after her murder, was in one of his bursts of contempt for her more homely namesake. The little princess Elizabeth having made suit by her governess to be allowed to come and pay the duty of a daughter to the new queen, whom she had the most ardent desire to see, "Tell her," was the reply, "that she had a mother so different from this woman, that she ought not to wish to see her."² Elizabeth addressed a very pretty letter to her royal step-mother to excuse her absence.

¹ Hall, p. 337.

² Lett.

The reports of her contemporaries vary so greatly as to the personal characteristics of this queen, that an exact description of her appearance, from the original chalk sketch among the Holbein heads in her majesty's collection at Windsor, may not be uninteresting to the reader. There is a moral and intellectual beauty in the expression of the face, though the nose and mouth are large and somewhat coarse in their formation. Her forehead is lofty, expansive and serene, indicative of candour and talent. The eyes large, dark and reflective, thickly fringed, both on the upper and lower lids, with long black lashes. Her eyebrows are black, and finely marked. Her hair, which is also black,¹ is parted, and plainly folded on either side the face in bands, extending below the ears—a style that seems peculiarly suitable to the calm and dignified composure of her countenance. Nothing, however, can be more unbecoming than her dress, which is a close-fitting gown, with a stiff high collar like a man's coat, and tight sleeves. The boddice opens a little in front, and displays a chemisette, drawn up to the throat with a narrow riband, and ornamented on one side with a brooch in the form of a Katherine-wheel, placed very high. She wears a large Amazonian-looking hat, turned boldly up in front, not in the Spanish but the Dutch fashion, decorated with *quatre-feuilles* of gems. Such a head-dress would have been trying even to a soft and feminine style of beauty, but the effect on the large, decided features of this queen's very unfortunate. Anne of Cleves appears to have had the most splendid wardrobe of all Henry's queens, but the worst taste in dress.

Anne was conducted, on the 4th of February, by the king and his ministers, by water to the palace of Westminster, which had been magnificently prepared for her reception. They were attended on their voyage up the Thames by many peers and prelates in state barges, gaily emblazoned and adorned. The mayor and aldermen of London, in their scarlet robes, gave attendance;² also twelve of the principal city companies, in barges, garnished with pennons, banners and targets, with rich awnings and bands of music within. All the way up the river the ships saluted the royal barge as it passed, and a mighty peal was fired from the great Tower guns in goodly order, to greet and welcome the sovereign and his bride.³

Henry VIII.'s whim of entwining his initials with those of his new wife is apparent even during the ephemeral queenship of Anne of Cleves. Several medallions are still remaining in the ceiling of the chapel-royal in St. James's-palace with the letters **H A**, garnished with the true-love knots which Anne Boleyn had found so false and evanescent when he invented that device to testify his devotion to her. The date, 1540,

¹ Hall, we have seen, describes her with yellow tresses, which were certainly false hair, and must have been singularly unbe-

coming to a brunette. All her portraits represent her with black hair, and very black eyes.

² Hall, p. 837.

³ Ibid.

within these medallions, identifies them as having been enamelled during the brief reign of Anne of Cleves.

When the earl of Overstein, and other nobles and ladies who had attended Anne to England, had been honourably feasted and entertained by Henry and his magnates, they received handsome presents, both in money and plate, and returned to their own country. The earl of Waldeck, and some other gentlemen and ladies, with the Dutch maids of honour, remained with her till she became better acquainted with the English people and language. It is evident that mistress Lowe, the sage *gouvernante* of the *Dutch maids* (as Anne's Flemish damsels were styled), was regarded by the English courtiers as the channel through which all places and preferments in the household of the new queen were to flow. The countess of Rutland, to whom that painstaking matron, lady Lisle, sent the noble present of a pipe of Gascon wine and two barrels of herrings, to purchase her good offices in obtaining her daughter Katharine Basset's appointment as maid of honour to the queen, gives her the following hints:—

"And whereas you be very desirous to have your daughter, mistress Basset, to be one of the queen's grace's maids, and that you would that I should move her grace in that behalf; these shall be to let your ladyship know, that I perceive right well the king's pleasure to be such that no more maids shall be taken in until such time as some of them that be now with the queen's grace be preferred [meaning, till they were married]. Albeit, if you will make some means unto mother Lowe, who can do as much good in this matter as any one woman here, that she may make some means to get your said daughter with the queen's said grace; and in so doing, I think you shall obtain your purpose in every behalf."¹

The same day the young candidate for this much-desired appointment, who was residing in lady Rutland's family, wrote herself to her mother a confidential letter on this subject, which we insert, as affording a curious illustration of the manners, customs, and narrow means of some of the young ladies of the court of Henry VIII.

"MADAME,

"In my humble wise, my duty done to your ladyship, certifying your ladyship that my lord of Rutland and my lady be in good health, and hath them heartily commended to your ladyship, thanking you for your wine and your herring that you sent them. Madame, my lady hath given me a gown of Kaffa damask, of her own old wearing, and that she would in no wise that I should refuse it; and I have spoken to Mr. Husse for a roll of buckram to new line it, and velvet to edge it withal. Madame, I humbly beseech your ladyship to be good lady and mother to me, for my lady of Rutland said that mother Lowe, *the mother of the Dutch maids*, may do much for my preferment with the queen's highness, so that your ladyship would send her my good token² that she may the better remember me, trusting that your ladyship would be good lady to me in this behalf. Madame, I have received of Ravensforde two crowns, for which I humbly thank your ladyship. I do lack a ketyll [suppose kirtle] for every day; I beseech your ladyship that I may have it."

Anne Basset, the established maid of honour, who was a very fair, well made, and graceful young gentlewoman, was certainly placed in a perilous position by the very inconsiderate manner in which her worldly-minded mother contrived prettexts for throwing her in the king's way,

¹ Wood's Letters, from the Lisle Papers; State-Paper MS.

² A present.

by deputing her, when she presented her confections to him, to solicit gifts and preferments for her family. Perhaps lady Lisle flattered herself that fair mistress Anne Basset was as likely to win Henry's fatal love as either Anne Boleyn or Jane Seymour, her predecessor in the dangerous office of maid of honour to an unbeloved queen-consort.

Our young candidate for the post of maid of honour concludes one of her letters with this *naïve* confession of her lack of penmanship:—

"And whereas you do write to me that I do not write with mine own hand, the truth is that I cannot write nothing but mine own name; and as for that, when I had haste to go up to the queen's chamber, my man did write it which doth write my [this] letter."¹

The fact that a letter full of family affairs, and relating to a matter of such extreme delicacy as a private conference between the fair inditer and her sovereign—that sovereign the ferocious tyrant Henry VIII.—was written by an amanuensis of servile degree, affords a curious illustration of the manners of the times, as well as a proof of the defective system on which the education of young ladies of rank was conducted in the middle of the sixteenth century. Yet the same age and country could boast of those illustrious female scholars, the daughters of Sir Thomas More, queen Katharine Parr, lady Jane Gray, and the royal Tudor sisters Mary and Elizabeth. The scholastic attainments of the above accomplished ladies have frequently been cited as evidence of the superior degree of cultivation bestowed upon the gentlewomen of England at that period, but their names should rather be mentioned as forming very remarkable exceptions to the general ignorance in which their fair contemporaries were brought up.

During the first few weeks after Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves, he treated her with an outward show of civility on all public occasions; and as long as they kept the same chamber, he was accustomed to say "Good night, sweetheart!" and in the morning, when he left her apartment, "Farewell, darling!" These honeyed words, however, only covered increasing dislike, which, when he found there was no prospect of her bringing him a family, he openly expressed in the rudest terms. Even if Anne of Cleves had been gifted with those external charms requisite to please Henry's fastidious eye, her ignorance of the English language and of music, and, above all, her deficiency in that delicate tact which constitutes the real art of pleasing, would have prevented her from gaining on his affections. Henry had been used to the society of women of superior intellect and polished manners. Such had been Katharine of Arragon, such Anne Boleyn; and Jane Seymour, if she lacked the mental dignity of the first, or the genius and wit of the second, made up for both in the insinuating softness which was, no doubt, the true secret of her influence over Henry's mind. Anne of Cleves was no adept in the art of flattery, and, though really "of meek

and gentle conditions," she did not humiliate herself meanly to the man from whom she had received so many unprovoked marks of contempt, and she ceased to behave with submissive complaisance. Henry then complained to Cromwell "that she waxed wilful and stubborn with him."¹

Anne required advice, and sent often to Cromwell, requesting a conference with him, but in vain. Cromwell knew he was in a perilous predicament, surrounded by spies and enemies, and, like the trembling vizier of some Eastern tyrant, who sees the fatal bowstring ready to be fitted to his neck, deemed that one false step would be his ruin: he positively refused to see the queen.² While Anne was tormented and perplexed by the persecutions of her unreasonable husband, terror was stricken into every heart by the execution of two of his nearest kinsmen, whom he relentlessly sent to the block on the 3rd of March. One was the favourite companion of his youth, Courtenay, marquis of Exeter, the son of his aunt, Katherine Plantagenet; the other was Henry Pole, lord Montague, the son of Margaret Plantagenet, countess of Salisbury.³ The offence for which they suffered was correspondence with Reginald Pole (afterwards the celebrated cardinal), whom Henry called his enemy. Anne's dower was settled according to the usual forms when parliament met, April 12.⁴ It seems remarkable that Henry, who from the first had declared "that he could not overcome his aversion to her sufficiently to consider her as his wife," should have permitted this legislative recognition of her rights as queen-consort of England.

On the 1st of May, and three succeeding days, a company of the knightly gallants of the court, among whom Sir Thomas Seymour, the brother of the late queen Jane, Sir John Dudley, and Sir George Carew, were the most distinguished, held jousts, tourney, and barrier at Durham-house, all dressed in white velvet, in honour of the king's recent marriage with Anne of Cleves. Their majesties honoured the pageant with their presence, and were honourably feasted and entertained by their bachelor hosts. This was the last time the king and queen appeared in public together. Wriothesley, the most unprincipled of the low-born parasites who rose to greatness by truckling to the lawless passions of the sovereign, prepared the way for the divorce, by lamenting to the gentlemen of the privy-chamber and the council, "the hard case in which the king's highness stood, in being bound to a wife whom he could not love."⁵ and went on to suggest the expediency of emancipating the king from a wedlock that was so little to his taste. A gentleman of honour and feeling would rather have regarded the case of the injured queen with compassion, but Wriothesley was devoid of every generous sympathy; his conduct towards females in distress was always peculiarly cruel, as we shall have occasion to show in the memoirs of Katharine Howard and

¹ Cromwell's letter; Burnet.² Ibid³ Hall Burnet⁴ Tytler. Journals of Parl., 32nd Henry VIII.⁵ Strype.

Katharine Parr. With ready instruments of wickedness like Wriothesley ever at hand, we almost cease to wonder at the atrocities that were perpetrated by Henry VIII. When the idea of a divorce had been once suggested to that lawless prince, the situation of his luckless queen was rendered insupportable to her. In addition to all his other causes of dissatisfaction, Henry now began to express scruples of conscience on the score of keeping a Lutheran for his wife.¹ Anne, who had been unremitting in her endeavours to conform herself to his wishes, by studying the English language and all things that were likely to please him, became weary of the attempt, and was at length piqued into telling him, "If she had not been compelled to marry him, she might have fulfilled her engagement with another, to whom she had promised her hand."² It is just possible, that, under the provocations she had endured, she might add, "a younger and more amiable prince, whom she would have preferred had she been left to her own choice." Henry only waited for this; for though he had lived with Anne between four and five months, he had never, as he shamelessly acknowledged, intended to retain her permanently as his wife, especially as there was no prospect of her bringing him a family. It was the peculiar wickedness of Henry, that he always added calumny to faithlessness when he desired to rid himself of a lawful wife. In the present instance, not contented with disparaging the person and manners of the ill treated princess of Cleves, he basely impugned her honour, as if she had not been a virtuous woman when he received her hand.³ Every one about him was aware of his motives in uttering these slanders, which were designed to terrify the queen into consenting to a dissolution of her marriage. Her situation was rendered more wretched by the dismissal of her foreign attendants, whose places were supplied by English ladies appointed by the king.

When the *straunge* maidens, as the Flemish maids of honour were called, were about to depart, and the queen's chamberlain applied to Cromwell for their safe-conduct, the cautious minister, who had carefully kept aloof from the slightest communication with Anne or her household, availed himself of this opportunity of sending a secret warning to his royal mistress "of the expediency of doing her utmost to render herself more agreeable to the king."⁴ Anne acted upon the hint, but without any sort of judgment, for she altered her cold and reserved deportment into an appearance of fondness which, being altogether inconsistent with her feelings, was anything but attractive. The king, knowing that it was impossible she could entertain affection for him, attributed the change in her manner to the representations of Cromwell, to whom he had confided his intentions of obtaining a divorce; and this suspicion aggravated the hatred he had conceived against him, for having been

¹ Moreri. De Thou.² Moreri. Du Chesne. De Thou.³ Burnet. Herbert. State Papers.⁴ Cromwell's letters; Burnet. Raphn.

the means of drawing him into the marriage. Henry had recently become deeply enamoured of the young and beautiful Katharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and passionately desired to make her his wife. The leaders of the Roman catholic party were eager to secure the two-fold triumphs of obtaining a queen of their own way of thinking, and effecting the downfall of their great enemy, Cromwell. There is every reason to believe that the death of his unpopular favourite was decreed by Henry himself at the very time when, to mask his deadly purpose, he bestowed upon him the honours and estates of Bouchier earl of Essex. The fact was, he had a business to accomplish, for which he required a tool who would not be deterred by the nice feelings of a gentleman of honour from working his will. This was the attainder of two ladies allied, one by blood, the other by marriage, to the royal line of Plantagenet—Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, the widow of one of his kindred victims, and Margaret countess of Salisbury, the mother of the other. Cromwell produced in the house of lords, May 10, by way of evidence against the aged countess of Salisbury, a vestment of white silk that had been found in her wardrobe, embroidered in front with the arms of England, surrounded with a wreath of pansies and marigolds, and on the back the representation of the Host, with the five wounds of our Lord, and the name of Jesus written in the midst. The peers permitted the unprincipled minister to persuade them that this was a treasonable ensign; and as the countess had corresponded with her absent son, she was, for no other crime, attainted of high treason and condemned to death, without the privilege of being heard in her own defence.¹ The marchioness of Exeter was also attainted and condemned to death by the same violation of the laws of England. The lords, indeed, hesitated, for the case was without precedent; but Cromwell sent for the judges to his own house, and asked them “whether the parliament had a power to condemn persons accused without a hearing?” The judges replied, “That it was a nice and dangerous question, for law and equity required that no one should be condemned unheard; but the parliament being the highest court of the realm, its decisions could not be disputed.”² When Cromwell, by reporting this answer in the house, satisfied the peers that they had the power of committing a great iniquity if they chose to do so, they gratified the king by passing the bill, which established a precedent for all the other murders that were perpetrated in this reign of terror. Exactly one month after this villany, Cromwell was arrested by the duke of Norfolk at the council-board, and sent to the Tower by the command of the king, who, like a master-fiend, had waited till his slave had filled up the full measure of his guilt before he executed his vengeance upon him. Another victim, but a blameless one, was also

¹ Lingard. Tytler. Herbert. Burnet. Journals of Parliament.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. pp. 143, 144. Rapin. Lingard. Herbert.

selected by Henry to pay the penalty of his life for having been instrumental in his marriage with Anne of Cleves; this was the pious and learned Dr. Barnes, whom the queen had greatly patronised, but was unable to preserve from the stake.¹ Her own reign was drawing to a close. A few days after Cromwell's arrest she was sent to Richmond, under pretence that her health required change of air. Marillac, in a letter to Francis I., dated June 23, thus alludes to the reports to which this circumstance had given rise:—"There is a talk of some diminution of love, and a new affection for another lady. The queen has been sent to Richmond. This I know, that the king, who promised in two days to follow her, has not done so, and does not seem likely to do so, for the road of his progress does not lead that way. Now it is said in the court, that the said lady has left on account of the plague, which is in this city, which is not true; for if there had been any suspicion of the kind, the king would not have remained on any business, however important, for he is the most timid person in the world in such cases."² The removal of Anne was the preliminary step to the divorce, for which Henry was now impatient. The particulars of this transaction, as they appear on the journals of the house of lords, afford revolting proofs of the slavish and degrading manner in which Henry's privy council and prelates rendered themselves accomplices in his injustice and breach of faith to his wedded wife and their queen. The ignoble submission of the peers to the caprices of the lawless tyrant kept pace with the disgusting proceedings of his personal abettors in his iniquities. The commons only acted as the echo of the lords. As for that right-feeling and uncorrupted body of his subjects—the people, they had no means of information, and it pertained not to them to redress the injustice of their sovereign to his wives or daughters. The lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Durham stated to the house, July 6, "that they having doubts of the validity of the marriage between the king and queen, to which they had been instrumental, and as the succession to the crown was, or might be, affected, it was highly necessary that its legality should be investigated by a convocation of the clergy." A petition that the king would permit this to be done was instantly got up, and presented to the sovereign by both houses of parliament. Henry was graciously pleased to reply, "that he could refuse nothing to the estates of the realm, and was ready to answer any questions that might be put to him; for he had no other object in view but the glory of God, the welfare of the realm, and the triumph of the truth."³

The matter was brought before the convocation on the following day, and the clergy referred it to a committee, consisting of the two archbishops,

¹ Rapin. Burnet. Lingard.

² *Dépêches de Marillac; Bibliothèque du Roi.*

³ *Journals of Parliament, 32nd Henry VIII.*

four bishops, and eight divines. The reasons alleged for releasing the sovereign from his matrimonial bonds with his queen were as follow : " 1st, that she was pre-contracted to the prince of Lorraine. 2ndly, that the king, having espoused her against his will, had not given an ~~inward~~ consent to his marriage, which he had never completed; and that the whole nation had a great interest in the king's having more issue, which they saw he could never have by this queen."¹ Many witnesses were examined, as the lords in waiting, gentlemen of the king's chamber, and the queen's ladies. The countess of Rutland, lady Edgecombe, and the infamous lady Rochford, bent on pleasing the king, deposed many things which they affirmed the queen had told them, as evidence of the nullity of the contract. They had presumed, it seems, to ask many impertinent questions of their royal mistress, and among others, " If she had acquainted mother Lowe, her confidential attendant and countrywoman, of the king's neglect?" Anne replied in the negative, and said that " she received quite as much of his majesty's attention as she wished."²

Henry encouraged the ladies of the bedchamber to mimic and ridicule their royal mistress for his amusement, although it was impossible for any one to conduct herself with greater dignity and forbearance under the trying circumstances than she did, while his unprincely follies were rendering him the laughing-stock of Europe. His greatest enemy would have found it difficult to place his conduct towards his fourth queen in a more unmanly and dishonourable light than the account he gives of it in his deposition, which he styles his " brief, true and perfect declaration :"—" I had heard," says he, " much, both of her excellent beauty and virtuous conditions. But when I saw her at Rochester, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any pact or bond with her till I saw her myself; for then, I *adsure* you, I liked her so ill, that I was woe that ever she came to England, and deliberated with myself, that if it were possible to find means to break off, I would never enter yoke with her. Then, after my repair to Greenwich the next day after, I think, and doubt not, but that lord Essex [Cromwell], well examined, can and will, and hath declared, what I then said to him in that case; for, as he is a person which knoweth himself condemned by act of parliament, he will not damn his soul, but truly declare the truth, not only at the time spoken by me, but also continually till the day of marriage, and also many times after, whereby my lack of consent, I doubt not, ~~de~~th or shall well appear."³ Portions of the document⁴ from which this abstract is taken were certainly in coarseness of expression without parallel, and afford a characteristic specimen of the brutality of Henry's manners and language.

¹ Burnet. Collier. Strype.

² Strype's Memorials.

³ The fallen favourite, to whom Henry appeals as a witness of the truth of his ~~re~~verations, gave a written confirmation of

the sovereign's statement in a letter, in which he, with great truth, subscribes himself his " poor slave."

⁴ Burnet's History of the Reformation vol. i. Records, 185.

The convocation of the clergy, without one dissentient voice, pronounced the marriage to be null and void, June 9, and that both parties were free to marry again. The next day, archbishop Cranmer reported to the house of lords this sentence, in Latin and English, and delivered the documents attesting it, which were sent to the commons. A bill to invalidate the marriage was twice read, and passed unanimously, July 13, being only the eighth day after the commencement of the whole business.¹ Cranmer, who had pronounced the nuptial benediction, had the mortifying office of dissolving the marriage—Anne of Cleves being the third queen from whom he had divorced the king in less than seven years. Well might one of the French ambassadors say of Henry, “He is a marvellous man, and has marvellous people about him.”² The queen, being a stranger to the English laws and customs, was spared the trouble of appearing before the convocation, either personally or by her advocates.

When all things had been definitely arranged according to the king’s pleasure, Suffolk, Southampton and Wriothesley were appointed by him to proceed to Richmond, for the purpose of signifying his determination to the queen, and obtaining her assent. Scarcely had the commissioners commenced their explanation, when Anne, fancying, no doubt, that their errand was to conduct her to the Tower, gave instant acquiescence. So powerfully were the feminine terrors of the poor queen excited on this occasion, that she fainted and fell to the ground before the commissioners could explain the true purport of their errand.³ When she was sufficiently recovered to attend to them, they soothed her with flattering professions of the king’s gracious intention of adopting her for a sister, if she would resign the title of queen; promising that she should have precedence before every lady in the court, except his daughters and his future consort, and that she should be endowed with estates to the value of 3,000*l* a year.⁴ Anne was greatly relieved when she understood the real nature of the king’s intention, and she expressed her willingness to resign her joyless honours with an alacrity for which he was not prepared.

The enduring constancy of the injured Katharine of Arragon, the only woman who ever loved him, had taught Henry to regard himself as a person so extremely precious, that he certainly did not expect his present queen to resign him without a struggle. Even when she, in compliance with the advice of the commissioners, wrote, or rather we should say, subscribed a most obliging letter to him, expressing her full acquiescence in his pleasure, he could not believe she really meant thus lightly to part from him. He next wrote to the members of his

¹ Journals of Parliament. Burnet. Rapin. Herbert.

² In a letter to Francis I., in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

³ Herbert. Lingard. State Papers. ⁴ Ibid. Burnet. Rapin.

privy council, whose president was his brother-in-law, the duke of Suffolk, desiring them to consider "whether they should further press the lady Anne to write to her brother or no." However, before he concludes the letter, he determines that point himself: "We have resolved, that it is requisite ye should now, before your departure, procure both the writing of such a letter to her brother, and also the letter before written to us in English, subscribed with her hand, to be by her written in Dutch, to the intent that all things might more clearly appear to him." "And," continues this gracious specimen of a royal husband, "concerning these letters to her brother, how well soever she speaketh now, with promises to abandon the *condition* [caprices] of a woman, and evermore to remain constant in her proceedings, we think good, nevertheless, rather by good ways and means to prevent that she should not play the woman (though she would), than to depend upon her promise. Therefore our pleasure is, that ye travail with her to write a letter to her brother directly, with other sentences, agreeably to the minutes which we send you herewith, as near as ye can. For persuading her thereto, ye may say, that considering she hath so honourably and virtuously proceeded hitherto, whereby she hath procured herself much love, favour, and reputation, it shall be well done if she advertises her brother of all things, as he may demean himself wisely, temperately, and moderately in the affair, not giving ear to tales and *bruits* [reports]. Unless these letters be obtained, all *shall* [will] remain uncertain upon a woman's promise; viz., that she will be no woman—the accomplishment whereof, on her behalf, is as difficult in the refraining of a woman's will, upon occasion, as in changing her womanish nature, which is impossible."¹

And thus did this tyrannical self-deceiver, while in the very act of manifesting the most absurd caprice that any despot could perpetrate, reflect on the constancy of the female sex—the most wayward and weak of whom could scarcely vie with him in fickleness and folly. "Ye may say to her," he concludes, "for her comfort, that howsoever her brother may conduct himself, or her other friends, she (continuing in her uniformity) shall never fare the worse for their faults. In three days, Anne, or her advisers, addressed the following letter to Henry:—

"Most excellent and noble Prince, and my most benign and good Brother, I do most humbly thank you for your great goodness, favour, and liberality, which, as well by your majesty's own letters as by the report and declaration of your councillors, the lord great-master, the lord privy-seal, and your grace's secretary, I perceive it hath pleased you to determine towards me. Whereunto I have no more to answer, but that I shall ever remain your majesty's most humble sister and servant."²

The duke of Suffolk, Henry's ready tool in all his matrimonial

¹ State Papers.

² Ibid., vol. i. pp. 641, 642.

iniquities, with his coadjutors, lord Southampton and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, the king's secretary, in their recital of what passed between themselves and the queen at Richmond, take great credit to themselves for having prevailed on her to subscribe herself the king's sister, instead of his wife. Part of their business was to deliver to her five hundred marks in gold, as a token from the king, being, in fact, the first instalment of her retiring pension, as his un-queened consort and discharged wife. Anne, having been kept without money, thankfully and meekly received this supply, without checking at the mortifying conditions on which it was proffered. She evidently esteemed herself a happy woman to escape from her painful nuptial bonds with Henry without the loss of her head, and in token that she was quite as willing to be rid of him as he could be to cast her off, she cheerfully drew her wedding-ring from her finger and sent it back to him, together with a complaisant letter in German, the substance of which was explained by the commissioners to their royal master. The same persons came again to Richmond, July 17, and executed the king's warrant for breaking up Anne's household as queen of England, by discharging all the ladies and officers of state who had been sworn to serve her as their queen, and introducing those who had been chosen by himself to form her establishment as the lady Anne of Cleves, in her new character of his adopted sister.

Anne submitted to everything with a good grace, and, according to the report of the royal commissioners, "she took her leave openly of such as departed, and welcomed very gently her new servants at that time presented to her by them," although she had not been allowed the privilege of selecting them for herself. She was even so complaisant as to profess herself "under great obligations to the king's majesty, and determined to submit herself wholly to repose in his goodness," and this of her own free will, without any prompting from the commissioners, if we may venture to rely on the account dressed up by them to please the royal despot, whose thirst for flattery was so unreasonable, as to lead him to expect his victims to thank him very humbly for the injuries he was pleased to inflict upon them in the gratification of his selfish tyranny. The following expressions, which in their report are put into the queen's mouth, are certainly not her phraseology, but that of Henry's amiable secretary, Wriothesley, as a sort of approbative answer in her name to Henry's letter to the privy council, before quoted, touching the mutations and caprices of her sex; for she is made to declare that "she would be found no woman by inconstancy and mutability, though all the world should move her to the contrary, neither for her mother, brother, or none other person living;" adding, "that she would receive no letters nor messages from her brother, her mother, nor none of her kin and friends, but she would send them to the king's majesty,

and be guided by his determination."¹ This was the part which Henry and his agents had endeavoured to intimidate Katharine of Arragon into playing, but Anne of Cleves was placed in a very different position. She had no child to compromise by her submission, no jealous affection for a husband to struggle with, after twenty years of faithful companionship; neither had she a friend to support or counsel her in her difficult position. Her contempt for Henry's character must at least have equalled his dislike of her person, and she apparently considered herself cheaply rid of a husband like him, even at the sacrifice of resigning the name and rank of his queen.

Henry was so well pleased at the restoration of the nuptial ring and the obliging demeanour of his discarded queen, that he despatched his commissioners to her again to present unto her "certain things of great value and richness; and also to show to her letters which his majesty had received from the duke her brother, also from the bishop of Bath, ambassador from England, then resident at the court of the duke of Cleves: which letters being opened and read, she gave most humble thanks to the king's majesty that it pleased him to communicate the same to her. And as, from a part of the English ambassador's letter, there appeared as if doubts had arisen in the minds of the duke of Cleves and Osliger his minister, as to whether the lady Anne were well treated, she wrote a letter to her brother in her own language; summoned a nephew of Osliger, then in king Henry's service, and told him, before the said duke, earl, and Sir Thomas, 'to make her hearty commendations to her brother, and to signify to him that she was *merry* [cheerful], and honourably treated, and had written her full and whole mind to him in all things.' And this she did with such alacrity, pleasant gesture and countenance, as he which saw it may well testify that he found her not miscontented." To the care of this Flemish youth was deputed the conveyance of Anne's letter to her brother, from which the following are extracts:—

"MY DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER,

"After my most hearty commendation: Whereas, by your letters of the 13th of this month which I have seen, written to the king's majesty of England, my most dear and most kind brother, I do perceive you take the matter lately moved and determined between him and me somewhat to heart. Forasmuch as I had rather ye knew the truth by mine advertisement, than for want thereof ye should be deceived by vain reports, I thought *mete* to write these present letters to you; by the which it shall please you to understand, how the nobles and commons of this realm desired the king's highness to commit the examination of the matter of marriage between his majesty and me to the determination of the holy clergy of this realm. I did then willingly consent thereto; and since their determination made, have also, upon intimation of their proceedings, allowed, approved, and agreed to the same."

She then explains, at some length, that she has consented to become the king's adopted sister, who has provided for her as such. She desires her good mother to be informed of the arrangement, and requests that

¹ State Paper Records, *temp.* Henry VIII.

no interruption may take place in the political alliance between England and her native country. Her concluding words are, "God willing, I purpose to lead my life in this realm. ANNA, duchess born of Cleves, Gulick, Geldre, and Berg, and your loving sister."¹ After she had dined, Anne further declared, "that she neither would, nor justly might hereafter repute herself as his grace's wife, or in anywise vary from what she had said and written; and again declared she had returned his majesty the ring delivered to her at her *pretenced* marriage, with her most humble commendations."²

Another letter from Anne to her brother is preserved. It is without date, but evidently written at the same period as the preceding; and, from the concluding sentence, it is easy to perceive she dreaded that the slightest interference from her continental friends would imperil her life:—

"Thus much I have thought necessary to write to you, lest, for want of true knowledge, ye might take this matter otherwise than ye ought, and in other sort care for me more than ye have cause. *Only I require this of you—that ye so conduct yourself, as for your untowardness in this matter I fare not the worse, whereunto I trust you will have regard.*"³

Thus we see that Anne was, in effect, detained by Henry as a hostage for the conduct of her brother and his allies, for she plainly intimates that any hostility from them will be visited on her head. Marillac, in relating this transaction to the king his master, in a letter dated July 21, says:—"The marriage has been dissolved, and the queen appears to make no objection. The only answer her brother's ambassador can get from her is, 'that she wishes in all things to please the king, her lord,' bearing testimony of his good treatment of her, and desiring to remain in this country. This being reported to the king, makes him show her the greater respect. He gives her the palace of Richmond and other places for life, with 12,000 crowns for her revenue; but has forbidden the vicars and ministers to call her queen any more, but only 'my lady Anne of Cleves,' which is cause of great regret to the people, whose love she had gained, and who esteemed her as one of the most sweet, gracious, and humane queens they have had, and they greatly desired her to continue their queen. Now it is said that the king is going to marry a young lady of extraordinary beauty, a daughter of a deceased brother of the duke of Norfolk: it is even reported that this marriage has already taken place, only it is kept secret: I cannot say if it is true. The queen takes it all in good part." This certainly was her best policy. In less than a fortnight after Henry had dissolved his marriage with Anne of Cleves, he sent Cromwell to the block, and consigned Dr. Barnes to the flames in Smithfield.⁴ The divorced queen had reason to congratulate herself that she had escaped with life, when

¹ State Papers, vol. i. p. 643.
² *Ibid.*

³ State Papers, vol. i.
⁴ Burnet, vol. i. p. 166.

she saw what was the doom of the two principal agents in her late marriage.

There are in Rymer's *Fœdera* two patents subsequent to the divorce, which relate to this lady. The former, dated 9th January, 1541, is a grant of naturalization in the usual form; in the other, she is described as Anna of Cleve, &c., who had come into England on a treaty of marriage, which was dissolved by mutual consent, and she being content to abide in this realm, and to yield to its laws, and to discharge her conscience of that pretended marriage, the king, of his especial favour, granted to her certain manors and estates in divers counties, lately forfeited by the attainder of the earl of Essex¹ and Sir Nicholas Carew. These estates were granted to her on condition that she should not pass beyond the sea during her life. Anne of Cleves possessed the manor of Denham-hall, Essex, as part of her jointure or appanage, as appears from the court-roll. The steward, not venturing to style her "queen" after the divorce, and not knowing what to call her, discreetly leaves a blank before Anne.

The following is an extract from a contemporary record² of the deeds of Henry VIII. during the few months of his marital union with his fourth consort, set down in brief business-like order, like entries in a tradesman's day-book, without one word either in excuse or censure—facts that require no adjectives of indignant reprobation to excite the horror of every right-minded person against the sanguinary tyrant:—

"The iii^{de} day of *Jenyver*, Saturday, did the king and all the nobles of the realm, and the mayor and all the aldermen in their best array, and every craft in their best array, *went* [go] down in their barges to Greenwich, and every barge as goodly drest as they could devise, with streamers and banners. And there the king did receive and meet my lady Ann, the *deukes* doughter off Kleve, and made her queene of Inglande.

"The xxviiij day of July, Wednesday, was beheaded, at Tower-hill, him that afore had been master of the Rolls; and after that, the king's secretary; and after that, vicar-general, knight of the Garter, earl of Essex, and lord chamberlain of Ireland. And my lord Hungerford was beheaded there that same time too.

"The xxx day of July, Friday, was there drawn from the Tower to Smithfield vi doctors: iij of them was burned, and the *tother* three was hanged and quartered. They that were burned were doctor Barnes, doctor Garet, parson of Honey-lane; doctor Jerom, vicar of Stepney; and their names that was quartered, doctor Powelle, doctor Abelle, and doctor Fethurstone. And the heads of my lord Cromwell and my lord

¹ Cromwell, whose spoils formed the principal fund for the maintenance of this princess.

² A Brief Diary, temp. Henry VII. and

Henry VIII. MS. Vespasian, A xxv. Printed by J. O. Halliwell, esq., in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, No. viii. c. 30.

Hungerford were set up on London-bridge, and their bodies buried in the Tower."

During the six months that Anne of Cleves was Henry's queen, some very important changes were effected, especially the dissolution of the monasteries, and the institution of the six bloody articles. As far as her little power went, she was at this time a friend to the Reformation, yet soon after a convert to the church of Rome. Owen Oglethorpe owed his promotion as a bishop to her favour. Anne was so fond of her step-daughter, the princess Elizabeth, that the only favour she asked of Henry after the dissolution of their marriage was, that she might sometimes be permitted to see her; a request which Henry was graciously pleased to grant, on condition that she should not be addressed by his daughter and her attendants by the style and title of queen, but simply as the lady Anne of Cleves.¹

After the divorce, Anne continued to reside at her palace at Richmond, and on the 6th of August Henry *honoured* her with a visit. She received him with a pleasant countenance, which put him into such high good humour that he supped with her merrily, and demeaned himself so lovingly, and with such singular graciousness, that some of the bystanders fancied he was going to take her for his queen again.² There is little doubt, however, that he was already married to her more attractive rival, Katharine Howard, whom two days afterwards he publicly introduced to his court as his queen. Perhaps he considered it prudent to pay a previous visit to Anne, to ascertain whether any objection would be raised on her part to his investing another with her lawful title. Anne wisely treated the affair with indifference. The duke of Cleves wept with bitter mortification when he received the account of his sister's wrongs, and found himself precluded from testifying the indignation they inspired: Anne, on the contrary, manifested the most lively satisfaction at having regained her freedom. The yoke of which Henry complained had, certainly, been no silken bond to her; and no sooner was she fairly released from it, than she exhibited a degree of vivacity she had never shown during her matrimonial probation. Marillac says, "This is marvellous prudence on her part, though some consider it stupidity." That which seemed to make the greatest impression on our diplomatic gossip was, that she every day put on a rich new dress, "each more wonderful than the last," which made two things very apparent; first, that she did not take the loss of Henry very much to heart; and secondly, that her bridal outfit was of a very magnificent description. Had as Henry's conduct was to his rejected consort, one of the kings of France behaved still more dishonourably under similar circumstances, for he not only sent his affianced bride back with contempt, but detained her costly wardrobe and jewels for the use of a lady who had found

¹ Leti, Vita di Elisabetta.

² Despatches of Marillac; Bibliothèque du Roi.

more favour in his sight. Marillac tells his sovereign, September 3, 1540, "Madame of Cleves has a more joyous countenance than ever. She wears a great variety of dresses, and passes all her time in sports and recreations." From his excellency's next report, of the 17th of the same month, we gather that the divorced queen was said to be in a situation which would, if it had really been the case, have placed the king in a peculiar state of embarrassment between his passion for his new bride, Katharine Howard, and his frantic desire of increasing his family. Anne passed her time very comfortably, meanwhile, at her Richmond-palace, or among the more sequestered bowers of Ham; and, in the exercise of all the gentle charities of life, pursued the even tenor of her way. "Of the repudiated queen," observes Marillac, in his despatch, November 1, "no more is said than if she were dead." The duke of Cleves manifested a lofty spirit of independence, and could never be induced to admit the invalidity of his sister's marriage. The bishop of Bath, who had been sent over to reconcile him, if possible, to the arrangement into which Anne had entered, could get no further declaration from him than the sarcastic observation, that "He was glad his sister had fared no worse."¹

In the first steps of the divorce an option was given to Anne as to her residence, either in England or abroad, yet the liberty of choice was illusory; the divorce-jointure of 3,000*l.* per annum was made up of many detached grants of crown lands, among which the confiscated possessions of Cromwell stand conspicuous, but to all these grants the condition of her residence in England was attached. A prudent regard to her pecuniary interests, in all probability, withheld this much-injured princess from returning to her father-land and the fond arms of that mother who had reluctantly resigned her to a royal husband so little worthy of possessing a wife of "lowly and gentle conditions." Meekly as Anne demeaned herself in her retirement, a jealous watch was kept, not only on her proceedings, but the correspondence of herself and household, by king Henry's ministers, as we find by the following entry in the privy-council book of the 22nd July, 1541:—"William Sheffield, lately one of the retinue at Calais, was apprehended for having said he had letters from the lady Anne of Cleves to the duke of Norfolk, and was brought before the council and searched; when it was found that his letters were only from one Edward Bynings of Calais to Mrs. Howard, the old duchess of Norfolk's woman, to Mrs. Katharine Basset and Mrs. Sympton, the lady Anne of Cleves' women, which were but letters of friendship from private individuals; yet he was committed for further examination."² The investigation came to nothing. The good sense and amiable temper of Anne preserved her from involving herself in any o

¹ Lord Hertford's Henry VIII., vol. ii. fol. 224.

² Sir Harris Nicolas' Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii

the political intrigues of the times ; and she with truly queenly dignity avoided all appearance of claiming the sympathy of any class of Henry's subjects. But though she avoided the snares of party, she was not so much forgotten by the people of England as the French ambassador imagined. The friends of the Reformation regarded her as the king's lawful wife, and vainly hoped the time would come when, cloyed with the charms of the youthful rival for whom he had discarded her, he would fling his idol from him, as he had done the once-adored Anne Boleyn, and reinstate the injured Fleming in her rights.

Within sixteen months after Anne of Cleves had been compelled to resign the crown-matrimonial of England, the fall of her fair successor took place. When the news reached Anne's quiet little court at Richmond of the events which had filled the royal bowers of Hampton with confusion, and precipitated queen Katharine from a throne to a prison, the excitement among the ladies of Anne's household could not be restrained. The domestic troubles of the king were regarded by them as an immediate visitation of retributive justice for the unfounded aspersions he had cast upon their virtuous mistress ; the feelings of some of these ladies carried them so far beyond the bounds of prudence, that two of them, Jane Ratsey and Elizabeth Basset, were summoned before the council, and committed to prison, for having said, "What ! is God working his own work to make the lady Anne of Cleve queen again ?" Jane Ratsey added many praises of the lady Anne, with disqualifying remarks on queen Katharine, and said, "It was impossible that so sweet a queen as the lady Anne could be utterly put down ;" to which Elizabeth Basset rejoined, "What a man the king is ! How many wives *will* he have ?" The ladies were very sternly questioned by the council as to their motives in presuming to utter such audacious comments on the matrimonial affairs of the sovereign ; on which Elizabeth Basset, being greatly alarmed, endeavoured to excuse herself by saying she was so greatly astounded at the tidings of queen Katharine's naughty behaviour, that she must have lost her senses when she permitted herself to give utterance to the treasonable words, "What a man the king is ! How many more wives will he have ?"¹

Two days after, a more serious matter connected with Anne was brought before the council, for it was confidently reported that she had been brought to bed of a "faire boye," of which the king was the father, but that she had neither apprized him nor his cabinet of the fact.² This rumour threw both Henry and his council into great perplexity, especially as the capricious monarch had honoured his discarded consort with several private visits at her palace of Richmond ; and she had actually passed some days at the royal residence of Hampton-court as the guest of Henry and his young queen, which seemed to give a colour to the

¹ MSS. 33rd Henry VIII., State-Paper office.

² *Ibid.*

tale. Henry expressed himself as highly displeased with the ladies and officers of state at Richmond, for not having apprized him of the supposed situation of the ex-queen. The affair came to nothing, and proved to be an unfounded scandal, which originated in some impertinent busybody's comment on an illness that confined poor Anne to her bed at this momentous period. The scandal was traced by the council from one inveterate gossip to another, through no less than six persons, as we learn from the following minute of their proceedings, forming a curious interlude in the examinations touching Henry's other queen, Katharine Howard :—" We examined also, partly before dinner, and partly after, a new matter, being a report that the lady Anne of Cleves should be delivered of a fair boy ; and whose should it be but the king's majesty's ! which is a most abominable slander. This matter was told to Taverner, of the signet, more than a fortnight ago, both by his mother-in-law (Lambert's wife, the goldsmith), and by Taverner's own wife, who saith she heard it of Lilgrave's wife ; and Lambert's wife heard it also of the old lady Carew. Taverner kept it [concealed it], but they [the women] with others have made it common matter of talk. Taverner never revealed it till Sunday night, at which time he told it to Dr. Cox,¹ to be further declared if he thought good, who immediately disclosed it to me the lord privy-seal. We have committed Taverner to the custody of *me* the bishop of Winchester ; likewise Lambert's wife (who seemeth to have been a dunce in it) to Mr. the chancellor of the Augmentations."² Absurd as the report was, it made a wonderful impression on the mind of the king, who occupied a ludicrous position in the eyes of Europe as the husband of two living wives, who were both the subjects of a delicate investigation at the same moment. The attention of the privy council was distracted between the evidences on the respective charges against the rival queens for nearly a fortnight—a fact that has never been named in history.

How obstinate Henry's suspicions of his ill-treated Flemish consort were, may be seen by the following order to his council :—" His majesty thinketh it requisite to have it *groundly* [thoroughly] examined, and further ordered by your discretions, as the manner of the case requireth, to inquire diligently, whether the said Anne of Cleves hath indeed had any child or no, as it is bruited ; for his *majesty hath been informed that it is* so indeed, in which part his majesty imputeth a great default in her officers for not advising his highness thereof, if it be true."³ Dorothy Wingfield, one of the lady Anne's bedchamber women, and the officers of her household, were subjected to a strict examination before the council, and it was not till the 30th of December that they came to a decision that Frances Lilgrave,⁴ widow, having slandered the lady Anne

¹ Prince Edward's tutor.² Printed State Papers, vol. i. pp. 697, 698.³ *Ibid.* 701.⁴ The Lilgraves were the court embroiderers.

of Cleves and touched also the king's person, she affirming to have heard the report of others whom she refused to name, should be for her punishment committed to the Tower, and Richard Taverner, clerk of the signet, also, for concealing the same."¹

No sooner was Anne cleared of this imputation, than a great effort was made by her brother, and the Protestant party, to effect a reunion between her and the king. The duke of Cleves evidently imagined, that the disgrace of the new queen was neither more nor less than the first move of the king and his ministers towards a reconciliation with Anne. The duke's ambassadors opened the business to the earl of Southampton, to whom Osliger also wrote a pressing letter, urging the expediency of such a measure.² Southampton communicated the particulars to the king of his interview with the ambassadors on the subject, and enclosed Osliger's letter, but was certainly too well aware of Henry's opinion of the lady to venture to second the representations of the court of Cleves. The next attempt was made by the ambassadors on Cranmer, which is thus related by him in a letter to the king:—

"It may please your majesty to be advertised, that yesterday the ambassador of Cleve came to my house at Lambeth, and delivered to me letters from Osliger, vice-chancellor to the duke of Cleve, the purport whereof is nothing else but to commend to me the cause of the lady Anne of Cleve. After some demur, the ambassador came to the point, and plainly asked me to effect the reconciliation. Whereunto I answered, 'that I thought it not a little strange that Osliger should think it meet for me to move a reconciliation of that matrimony, of the which I, as much as any other person, knew most just causes of divorce. Now what shall be your majesty's pleasure that I shall do? whether to make a general answer to Osliger by writing, or that I shall make a certain answer in this point to the ambassador by mouth.'"

Cranmer, warned by the fate of Cromwell, ventured not to urge the king to put his head a second time into the yoke with his discarded consort, and the negotiation came to nothing. Perhaps Anne herself was unwilling to risk her life, by again entering into the perilous thralldom from which she had been once released. The tragic fate of her fair young rival must have taught her to rejoice that she had saved her own head by resigning a crown without a struggle.

In June, 1543, Anne received a friendly visit from her step-daughter, the princess Mary, who staid with her some days, and on her departure gave very liberal largesses to the officers of the household, from the gentlemen ushers down to the servants of the scullery department.⁴ In the August of the same year Anne's mother, the widowed duchess of Cleves, died. Early in the following year Anne sent the princess Mary a present of Spanish sewing or embroidery silk.⁵ No event of any importance occurred to break the peaceful tenor of Anne's life till the death of Henry VIII. In the first letter of Edward Seymour (afterwards the duke of Somerset) to the council of regency, he gives the following direc-

¹ Register of the Privy-Council office, p. 238.

² State Papers, MSS. 294.

³ State Papers, 716. 717. ⁴ Sir F. Madden's *Privy-purse Expenses*; *Princess Mary*. ⁵ *Ibid*.

tions: ¹—“If ye have not already advertised my lady Anne of Cleves of king Henry’s death, it shall be well done if ye send some express person for the same.” This event left the ill-treated princess at full liberty, had she wished, to marry, or to return to her own country. But of marriage Anne had had an evil specimen, and she retained her independence by remaining in single blessedness.

Anne visited the court of her royal step-son Edward VI., June 26, 1550. Her affairs had got into some disorder at that period, so that she found herself under the necessity of applying to her brother the duke of Cleves for his assistance. That prince represented her distress to the English government, and with some difficulty obtained for her the munificent grant of four hundred pounds towards paying her debts. The pensions of such of her servants as were paid by the crown being in arrear, she petitioned the king for them to be liquidated; but the official reply coolly stated, “that the king’s highness being on his progress, could not be troubled at that time about payments.” Anne had acquired the English language and English habits, and had formed an intimate friendship with Henry’s daughters, to whom she appears to have behaved with great tenderness. England had therefore become her country, and it was natural that she should prefer a residence where she was honoured and loved by all to whom her excellent qualities were known to returning to her native land, after the public affronts that had been put upon her by the coarse-minded monarch to whom she had been sacrificed by her family. Besides these cogent reasons, her property in England required her personal care, as it was subjected to some mutations by the new government, of which the records of the times afford proofs.² Among others, the following letter from Anne to her former step-daughter:—

“ANNE OF CLEVES TO PRINCESS MARY.

“MADAM,

“After my most hearty commendations to your grace, being very desirous to hear of your prosperous health, wherein I very much rejoice, it may please you to be advertised that it hath pleased the king’s majesty to have in exchange my manor and lands of Bisham, in the county of Berkshire, granting me in recompense the house of Westropp [Westhorpe], in Suffolk, with the two parks and certain manors thereunto adjoining; notwithstanding, if it had been his highness’ pleasure, I was well contented to have continued without exchange. After which grant, for mine own assurance in that behalf I have travailed, to my great cost and charge, almost this twelve months; it hath passed the king’s majesty’s bill, signed, and the privy-seal, being now, as I am informed, stayed at the great seal, for that you, madam, be minded to have the same, not knowing, as I suppose, of the said grant. I have also received at this Michaelmas last past, part of the rent of the aforesaid manors. Considering the premises, and for the amity which hath always been between us (of which I most heartily desire the continuance), that it may please you therefore to ascertain me by your letters or otherwise, as it shall stand with your pleasure. And thus, good madam, I commit you unto the

¹ Tytler’s *Edward and Mary*, vol. i. p. 18.

² Hearne’s *Sylloge*; likewise a letter from Edward VI.’s council, 1547, signifies that the lady Anne of Cleves shall have the use of the house, deer, and woods of Penshurst, as she

now has those of Bletchingley. The eagerness of the council in setting forth the superior advantages of Penshurst to her present residence, leads to the inference that the exchange was not voluntary on her part.

everliving God, to have you in merciful keeping. From my house of Bletchingley the viii day of January, anno M.VcLIII.

"Your assured loving friend to her little power to command,
"ANNA, the daughter of Cleves."

Anne retained property at Bletchingley after this exchange, in proof whereof is her receipt, early in the reign of queen Mary, to Sir Thomas Carden, who was master of the revels at the courts of Henry VIII., his son, and daughter. This document, signed by her own hand, is among the Losely MSS.¹ dated the last day of December, first year of Philip and Mary (1553):—

"Received of Sir Thomas Carden, knight, the day and year above written, for one quarter of a year's rent due unto us by the same Sir Thomas Carden at this feast of Christmas, according to an indenture bearing date the second day of October in the year aforesaid, the sum of *xl. ljs. 9d.*, in full contentation, satisfaction, and payment of our rents at Bletchingley, and our lands there, and in clear discharge of the same rents to this present day before dated. We have to these letters, being our acquittance, subscribed our name for his discharge.

"ANNA, the daughter of Cleves."

The last public appearance of Anne of Cleves was at the coronation of queen Mary, where she had her place in the regal procession, and rode in the same carriage with the princess Elizabeth, with whom she was always on the most affectionate terms. The precedence which Henry VIII. ensured to her she always enjoyed, nor did any of the ladies of the royal family attempt to dispute it with her. But her happiness appears to have been in the retirement of domestic life. Two of her brothers, William duke of Cleves, and his successor John William, were subject to mental malady, and died insane; but nothing appears to have ever ruffled the tranquil temperament of this amiable princess, who in the most difficult and trying situations conducted herself with great prudence.

After the celebration of queen Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain, at Winchester, Anne of Cleves addressed to the royal bride a congratulatory epistle, in which, being evidently perplexed by the undefined dignity of queen-regent, she rings the changes on the titles of "majesty," "highness," and "grace," in a singular manner:—

"TO THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY,

"After my humble commendations unto *your majesty*, with thanks for your loving favour showed to me in my last suit, and praying of *your highness* your loving continuance, it may please *your highness* to understand that I am informed of *your grace's* return to London again; and being desirous to do my duty to see *your majesty* and the king, if it may so stand with *your highness's* pleasure, and that I may know when and where I shall wait on *your majesty* and *his*. Wishing you both much joy and felicity, with increase of children to God's glory, and to the preservation of your prosperous estates, long to continue with honour in all godly virtue. From my poor house at Hever, the 4th of August.

"Your highness' to command,

"ANNA, the daughter of Cleves.

Endorsed, "The Lady Anne of Cleves to the Queen's majesty, August 4, 1554."

Anne of Cleves spent much of her time at a residence she had at Dartford, being one of the suppressed abbeys which Henry VIII. had turned

¹ Losely MSS., edited by . . Kempe, esq., p. 10.

into a hunting seat; Edward VI. had given it into the bargain, when the exchange was made between Bletchingley and Penshurst. She was abiding at Dartford the year before her death, when Sir Thomas Carden, her tenant at Bletchingley, who appears to have been likewise her man of business on all occasions, came to her at Dartford, and she begged him to get certain stores laid in at the Blackfriars for her residence against she came to London; which request was made before the officers of her household, "for her grace lacked money to buy the needful furniture, and she promised payment to Sir Thomas if he would make the purchases for her." But the amount was left unpaid at her death, and it appears, from Sir Thomas Carden's account, she was without money at the time she requested him to make the purchases. Of his outlay the Losley MSS. furnish items. Her cellar he furnishes with three hogsheads of Gascoigne wine, at 3*l.* each; ten gallons of Malmsey, at 20*d.* per gallon; eleven gallons of muscadel, at 2*s.* 2*d.* per gallon; and sack, ten gallons, at 16*d.* per gallon. Three muttons at 7*s.* each; twenty capons, and a dozen lower price, cost 6*s.*: two dozen rabbits cost 3*s.* In the pastry department was laid in one bushel of fine wheat-flour, at the great price of 6*s.* per bushel.¹ Thirty loads of coals were laid in, at 16*s.* the load; a vast many faggots and billets, and three dozen rushes for strewing the floors, at 20*d.* the dozen. In the chandry, Sir Thomas Carden had provided thirty-five pounds of wax-lights, sixer and fours to the pound, and prickets, which last were stuck on a spike to be burnt; these wax candles were 1*s.* per pound. Staff-torches were provided at 1*s.* 4*d.* a piece, and white lights eighteen dozen, over and above sundry fair pots of pewter by the said Sir Thomas bought and provided to serve in the buttery for the lady Anne's household. Likewise two dozen of fair new pewter candlesticks, delivered for her grace's chambers. The whole account finishes with a remark that he had provided sundry kinds of fresh fish, as carps, pikes and tenches, at the request of her grace, which were privately dressed in her grace's laundry for the *trial of cookery*, by which it has been surmised that Anne made private experiments in the noble culinary art.

Anne possessed the placid domestic virtues which seem in a manner indigenous to German princesses. "She was," says Holinshed, who lived in her century, "a lady of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good housekeeper, and very bountiful to her servants." She spent her time at the head of her own little court, which was a happy household within itself, and we may presume well governed, for we hear neither of plots nor quarrels, tale-bearings nor mischievous intrigues, as rife in her home circle. She was tenderly beloved by her domestics, and well attended by them in her last sickness. She died at the age of forty-one, of some declining illness, which she took calmly and patiently.

¹ This was a *year of famine*.

Her will is a very *naïve* production, showing the most minute attention to all things that could benefit her own little domestic world. It was made but two days before her death, being dated July 12 and 15, 1557. She expresses great anxiety for the payments of all her debts, and for the maintenance of her servants, to each of whom she bequeaths a full year's wages, and sufficient black cloth at 13s. 4d. per yard, to make them black gowns and hoods; she bequeaths to her three maids of honour sums of money towards their marriage; to her laundress, Elizabeth Eliot, 10*l.* To the nurse of her sick room, "mother Lovell, for her care and attendance upon us in the time of our sickness, 10*l.* We give to the duke of Cleves our brother a ring of gold with a fair diamond; to our sister the duchess of Cleves, his wife, a ring with a great rock ruby, the ring enamelled black; to our sister the lady Emily a ring of gold, having thereon a fair pointed diamond; also diamond rings to the duchess of Suffolk¹ and the countess of Arundel." She leaves to her chaplains, Sir Otho Rampello and Sir Denis Thomas, to pray for her, each 5*l.* and a black gown; "and to our poor servant," continues the royal testatrix, "James Powell, 10*l.*, and Elya Turpin, our old laundress, to pray for us, 4*l.*" Anne had eight of her own countrymen in her household at the time of her death; she benevolently leaves them 10*l.* a piece, to defray the cost of their journey home. "And" pursues she, "our most dearest and entirely beloved sovereign lady," queen Mary, "we earnestly desire to be our overseer of our said last will, with most humble request to see the same performed as shall to her highness seem best for the health of our soul. And in token of the special trust and affiance which we have in her grace, we do give and bequeath to her most excellent majesty for a remembrance, our best jewel, beseeching her highness that our poor servants may enjoy such small gifts and grants as we have made unto them in consideration of their long service done unto us, being appointed to wait on us at the first erection of our household by her majesty's late father, of most famous memory, king Henry VIII., for that his said majesty said then unto us, 'That he would account our servants his own, and their service done to us as if done to himself;' therefore we beseech the queen's majesty so to accept them in this time of their extreme need. Moreover, we give and bequeath to the lady Elizabeth's grace [afterwards queen Elizabeth] my second best jewel, with our hearty request to accept and take into her service one of our poor maids, named Dorothy Curzon. And we do likewise give and bequeath unto every one of our executors before-named, towards their pains, viz.: to the lord chancellor's grace, a fair bowl of gold with a cover; to the earl of Arundel, a maudlin standing-cup of gold with a cover; to Sir Edmund Peckham, a jug of gold with a cover, or else a crystal glass garnished with gold and set with stones; to Sir Richard Preston, our

¹ The heiress of Willoughby, fourth wife and widow to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

best gilt bowl with a cover, or else that piece of gold plate which Sir Edmund leaveth (if it be his pleasure), most heartily beseeching them to pray for us, and to see our body buried according to the queen's will and pleasure; and that we may have the suffrages of holy church according to the Catholic faith, wherein we end our life in this transitory world." Two days after the dictation of this will, the repudiated queen of England expired peacefully at the palace of Chelsea, July 16, 1557. Her beneficent spirit was wholly occupied in deeds of mercy, caring for the happiness of her maidens and alms-children, and forgetting not any faithful servant however lowly in degree. She was on amicable terms both with Mary and Elizabeth, and left both tokens of her kindness. Although she was a Lutheran when she came to this country, it is very evident from her will that she died a Roman catholic.

Queen Mary appointed her place of burial in Westminster-abbey, where her funeral was performed with some magnificence. A hearse was prepared at Westminster, "with seven grand palls as goodly a hearse as ever seen."—"The 3rd of August my lady Anne of Cleves (some time wife of Henry VIII.) came from Chelsea to burial unto Westminster, with all the children of Westminster (of the choir), with many priests and clerks, and the *gray amice* of St. Paul's, and three crosses, and the monks of Westminster. My lord bishop of London [Bonner] and my lord abbot of Westminster [Feckenham] rode together next the monks. Then rode the two executors, Sir Edmund Peckham and Sir Richard Preston; and then my lord admiral and my lord Darcy, followed by many knights and gentlemen. After her banner of arms came her gentlemen of the household and her head officers, and the bier-chariot, with eight banners of arms and four banners of white taffeta, wrought with fine gold. Thus they passed St. James and on to Charing-cross, where were met a hundred torches, her servants bearing them; and the twelve bedesmen of Westminster had new black gowns, and they had twelve burning torches and four white branches; then her ladies and gentlewomen, all in black, on their horses, and about the hearse sat eight heralds bearing white banners of arms." These white ensigns were to signify that Anne of Cleves had lived a maiden life. "At the abbey-door all did alight, and the bishop of London and my lord abbot, in their mitres and copes, received the good lady, censing her; and their men did bear her under a canopy of black velvet with four black staves, and so brought her under the hearse, and there tarried dirge, and all the night with lights burning. The next day requiem was sung for my lady Anne daughter of Cleves, and then my lord of Westminster [abbot Feckenham] preached as goodly a sermon as ever was made, and the bishop of London sang mass in his mitre. And after mass, the lord bishop and lord abbot did cense the corpse; and

afterwards she was carried to her tomb, where she lies with a hearse and cloth of gold over her. Then all her head officers brake their staves, and all her ushers brake their rods, and cast them into her tomb, and all the gentlemen and ladies offered at mass. My lady of Winchester was chief mourner, and my lord admiral and lord Darcy went on each side of her : and thus they went in order to a great dinner, given by my lord of Winchester to all the mourners.”¹

Anne of Cleves is buried near the high altar of Westminster-abbey, in a place of great honour, at the feet of king Sebert, the original founder.² Her tomb is seldom recognised—in fact, it looks like a long bench placed against the wall, on the right hand as the examiner stands facing the altar, near the oil portraits of Henry III. and king Sebert. On closer inspection, her initials A and C, interwoven in a monogram, will be observed on parts of the structure, which is rather a memorial than a monument, for it was never finished. “Not one of Henry’s wives, excepting Anne of Cleves, had a monument,” observes Fuller, “and hers was but half a one.” The hearse of the queen was stripped by some thieves of all its ornaments of gold cloth, velvet, and banners : it had, in consequence, to be taken down within a fortnight of its erection.”³

It is evident that reports were spread throughout the courts of Germany that the residence of Anne of Cleves in England was a detention full of cruelty and restraint. These ideas gave credence to an impostor, who presented herself in a state of distress at the palace of John Frederic II., prince of Coburg, and pretended to be the princess of Cleves, repudiated by Henry VIII. She was a long time entertained by the hospitable prince as his kinswoman, but was finally proved to be a maniac, and died in confinement.⁴

¹ Cotton. MS., Vitellius, f. 7. Sir F. Madden has carefully restored this quaint record of her burial from a half-burned fragment.

² Stowe, vol. ii. p. 603.

³ Machyn’s Diary, p. 148 : Camden Society.

⁴ Feyjoo’s Praise of Women.

KATHARINE HOWARD,

FIFTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

THE career of Katharine Howard affords a grand moral lesson, a lessor better calculated to illustrate the fatal consequences of the first heedless steps in guilt, than all the warning essays that have ever been written on those subjects. No female writer can venture to become the apologist of this unhappy queen, yet charity may be permitted to whisper, ere the dark page of her few and evil days is unrolled,

“ Full gently scan thy brother man,
Still gentler sister woman.”

Katharine Howard, while yet a child in age, being deprived of a mother's watchful care, and surrounded by unprincipled persons of maturer years, made shipwreck of all her hopes on earth ere she knew the guilt—the madness into which she was betrayed. Let no one who has been more fortunately circumstanced boast. John Bradford, one of the most illustrious of our Protestant martyrs, who afforded in his own practice a perfect exemplification of Christian holiness, when he beheld a criminal handcuffed and carried ignominiously to execution, exclaimed, “ But for the grace of God, there goes John Bradford ! ”

Katharine Howard was the cousin-german of a previous victim of Henry VIII.'s stormy love and murderous caprice, the beautiful and ill-fated Anne Boleyn ; she was his fifth wife, and the third private gentlewoman whom he elevated to the perilous dignity of his queen. Although she was his subject, her lineage was, in some respects, not inferior to his own. Through her royal ancestress, queen Adelicia, Katharine Howard was the descendant of the imperial race of Charlemagne.

Margaret of Brotherton, the grand-daughter of Edward I., and Marguerite of France, transmitted the mingled blood of the Plantagenets and the kings of France to her descendants, by Thomas Mowbray, the heir of the Albinis and the Warrens, and thus united in a blended

line, the posterity of Henry I. and his two queens, "Matilda the Good and Adelicia the Fair." Margaret of Brotherton was created duchess of Norfolk, and claimed her father Thomas Plantagenet's office of earl-marshal. Her claims were allowed, and she was called the *mareschale*; but her son, Thomas Mowbray, was invested by her with the marshal's rod, and acted as her deputy. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the famous Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, and their daughter Margaret conveyed the honours and demesnes of all these noble houses to her son by Sir Robert Howard; namely, John, the first duke of Norfolk of the name of Howard. He was slain at Bosworth, and his dukedom was confiscated by Henry VII. Thomas, his eldest son, was the victorious Surrey of Flodden-field.¹ At that memorable battle, where the national glory of England was so signally advanced by the valour and military skill of Katharine's family, her father, lord Edmund, Surrey's ninth son, was the marshal of the English host, under the command of his renowned father. He led the right wing, and sustained unshrinkingly the fiery onslaught of Huntley and Home, though the Cheshire men fled; leaving, as the ancient record certifies, "the said master Edmund in a manner alone, without succour, by his banner, which he gallantly defended," verifying the chivalric aphorism which Scott, in after years, attached to the cognizance of his house—

"For who, in field or foray slack,
Saw the blanche lion e'er give back?"

The standard-bearer, indeed, was slain and hewn to pieces, and the stainless banner of Howard fell with him, yet not before the dauntless *lionceau* of the house, who had so well maintained it, was himself thrice beaten down to the ground; but, "like a courageous and a hardy young gentleman," pursues our document, "he recovered again, and fought hand to hand with Sir David Home, and slew him with his own hands. And thus the said master Edmund was in great peril, till the lord Dacre, like a good knight and true, came to his succour and relieved him." After the battle, young Edmund received the well-earned honour of knighthood from the sword of his victorious father. The forfeited dukedom of Norfolk was restored to the gallant Surrey, as a reward for the good services he and his brave sons had performed for their king and country that day.

Katharine Howard was the fifth child and second daughter of lord Edmund Howard, by Joyce, or Jocosa, daughter of Sir Richard Culpepper, of Holingbourne, in Kent, widow of Sir John Leigh, knight."

¹ Howard, Memorials, by Henry Howard, esq., of Corby.

² Sir Thomas Howard, her eldest brother, was killed in the French wars; Henry, the second, died young; Sir George Howard, the third, left no posterity. Margaret, her eldest sister married Sir Thomas Arundel, and

is the ancestor in the female line of the Arundels of Wardour; Mary married Edmund Trafford, of Trafford, in Lancashire; Joyce became the wife of John Stanney, a simple esquire; and Isabel, of another esquire of the Baynton family.—Howard Memorials.

Lord Edmund Howard is enumerated among the noble bachelors who attended Mary Tudor to France in 1515, and supposing he married soon after, the earliest date that can be given for Katharine's birth is 1521 or 1522. She was, in all probability, born at Lambeth, which was one of the great Howard stations, where the head of the family, Thomas duke of Norfolk, kept his state when in attendance on the court. There, too, the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, his step-mother, and her family, resided in great splendour, and there Katharine's father, lord Edmund Howard, had a house.¹ That brave commander, who by his valour and military skill had so greatly contributed to the victory at Flodden-field, which preserved England from being overrun by an invading army, had reaped no other reward than glory for his brilliant services on that memorable day. He inherited only a younger son's portion from his illustrious father, and having married, not from motives of interest, but pure affection, a lady who brought him ten children, he and his numerous family had to struggle with the miseries of poverty, which his elevated birth and distinguished reputation rendered the more irksome. Nor was this all; lord Edmund was not only without money, and destitute of credit, but at last so deeply involved in difficulties from the steps taken by his creditors to recover the sums he had been constrained, under divers emergencies, to borrow at usurious interest, that he was compelled to conceal himself, under various disguises, for fear of arrest. His lady and children, among whom was a future queen of England, were of course exposed to the bitterest hardships and privations in consequence of this painful adversity. As these were the piping times of peace, lord Edmund's trusty sword lay rusting in its sheath, and his past services were lightly regarded. He was therefore desirous of turning his talents and energies into some more profitable channel, in the hope of winning bread for his starving family. Ships were at that time fitting out, by king Henry's order, for voyages of discovery in the new world, and the unrewarded hero of Flodden was desirous, as a last resource, of engaging in an expedition, which, however perilous (navigation being then in its infancy), offered to gentlemen of narrow fortunes but great souls, a prospect of acquiring wealth by daring enterprise. The following piteous letter, in which the father of Katharine Howard unfolds his pecuniary distresses to cardinal Wolsey, and solicits for employment in this service, affords touching evidence of the desperation of his circumstances, and can scarcely be read without emotion:—

“My duty remembered humbly, I beseech your grace to be my good lord, for without your gracious help I am utterly undone. Sir, so it is, that I am so far in danger of the king's laws by reason of debt I am in, that I dare not go abroad, nor come at mine own house, and am fain to

¹ Howard Memorials. Manning's Kent.

absent myself from my wife and my poor children, there is such writs of execution out against me; and also, such as be my sureties are daily arrested and put to great trouble, which is to my great shame and rebuke. Sir, there is no help but through your grace, and your good mediation to the king's grace, in the which it is my singular trust; and your gracious favour, shown unto me in the obtaining of this bill that I now do labour for shall not only be meritorious, but the safeguard of my life, and relief of my poor wife and our x children, and set me out of debt. And I humbly beseech your grace, for such *poor service* as I have done the king's grace, and trust for to do, that I be not cast away."

Gallant spirit! how modestly he alludes to deeds which turned the fortunes of the day at Flodden, when, almost single-handed, he sustained the fiery charge of Huntley and of Home, and slew the latter in knightly duel, hand to hand, as before recorded to his honour. What English reader's heart does not burn within him at the melancholy fact, that such a man should have been compelled to skulk in holes and corners for fear of encountering duns and bailiffs, and also to make humble suit for the means of earning a livelihood! He does not sue for court places or pensions, but for employment, and that from loyal and patriotic motives, withal, for he says:—

"And if the king's grace, or your grace, should command me to do any service, I would trust to do acceptable service; and liefer I had to be in his grace's service at the furthest end of Christendom, than to live thus wretchedly, and die with thought, sorrow, and care. I may repent that ever I was nobleman's son born, leading the sorrowful life that I live. If I were a poor man's son, I might dig and delve for my living, and my children and wife's, for whom I take more thought than for myself: and so may I not now, but to get reproach and shame to me and all my blood. Sir, I am informed there shall be a voyage made into a new-found land with divers ships, and captains and soldiers in them, and I am informed the voyage shall be profitable to the king's grace. Sir, if your grace think my poor carcass anything meet to serve the king's grace in the said voyage, for the bitter passion of Christ be you my good lord therein; for now I do live as wretched a life as ever did gentleman being a true man, and nothing have I to live on, or yet my wife or children meat or drink. And glad I would be to venture my life to do the king a service; and if I be put thereunto, I doubt not but I shall do such service as shall be acceptable, and do his grace honour. And, sir, I have nothing to lose but my life, and that would I gladly adventure in his service, and to get somewhat toward my living."

Lord Edmund Howard concludes this most touching appeal with an apology that he was unable to prefer his suit in person to the cardinal, because he durst not venture abroad for fear of arrest. The bill to which he alludes was probably a bill in chancery, for which he was

desirous of obtaining Wolsey's good offices; and if so, there is no cause for wonder at the pecuniary difficulties in which he was involved. That he subsequently obtained the honourable employment of comptroller of Calais and the surrounding marches, he probably owed to the powerful influence of his niece Anne Boleyn, when her star was in the ascendant; but, in the interim, severe privations were suffered by him and his children. As for his lady, she sank under the difficulties of her position, and died early in life, leaving several of her children helpless infants. Katharine, who had been principally reared in the nursery of her uncle, Sir John Culpepper, at Holingbourne, as the play-fellow of his little heir, Thomas Culpepper, with whom her name was afterwards to be so painfully connected in the page of history, was subsequently received into the family of her father's step-mother Agnes Tyluey, duchess-dowager of Norfolk.¹

Lord Edmund Howard married a second wife² in a less elevated rank of society, and was probably very thankful for being relieved of the care and charge of his second daughter, which the old duchess Agnes took entirely upon herself, but without any intention of supplying, by acts of maternal tenderness and kindly beneficence, the place of the fond mother of whom the noble orphan had been thus early bereft. It was indeed an evil hour for the little Katharine when she left the paternal roof, and the society of the innocent companions of her infant joys and cares, to become a neglected dependant in the splendid mansion of a proud and heartless relative; and could her brave father have foreseen the consequences of this arrangement, it is easy to imagine how much rather he would have placed her on her bier, than have permitted the demoralizing associations to which she was exposed in her new home. Lord Edmund Howard's duties compelled his residence at Calais during the latter years of his short life, or it is possible that his parental vigilance might have been alarmed in time to preserve his child from ruin.³ The duchess of Norfolk was so perfectly unmindful of her duties to her orphan charge, that Katharine was not only allowed to associate with her waiting-women, but compelled at night to share the dormitory where they all slept.⁴ Unhappily they were persons of the most abandoned description, and seem to have taken a fiendish delight in perverting the principles and debasing the mind of the nobly-descended damsel who was thrown into the sphere of their polluting influence.

Katharine, unfortunately for herself, while yet a child in age, acquired the precocious charms of womanhood, and before she had even entered her teens, became the object of illicit passion to a low-born villain in the

¹ This lady was the third wife and widow of the valiant earl of Surrey, afterwards duke of Norfolk. She was cousin to his second wife, Elizabeth Tyney.

² Dorothy Troyes.

³ Lord Edmund Howard died March 19, 30th Henry VIII. (the year after the death of queen Jane Seymour), being then comptroller of Calais and its marches.

⁴ State Papers; Acts of Privy Council.

household of the duchess, named Henry Manox. He was a player on the virginals, probably Katharine's instructor on that instrument, and might take advantage of the opportunities too often afforded to persons in that capacity to establish himself on terms of unbecoming familiarity with his pupil. Katharine was residing in the family of the duchess at Horsham, in Norfolk, when this degrading intimacy commenced, which was fostered and encouraged by one of the duchess's women called mistress Isabel, who was her confidant, and carried the tokens that were exchanged between her and Manox. When mistress Isabel married, and left the household of the duchess of Norfolk, her place and office of confidant was supplied by a woman from the village of Horsham, of the name of Dorothy Barwike.¹ Soon after, the duchess of Norfolk removed with Katharine and her whole establishment to her house at Lambeth. Katharine's uncles, the duke of Norfolk and lord William Howard, had mansions also at Lambeth, which was at that time very much the resort of the nobles of Henry's court, and was considered as a very pleasant retreat, with its beautiful orchards and gardens sloping down to the banks of the Thames.

The removal of the duchess of Norfolk to Lambeth was, in all probability, for the purpose of attending the court of her grand-daughter Anne Boleyn, in whose favour she held a considerable place. The coronation of that queen and the christening of the princess Elizabeth both took place in the year 1533, when Katharine Howard, though certainly too young to have any part assigned to her in royal ceremonies of state, was old enough to mar all her own hopes in life, and to stain the hitherto unsullied honour of her house. It was while at Lambeth that she formed a fatal intimacy with a female of low birth, of the name of Mary Lassells, who was the nurse of her uncle lord William Howard's first child by the daughter of lady Russell. On the death of lady William Howard in 1533, Mary Lassells entered the service of the duchess of Norfolk, and was permitted to sleep in the dormitory which the young and lovely daughter of lord Edmund Howard shared with the female attendants of the duchess. Supposing Katharine Howard to have been born in 1521, the very earliest date that can be assigned for the birth of the *fifth* child of a man who was a bachelor in the close of the year 1515, then would she have been under thirteen at the period when Mary Lassells was added to the *ménage* of the duchess, a fact which makes the following circumstances most melancholy. Mary Lassells very soon began to discuss with Katharine's trusty confidant, Dorothy Barwike, the intrigue in which that unprincipled woman was lending her aid to involve the hapless child; she told Mary Lassells that "Manox was ensured (that is, contracted or troth-plight) to mistress Katharine Howard, with whom he was much in love." On this Mary

¹ State-Paper MS.

Lassells (whose indignation at the supposed passion of the musician for the young lady inspires a suspicion that she was actuated by jealousy) said to him with some warmth, "Man! what meanest thou, to play the fool of this fashion? Knowest thou not, that an' my lady of Norfolk know of the love between thee and mistress Howard she will undo thee? And besides this, she is come of a noble house; and if thou shouldst marry her, some of her blood will kill thee."¹ Manox replied, in the most profligate language to this remonstrance, that "his designs were of a dishonourable nature; and, from the liberties the young lady had allowed him, he doubted not of being able hereafter to effect his purpose." When Mary Lassells repeated this to Katharine, she was greatly offended with Manox, cried "fie upon him!" said "she cared not for him," and then, unable to control or defer the effusion of her indignation, she proceeded with Mary Lassells in quest of him to the house of lord Beaumont, where he was, and there passionately upbraided him with his baseness. Manox, by way of excuse, replied, "that his passion for her so transported him beyond the bounds of reason, that he wist not what he said."² Whether Katharine had the weakness to be satisfied with this apology is not stated, but she was once, and once only, seen with him afterwards, walking at the back of the duchess's orchard at Lambeth.

Such is the history of the first error of her who was hereafter to become the queen of England, and who was cousin-german to her who then wore the crown-matrimonial.³ But if the motherless, neglected child who was thus early beguiled from the straightforward path be deserving of blame, what shall be said of the conduct of Mary Lassells, who, being aware of the clandestine addresses of the base Manox, and having even heard him avow designs which the tender youth of the nobly-born maiden alone prevented him from effecting, so far from warning the duchess, or any of the members of the Howard family, of the peril of their youthful relative, actually accompanied her on a stolen expedition to the servants' hall of a neighbouring nobleman's house in quest of the profligate villain? What punishment would in these days be considered too severe for a nurse who could thus shamelessly betray the confidence of her employers? Surely the statements of such a person are little deserving of credit, couched as they are, too, in language which none but the most abandoned of human beings could have used; yet it is on the testimony of this woman that Katharine was eventually brought to the block. It is possible that Katharine's childish fancy for Manox originated in her musical propensities: the love of music, when indulged to excess, has not unfrequently involved older and better educated ladies than this neglected, wrong-headed girl in perilous acquaintances and association. Katharine's infatuation for the low-born musician was, however, of ephemeral date; soon after her arrival at Lambeth she was entangled in another clandestine courtship,

¹ State-Paper MS.² *Ibid.*, Henry VIII.³ Anne Boleyn.

with a lover of a very different stamp from Manox, but certainly little suited for a mate to a daughter of the ducal line of Howard.

Her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, retained in his service a band of gentlemen, whom he called his pensioners or household troop. They were, for the most part, persons of better birth than fortune, and many of them claimed some degree of affinity to their lord, whom they were ready to follow to the field, to back him in his quarrels with his neighbours, or even, if required, in defiance to the sovereign. They had free quarters, good pay, and little to do, on ordinary occasions, but to seek their own amusement. The gentlemen-pensioners of the duke of Norfolk and earl of Northumberland were the last vestige of feudal retainers, and were regarded as persons of more valour than morality.¹ One of these bold spirits, named Francis Derham, became deeply enamoured of Katharine Howard, and being allied to her in blood, and an especial favourite with the old duchess, he aspired to nothing less than winning her for his wife. He found the young lady only too easy of access, surrounded as she was by the unprincipled females who had previously encouraged her to listen to the addresses of Manox.

Katharine appears to have been kept without money by the duchess, and having the passion for finery natural to girls of her age, allowed Derham to supply her with all those little ornaments to her dress which she was unable to obtain for herself. On one occasion, when she was languishing to possess an artificial flower called a French fennel, which was universally worn by the ladies of Henry VIII.'s court, Derham told her, "He knew of a little woman in London with a crooked back, who was skilled in making all sorts of flowers of silk;" and Katharine requested him to employ this person to make a 'French fennel' for her, bidding him pay for it, and she would pay him again when she had the means. Derham complied with her wish, and when he had put her in possession of this coveted piece of finery, she dared not wear it till she had prevailed on lady Brereton to say she gave it to her.² Derham has been represented as a person in the lowest class of society: this is a mistake, for not only was he a relation of the ducal line of Howard, but evidently a gentleman of some property. Whenever the inconsiderate Katharine desired silks, satins, or even velvet, for her habiliments, she allowed him to procure them for her, under the vague promise of reimbursing him for his outlay at some future period. She was once indebted to this perilous creditor in a considerable sum.³

On the New-year's day they exchanged love-tokens. Derham gave Katharine a silk heart's-ease, and she gave him a band and sleeves for a shirt. These were, according to the fashion of the times, curiously wrought with the needle, probably by Katharine's own hand—such at any rate was the report; but when questioned on this subject after she was queen, she scornfully denied it, and said, "as far as she

¹ See the Household-books of Percy and Howard.

² State Paper MSS.

³ *Ibid.*

could remember, they were wrought by Ulifton's wife of Lambeth,' and affirmed on oath, "that she never gave him any other present."¹ Derham had also a bracelet of silken work which had been hers; "but that he took from her perforce," she said, "and kept in her despite." He also boasted himself of a little ruby ring, but that Katharine also foreswore "as none of hers."² It is a curious fact, that Derham transferred to her an old shirt, of fine Holland or cambric, belonging to the deceased lord Thomas Howard, which the duchess had given to him.³ The shirts worn by the gallants of Henry's court were very costly with point and fine needlework. It would have been a curious piece of costume if Katharine had explained for what purpose she coveted this garment, and how she had exercised her ingenuity in converting it into handkerchiefs, and other little accessories to her wardrobe.

It is too evident, from the fact of her accepting so many presents from Derham, that little attention was paid to her comforts, and that she occupied a doubtful station in the family, having neither consideration nor sympathy vouchsafed to her by those of her own rank and lineage. Her young heart thus chilled and embittered by the neglect and privations which she experienced on the one hand, and assailed by the passionate importunities of the most devoted of lovers on the other, Katharine forgot that she, in whose veins the blood of the Plantagenets and the Carlovigian monarchs mingled, was no mate for one of her uncle's gentlemen-at-arms, and consented to become the troth-plight or affianced wife of Francis Derham. In the days of Catholicism, such engagements were recognised by the church as binding; and if the existence of a pre-contract could be proved, it not only presented, while undissolved, an obstacle to the solemnization of matrimony between either of the parties with another person, but, if such matrimony had been contracted, rendered it illegal. History presents innumerable examples of marriages having been declared null and void where a previous promise had been violated by either of the parties. In Scotland, to this day, the acknowledgments that passed between Katharine Howard and Derham would constitute binding wedlock. Derham asked her permission to call her "wife," and entreated her to call him "husband," to which Katharine replied, "she was content that it should be so." One day, having kissed her before witnesses, who made some observation on the freedom of his behaviour, he turned about and asked, "Who should hinder him from kissing his own wife?" One of the bystanders then said, "I trow this matter will come to pass as the common saying is."—"What is that?" said Derham. "Marry!" replied the other, "that Mr. Derham shall have Mrs. Katharine Howard."—"By St. John!" said Derham, "you may guess twice, and guess worse."⁴

¹ Examinations of queen Katharine Howard. ² Ibid.

³ Burnet's Reformation, vol. iii.

⁴ Ibid.

The ballad lore of that age, which has always been supposed to give a lively picture of the manners of the times, is wonderfully deficient in morality; and often describes high-born ladies and lovers of low degree acting with lamentable disregard of propriety, if any impediments to their marriage were opposed by their friends. How corrupting such *chansons* were to the young and thoughtless may be imagined; and Katharine Howard had no anxious mother to watch over her, and inculcate principles of virtue and habits of feminine reserve. The only care the duchess of Norfolk appears to have taken for the preservation of her youthful grand-daughter's honour was, to have the doors of the chamber in which she and her waiting-women slept locked every night, and the keys brought to her; but this caution was defeated by the subtlety of one or other of her attendants, by whom they were privately stolen away, and Derham was admitted to pay his nocturnal visits, in defiance of all propriety.¹

"Sometimes," said Katharine, "he would bring strawberries, apples, wine, and other things to make good cheer with, after my lady was gone to bed; but that he made any special banquet,² or that, by special appointment between him and me, he should tarry till after the keys were delivered to my lady, is utterly untrue. Nor did I ever steal the keys myself, or desire any other person to steal them, to let him in; but for many other causes the doors have been opened, and sometimes Derham hath come early in the morning and much misbehaved himself, but never by my request or consent."³ It was reported by Wilks and Baskerville, two of the unprincipled females who were the accomplices in the ruin of this hapless girl, that on one of these occasions it was asked, "What shifts should be made if my lady came suddenly in?" and that Katharine rejoined, "Derham must go into the little gallery if my lady come." Katharine denied having made this suggestion in the following words:—"I never said so; but he hath said it himself, and so hath he done, indeed."⁴ With equal simplicity and earnestness she denied having received from Derham the present of a quilted cap, when destitute of the means to make such a purchase. "He bought not for me the quilted cap," said she, "but only the sarcenet to make it; and I delivered the sarcenet to a little fellow in my lady's house to embroider, as I remember his name was Rose, an embroiderer, to make it what pattern he thought best, and not appointing him to make it with friars' knots, as he can testify, if he be a true man:" nevertheless, when it was made, Derham said, "What wife? here be friars' knots for Francis!" Francis I. had brought into fashion an enigmatical allusion to the name of Francis, devised with these friars' knots and the pansy flower. In Hall's account of the "field of the cloth of gold,"⁵ may be seen this

¹ Examinations in State-Paper office.

² Queen Katharine's Examination.

³ Burnet.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ The "friars' knot" was that with which the Franciscans tied their rope

passage: "The French king and his band were apparelled in purple satin, branched with gold and purple velvet, embroidered with *friars' knots*; and in every knot was pansy flowers, which together signified 'think on Francis.'" Katharine had certainly worn the silk pansy Derham had given her, with the cap garnished with these friars' knots, from which he drew the flattering compliment to his Christian name, "that she thought of Francis."

Derham gave all his money into her keeping; and once, when he was going on some secret expedition, he left the indenture for the obligation of a hundred pounds that was due to him in her custody, telling her clearly, "that if he never returned, she was to consider it as her own." Katharine inquired whither he was going, but he would not satisfy her on that point. How long his absence lasted, and of the nature of the business in which he was engaged, there is no evidence; but as he was afterwards accused of piracy, it is possible that he had embarked in a desperate enterprise of that kind, with a view of improving his fortunes. Derham was occasionally tormented with jealousy, and fears of losing Katharine. He especially dreaded her going to court; and as she was eager to go, they had high words on this subject. Derham told her "If she went, he would not tarry long in the house;" on which she replied, "He might do as he list."¹

For the sake of obtaining more frequent opportunities of being in Katharine's company, Derham had given up his post in her uncle the duke's military retinue, and entered the service of the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, to whom he was page, or gentleman usher. After a time, the duchess became suspicious of Derham's conduct, and was wont to exclaim, when she missed him, "Where is Derham? You shall find him in the maids' chamber, or with Katharine Howard."² By the maids' chamber, the duchess meant the apartment where the damsels in her state establishment sat together at their appointed tasks of embroidery, tapestry work, and spinning. One day she entered unexpectedly, and found Derham, not only trespassing within this forbidden bound, but presumptuously romping with her youthful kinswoman Katharine Howard; on which, being greatly offended, she beat them both, and gave Mrs. Bulmer a box on the ears for sitting by and permitting such familiarity.³ Yet she did not dismiss Derham, because he was their relation, though she frequently chid the young lady, and sometimes punished her on his account; but the tender age of Katharine appears to have blinded her as to the peril in which she stood. At length the dreadful truth, with all its revolting circumstances, was forced upon the attention of

girdles. In the inventory of the princess Mary's jewels, there is mention of a necklace of goldsmiths' work of friars' knots, presented to Mr. Selynger's daughter about the same

period.—Madden's *Privy-purse Expenses of the princess Mary*, 179.

¹ MS in State-Paper office, 33 Henry VIII.

² *Ibid.*

Katharine's careless guardian by one of the women who had long been privy to the matter. The old duchess once more vented her indignation upon Katharine in blows. Katharine was afterwards asked by the council of king Henry, in reference to this report, "Whether the duchess struck her on the discovery of her misconduct, and how often?"¹ Her reply to this query has not been preserved.

Derham would, in all probability, have paid with his blood the penalty of his audacity, in bringing dishonour on one of the noblest houses in England, but he fled before the storm, and took refuge in Ireland, where, according to most accounts, he pursued the vocation of a pirate. It was doubtless when he snatched a perilous farewell of Katharine, that she, with the tears streaming down her cheeks, uttered these memorable words—"Thou wilt never live to say to me, 'Thou hast swerved.'"² The matter was hushed up out of respect to the feelings of Katharine's noble father, and for the sake of her sisters and other members of her illustrious family, who would have been in some degree involved in her disgrace had it been made public. Her tender age, and the contaminating influence to which she had been exposed, claimed also some compassion for the hapless victim who had been thus early led into sin and sorrow. The household of the duchess was purified of the abandoned women who had warped the youthful mind of Katharine, and the damsel was herself placed under a salutary restraint. It appears, however, that she contrived, through the agency of a female in the house, named Jane Acworth, who possessed the pen of a ready writer, to carry on a secret correspondence. After a time her secretary,³ as she called this person, married a gentleman of the name of Bulmer, and went to live at York; and Katharine, separated from all evil associates, acquired, as she advanced towards womanhood, the retiring grace and feminine reserve natural to that season of life. She even became remarkable for her modest and maidenly deportment.

When Derham found means to return clandestinely from Ireland, and endeavoured to renew his intercourse with her, she positively refused to have any communication with him. Reason and reflection had probably taught her to recoil with horror from the man who had cast an irremediable blight on her opening bloom of life. Derham's attachment was, however, of a deep and enduring character, and his unwelcome constancy was to her productive of the most fatal results. There was at that time a report in circulation, that a matrimonial engagement was in contemplation between Katharine Howard and her maternal kinsman, Thomas Culpepper; and Derham, attributing her altered manner to her preference of this gentleman, asked her angrily, "If she were going to be married to him, for he had heard it so reported?"—"What should

¹ State-Papers MS.² *Ibid.*³ State-Paper MS.

you trouble me therewith? for you know I will not have you," was Katharine's contemptuous rejoinder; "and if you heard such report, you heard more than I do know."¹ Culpepper was Katharine Howard's first cousin, being the nephew of her deceased mother: he was in the household of Anne of Cleves, and is called by the historian Pollino "a most beautiful youth." He and Katharine Howard were playmates in the same nursery in infancy. The vehement opposition of Derham to Katharine's intention of going to court appears like an assertion on his part, as far as circumstances would permit, of a right to control her actions. If, however, he possessed that right, he was in no position to enforce it; and we gather, from subsequent evidences,² that he returned to Ireland long before there was a prospect of Katharine's fatal elevation to a throne.

It has been generally said, that Katharine Howard's first introduction to her sovereign was at a banquet given by the bishop of Winchester to his royal master a few weeks after his marriage with Anne of Cleves. When Gardiner observed the impression made by the charms and sprightly wit of the fair niece of his patron the duke of Norfolk, he contrived that the king should have frequent opportunities of seeing her. Richard Hilles, an English merchant, who was a Protestant, wrote to the Zurich reformer, Henry Bullinger: "Before the feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, it was whispered about that the king intended to divorce his queen [Anne of Cleves], whom he had married with great pomp in the face of the church, on the feast of the Epiphany last Christmas. It was first of all rumoured among the courtiers, who observed the king to be much taken with another young lady, of very diminutive stature." Again Richard Hilles reports, "The king was seen by many citizens of London to pass over the Thames to her in a little boat, frequently in the day-time, and also at midnight. Bishop Gardiner often entertained the king and this little girl, the niece of the duke of Norfolk, making for them feasts at his house. Divorce at first was not dreaded for the queen, but the introduction of a rival on different terms."³ Thus scandal was already busy on the subject of the fickle monarch's passion for the miniature beauty in her teens.⁴ The date of Katharine Howard's appointment as maid of honour to Anne of Cleves is uncertain, but it probably took place at the time when the queen was deprived of her foreign attendants, and the "straunge maidens" were superseded by some of the noble *belles* of Henry's court. The arrange-

¹ Burnet, vol. iii.

² State Papers.

³ Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger, Zurich Letters: Parker Society, second series, pp. 201, 202.

⁴ *Parrissima puella* is the expression used by Hilles. "What, then, was the age of this

very little girl?" is Lingard's shrewd query after quoting these words. If the computation we have previously given as to the date of her birth be correct, she was in her eighteenth year; it is possible that she was younger. All contemporary authorities speak of her as *very* young.

ment that added the new object of the sovereign's regard to the establishment of his despised consort was of course of his own ordaining, as it afforded him the gratification of her society in his royal circle, as well as in his more private hours of relaxation ; and thus we see him, for the third time, the avowed lover of a favourite maid of honour. Katharine seems to have behaved with greater propriety than either Anne Boleyn or Jane Seymour under similar circumstances ; no one has accused her of treating the queen with disrespect, or presuming to assume airs of state in rivalry to her. It has been very generally asserted, but on what grounds no one has specified, that Katharine permitted herself to be rendered a political puppet in the hands of Gardiner and her uncle Norfolk, to further their measures against the cause of the Reformation ; and that Cromwell, dreading the effects of her influence, spake of her in very disadvantageous terms to the king, in order to dissuade him from making her his queen. There is great probability in this statement ; but that his death was attributable to her ill offices requires proof, for there is not the slightest contemporary evidence, not so much as a private letter, to bear out the assertions of Burnet and Rapin that she prevailed on the king to sign the death-warrant of his fallen minister. Katharine Howard neither possessed the talents, the energy, nor the vindictive temper of her cousin Anne Boleyn. Her intrigues were not those of state policy ; and as for her subserviency to her uncle Norfolk's wishes, his letters to the king are a sufficient refutation of that report.

After Katharine's removal to court, Derham vanished so entirely from the scene, that no one knew whether he were living or dead. This was an auspicious circumstance for Katharine ; but her grandmother, whose share of wisdom was certainly small, could not control the absurd curiosity which prompted her to inquire of her domestics if any of them knew what had become of Francis Derham ? They replied, "that none of them knew."—"Then," said the duchess, "if anyone knows where he is, belike it will be Katharine Howard." Soon after these inquiries, Katharine, who was then one of the maidens of the court, came to pay her grandmother a visit ; and the old lady was guilty of the folly of reviving his apparently forgotten name, by asking her "if she knew where he was ?" Katharine replied, "that she did not know where he was become."¹

Some years had passed away since the guilt was incurred which had cast so dark a cloud over the hopes and expectations of that period of existence which is generally the golden age of life. Those years had probably been fraught with repentance and bitter regret for her fault and the change in her deportment was so decided, that she was remark-

¹ State-Paper MS. Henry VIII.

able for her maidenly and modest behaviour, which, as Henry afterwards declared, formed her greatest attraction in his sight. Marillac, in a letter to Francis I., dated July 21, thus speaks of the reports connected with Henry's engagement with Katharine: "Now it is said the king is going to marry a lady of great beauty, daughter to a deceased brother of the duke of Norfolk. It is even said that the marriage has already taken place, but is kept secret. I cannot tell how far it is true." In a letter to the constable Montmorenci, of the same date, he adds, "that he has heard the lady is not only married to the king, but likely to bring him a family."¹ The old duchess of Norfolk took infinite pains to secure the royal alliance for her fair young *protégée*. She bestowed costly array and jewels on her to enhance her native attractions, and it was said that she instructed her in what manner to demean herself to the king's highness, so as to please him. She was even guilty of the folly of commending Katharine to the king as a person worthy of the honour of becoming his wife, and one calculated to promote his happiness.²

If Katharine had flattered herself with the idea, that because some years had passed away since her early misconduct had occurred it was forgotten, she must have been undeceived when she received the following letter from one of her former unprincipled confidants, the person through whose assistance she had carried on a clandestine and forbidden correspondence with her seducer:—

JOAN BULMER TO KATHARINE HOWARD.

"If I could wish unto you all the honour, wealth, and good fortune you could desire, you would neither lack health, wealth, long life, nor yet prosperity. Nevertheless, seeing I cannot as I would express this unto you, I would with these my most heartily salutations *pight* you to know, that whereas it hath been shown unto me that God of his high goodness hath put unto the knowledge of the king a contract of matrimony that the queen³ hath made with another before she came into England, and thereupon there will be a lawful divorce had between them; and as it is thought that the king of his goodness will put you in the same honour that she was in, which no doubt you be worthy to have, most heartily desiring you to have in your remembrance the unfeigned love that my heart hath always borne towards you, which for the same kindness found in you again hath desired always your presence, if it might be so, above all other creatures, and the chance of fortune hath brought me, on the contrary, into the utmost misery of the world and most wretched life. Seeing no ways, then, I can express in writing, knowing no remedy out of it, without you of your goodness will find the means to get me to London, which will be very hard to do; but if you write unto my husband and command him to bring me up, which I think he dare not disobey, for if it might be, I would fain be with you before you were in your honour; and in the mean season I beseech you to save some room for me, what you shall think fit yourself, for the nearer I were to you the gladder I would be of it, what pains soever I did take.

"I would write more unto you, but I dare not be so bold, for considering the great honour you are toward, it did not become me to put myself in presence; but the remembrance of the perfect honesty that I have always known to be in you, and the report of Sir George Seaforth, which hath assured me that the same thing remains in you still, hath encouraged me to thus. Whereupon I beseech you not to be forgetful of this my request; for if you do not help me, I am not like to have worldly joys. Desiring you, if you can, to let me have some answer of

¹ Dépêches de Marillac.

² MS., State-Paper office; hitherto inedited.

³ Anne of Cleves.

his for the satisfying o' my mind; for I know the queen of Britain will not forget her secretary, and favour you will show

"Your umble servant,

"With heart unfeigned,

"York, the 12th day of July."

"JONE BULMER.

The letter of Joan Bulmer was only the foretaste of what Katharine had to expect as the fruits of her early follies. No sooner was the rumour of the king's divorce from his new queen, combined with the report of his passion for her, spread abroad, than she found herself beset with those persons whom, of all the world, it was most to her interest to have kept at a distance. The evil spirits who had departed from her for a season returned to harass and intimidate her with demands which she wanted the moral courage to withstand. In fact, she had no power to extricate herself from these perilous and degrading connections, unless she had revealed her former misconduct to the king. But even if Katharine had been permitted by her family to make such a disclosure to her royal lover, she was placed in a predicament that left her only the alternative of becoming a queen, or confessing her own shame: she chose the first. Derham, meantime, though long *perdue*, was not ignorant of the king's passion for his betrothed; for, in allusion to it, he said to one of his former comrades, "I could be sure of mistress Howard an' I would, but I dare not. The king beginneth to love her; but an' he were dead, I am sure I might marry her." This speech leads to the conclusion that he was induced to waive his prior claim to the fair object of his sovereign's choice, and it is more than probable that the old duchess of Norfolk was the person who prevailed on him to remain quiescent; and if so, this would account for the otherwise inscrutable mystery of that lady's conduct in tolerating his presence, and even allowing him to take up his abode in her house a second time, after his misconduct with the young Katharine.

The public announcement of the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves was followed by a petition from his servile parliament, "beseeching him, for the good of his people, to venture on a fifth marriage, in the hope that God would bless him with a more numerous issue."¹ The nuptials of the royal Bluebeard of English History with Katharine Howard were privately solemnized within a few days, or it might be a few hours, after his divorce from Anne of Cleves. Some persons, as, for instance, Marillac, the French ambassador, supposed he did not wait for that ceremony. It seems strange that no particulars of the solemnization of Henry's fifth marriage have ever been brought to light. The day, the hour, the witnesses, and the person by whom the nuptial benediction was pronounced, are not on

¹ This letter is among the inedited documents preserved in the State-Paper office. The orthography is a little modernized. It is

written in a firm, bold character, something like that of an engrossing clerk.

² Journals of Parliament. Lingard. Tytler

record; but on the 8th of August, 1540, Katharine Howard was introduced by Henry at Hampton-court as his queen, and took her seat at chapel in the royal closet by his side. She afterwards dined in public, on which occasion she placed her youngest step-daughter, the princess Elizabeth, opposite to herself at table, and always gave her the place of honour next to her own person, because she was the daughter of her cousin. Katharine was publicly prayed for throughout the realm as queen of England, on the 15th of August. This is particularly noticed by Marillac, who says, "the king, the queen, and the child, Edward prince of England, were prayed for in all the churches, the new queen's name having superseded that of the repudiated princess of Cleves."

No surprise is testified by any contemporary at this alliance as derogatory to the king. A close connection already existed between the royal family and Katharine's in consequence of the former marriage between her uncle, at that time duke of Norfolk, when lord Thomas Howard, with the king's aunt, the lady Anne Plantagenet. As Katharine Howard was first cousin to Henry's second wife, Anne Boleyn, their marriage required a dispensation from the pope, both parties being Roman Catholics; but Henry, in his new character of head of the church, thought proper to dispense with this ceremony. This marriage was the first ever contracted between persons so connected without previously obtaining the papal sanction, and it formed the precedent for all others. Henry had taken care to prepare for the legality of the contract by a previous act of parliament concerning marriages within certain degrees, which bore upon the case.¹

A few days after Henry had acknowledged Katharine for his queen, he conducted her to Windsor, where they remained till the 22nd of August. They then made a little progress to Reading, Ewelme, Rycott, Notley, Buckingham, and Grafton. At Grafton the royal bride and bridegroom sojourned from 29th August till 7th September.² The absence of all records of pageantry and processions would indicate, that the enamoured monarch had been desirous of enjoying the society of his young queen in the retirement of the country, unfettered by the observations and restraints of royal etiquette. Henry's finances at this period were at a low ebb. The expenses of his pompous nuptials with his unbeloved Flemish bride, and his subsequent gifts and settlements on her, had completely exhausted all his resources. He could neither afford to honour Katharine Howard with a public bridal nor a coronation, but he paid her the compliment of causing gold coins to be struck in commemoration of their marriage, bearing the royal arms of England, flanked with H R, and surmounted with the royal diadem.

On the reverse is a rose, crowned, in allusion to his bride, flanked by the initials K R, with the following legend :—

HENRICUS VIII. RUTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA.

The rose, which Henry, in the first transports of his short-lived passion for his Howard queen, chose for her symbol, makes a conspicuous figure in the augmentation to her armorial bearings in honour of her marriage.

In the State-Paper office is a list of the officers of state and ladies of queen Katharine Howard's royal household. The ladies were those of the highest rank in the kingdom, and some of them members of the royal family :—

" *The great ladies of the queen's household.*—The lady Margaret Douglas (niece to the king), the duchess of Richmond (daughter-in-law to the king, and cousin to the queen), the duchess of Norfolk (widow of the queen's grandfather), the countess of Sussex, the lady Howard, the lady Clinton.

" *Ladies of the privy-chamber.*—The countess of Rutland, the lady Rochford, lady Edgecomb, lady Baynton (the queen's sister).

" *Chamberers.*—Mrs. Tynney, Mrs. Morton, Mrs. Fryswith, Mrs. Luffkyn,

" *Gentlewomen of the privy-chamber.*—Mrs. Herbert, Mrs. Tyrwhitt, Mrs. Leye, Mrs. Gilmyn.

" *Ladies and gentlewomen attendant.*—The lady Dudley, the lady Arundel (the queen's sister), lady Denny, lady Wriothesley, lady Heneage, lady Knevet, lady Cromwell (sister to the deceased queen Jane Seymour), Mrs. Mewtas, Mrs. Broughton.

" *Maids of honour.*—The lady Lucy, Mrs. Basset, Mrs. Garnyshe, Mrs. Cowpledike, Mrs. Stradling, Mrs. Stonor."

A list of yeomen ushers, yeomen of the chambers in ordinary, pages of the chambers, and pages in ordinary follows. Her chaplains were Drs. Mallet and Oglethorpe: the latter held the office of almoner to her predecessor, Anne of Cleves. Sir Thomas Denny was her chancellor at first, but was afterwards superseded by her sister's husband, Sir Thomas Arundel.

The historians of this period bear universal testimony to the passionate fondness of the king for his new consort. Marillac, the French ambassador, who had enjoyed the opportunity of paying his compliments to the royal pair on their marriage, in a letter to his own sovereign Francis I., dated September 3, 1540, gives the following lively sketch of Katharine's appearance in her bridal court, and Henry's demeanour to her. "The new queen is a young lady of moderate beauty, but superlative grace: in stature she is small and slender. Her countenance is very delightful, of which the king is so greatly enamoured, that he knows not how to make sufficient demonstrations of his affection for her, and very far exceeds the caresses he ever bestowed on the others. She is dressed after the French fashion, like all the other ladies of this court, and bears for her device round her arms, *Non autre volonté que la sienne*, 'No other than his.'" The expression *beauté médiocre*, which is used by Marillac in reference to this queen, would seem to infer that

Katharine was not so remarkable for her personal charms as she has been represented by historians; but, independently of the acknowledged fact that opinions vary greatly on the subject of female loveliness, Marillac might only mean to qualify his first notice of Katharine when speaking of her from report, in which he had said "the king is going to marry a young lady of the greatest beauty." Marillac's royal master, Francis I., having been much harassed with Henry's requisitions for him to provide him with a consort endowed with perfections such as are seldom to be found in mortal woman, had probably demanded of his accredited spy at the court of England an accurate description of the lady whom his queen-killing friend considered worthy the honour of becoming his next victim. The only portrait of the Howard queen is a contemporary sketch of her among the Holbein heads in the royal library at Windsor. She is there represented as a fair blooming girl in her teens, with large laughing blue eyes and light brown hair, which is folded in Madonna bands on either side a brow of child-like simplicity: she has a nose *retroussé*, and very full red lips. It is the countenance of an un-intellectual little romp trying to assume an air of dignity, and reminds us of a good-humoured Flemish peasant rather than a courtly beauty and a queen. Instead of the slender, graceful proportions described by Marillac, she is so plump and round that she appears literally bursting out of her tight bodice, which is made very high, and fits closely to her shape. It opens a little in front, and is fastened with a small round brooch. Her head-dress, which is very formal and unbecoming for so young a person, is a small round French hood setting quite flat to the head, with a narrow plaited border. It is possible that Holbein's sketch of Katharine Howard was taken some months after her elevation to the throne, when she might have lost her delicate contour.

If the charms of royalty and power had lulled the young queen into forgetfulness of the precarious tenure on which these perilous distinctions were held by Henry's wives, she was full soon reminded that the sword was suspended over her own head by a single hair. Within three weeks after her marriage with the king, mysterious reports to her disparagement were in circulation; for, on the 28th of August, the attention of the privy council was called to the fact that a certain priest at Windsor was accused, with others of his company, of having spoken unbecoming words of the queen's grace, for which he and another person had been apprehended. The priest was committed to the custody of Wriothsley, the king's secretary, and the other incarcerated in the keep of Windsor-castle.¹ How alarming any investigation of scandals, that might lead to the discovery of those passages in her early life which have been detailed, must have been to the queen may be imagined. With such a secret as she had on her mind, her diadem could have poorly

¹ Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

compensated her for the agonising apprehensions under which she must have writhed while the examinations were pending. Henry, being in the first intoxication of his bridal happiness, passed the matter lightly over. "The priest was simply enjoined to confine himself to his own diocese, and admonished by his majesty's command to be more temperate in the use of his tongue;" but the person from whom he had heard the unbecoming words of the queen, which had been unguardedly repeated by him, was confined till further order.¹ It was, in all probability, this affair that afforded her enemies the first clue to Katharine's early errors, though the cloud passed over for a time. If she had been of a vindictive temper, a severer penalty might have been paid by those who had thus attempted to defame her within the verge of her own court, and measures would have been taken to put to silence every tongue that ventured to disparage her.

After a short sojourn in the sylvan bowers of Grafton, the court removed to Ampthill. While there the royal household appears to have required reform, for we find that "Robert Tyrwhitt, esq., the vice-chamberlain to the king, and Sir Edward Baynton, knight, the queen's vice-chamberlain, and divers other gentlemen the king and queen's servants, to the number of sixteen, were advertised of the king's pleasure concerning the sober and temperate order that his highness would have them to use in his highness's chamber of presence and the queen's; as also the behaviour of themselves towards the king's privy council, gentlemen of the privy chamber, and all other his highness's servants of every degree." Katharine could have had little control over such of her attendants as had pertinaciously attached themselves to her fortunes. Joan Bulmer was one of her bedchamber women, as also was Katharine Tylney, persons only too well acquainted with her former misconduct, and, worst of all, the profligate villain Manox was in her service, as one of the royal musicians. At Ampthill the king and queen remained till the 1st of October, after which they withdrew to the greater seclusion of Morepark, in Hertfordshire; while there, Henry, being impatient of the slightest interruption or intrusion, issued the following gracious orders, through his privy council, to queen Katharine's vice-chamberlain and his own, and all officers of the royal household, "that from henceforth they should in nowise molest his royal person with any suit or petition, but cause all suits or supplications to be made in writing, and delivered to his council."²

The court returned to Windsor, October 22. At this period reports were in circulation that Henry was about to dismiss Katharine, and reinstate Anne of Cleves in her place, and that the repudiated queen was likely to become a mother at a very unseasonable juncture for all parties.

¹ Sir H. Nicolas' *Acts of Privy Council*, 32 Henry VIII., vol. vii. p. 89

² *Acts of Privy Council*, vol. vii.

Marillac, whom no particle of gossip seems to escape, thus notices these rumours: "It is false what has been said about the king leaving the new queen, to take the one whom he has repudiated, for he bestows so many caresses on her he now has, with such singular demonstrations of affection, that it cannot be. That which caused the report was, that it has been said the other lady, who has been indisposed, was pregnant." In his next letter to Francis I., dated November 1, he says, "It is believed that the new queen has entirely gained the favour of the king, and of her was lately queen they speak no more than if she were dead."

Katharine held her court at Windsor rather better than a month. She and the king, accompanied only by the lord privy-seal, the lord admiral, the master of the horse, the vice-chamberlain, the privy council, the ladies, gentlemen, and gentlewomen of their privy-chamber, departed to Oaking, where they remained until the 7th of December; on which day they departed to Oatlands, and there remained till the 18th of the same month, when they returned to Hampton-court.¹ Henry VIII., in his journeys and removals, was on former occasions attended by his council; but now he dispensed with their presence, that he might spend his Christmas at Hampton-court in the society of his young queen, without the interruption of business or the restraints of royal pomp. The first separation, after a marriage of six months, that had occurred between the king and queen took place February 7, 1541, when the king, for the despatch of business, removed to London, with his personal attendants, "only leaving behind him at Hampton-court the queen's grace, with the whole household: he returned again the tenth day."²

No sort of pomp or regal splendour distinguished the court of Katharine Howard. We find no records of her indulging her love of dress in the purchase of costly robes or jewellery, nor of gifts bestowed on her kindred or favourites. So quiet and unostentatious was the tenor of her life at this period, that the only matter worthy of notice during her residence at Hampton-court is the order to her tailor, dated March 1, to provide the following needful articles for the use of the venerable countess of Salisbury, at that time an attainted prisoner in the Tower of London, under sentence of death, and despoiled of all her substance:—

"*Imprimis*, a night-gown furred, a kirtle of worsted, and a petticoat furred.

"*Item*, another gown of the fashion of a night-gown, of saye lined with satin of cypress, and faced with satin.

"*Item*, a bonnet and a frontlet.

"*Item*, four pair of hose.

"*Item*, four pair of shoes and one pair of slippers"³ (probably slippers).

The warm clothing provided for her by queen Katharine was probably the means of preserving the venerable princess to undergo a fate not

¹ Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii.

² Ibid. p. 130.

³ Ibid. p. 147.

less dreadful than that of perishing with the cold in her cheerless prison lodgings. Katharine's dower was settled on her by the king's letters patent previous to the Easter festival: other grants, licences, and concessions are secured to her by the same instruments. The whole of the spring and part of the summer were spent by Henry and Katharine in domestic retirement at the country palaces of Greenwich and Eltham, or in making progresses through Kent, Essex, and the midland counties.

It is asserted by the majority of historians that Katharine remained under the political guidance of her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner bishop of Winchester, but it is certain that, as her influence with the king increased, she grew impatient of the tutelage of her uncle, who certainly did not possess the art of conciliating the affections of the ladies of his family, since he was at open variance with his wife, his sister, his daughter, and his step-mother, the duchess-dowager of Norfolk. It might be that Katharine took part in the quarrel between him and the last-named lady, with whom she was certainly on terms of the greatest confidence; but from whatever cause their disagreement arose, it was highly imprudent of the queen, who was naturally an object of jealousy and distrust to the Protestant party, to deprive herself of the protection and support of her powerful kinsman. The event afforded a striking exemplification of the divine proverb, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Katharine, in the pride of youth and beauty, and blinded by her boundless influence over the mind of a royal husband, forgot, perhaps, that the throne to which his capricious passion had exalted her was based on the graves of three of her predecessors, and that it was only too likely to prove in her own case (as in that of Anne Boleyn) a splendid ascent to a scaffold. She imagined, that while she was all-powerful with Henry, she might defy the rest of the world.

The whole realm was then split into two great parties, so nicely matched, as to strength and numbers, that the ruling balance was in the hand of the sovereign, to dispose according to his own pleasure. It was that power which rendered Henry VIII. a despotic monarch, and enabled him to trample on the boasted laws and liberties of Englishmen with impunity. Roman catholics and Protestants had succumbed alike to his evil passions, and endeavoured to use them as political weapons in their struggles with each other for mastery. The contest had commenced when Henry's divorce from Katharine of Arragon was first agitated, and the Protestant party supported the interests of Anne Boleyn.¹ Five years had passed away since those rival queens had vanished from the arena, and yet the names of Anne and Katharine were still the watch-words of the warring parties; for Henry was again the husband of two

¹ Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

living wives bearing those names, and the legality of his divorce from the Protestant queen Anne and his marriage with the Roman catholic Katharine was almost as much questioned by his Protestant subjects, as his divorce from Katharine of Arragon and his marriage with Anne Boleyn had been by the Roman catholics. Thus we see, that Katharine Howard was regarded by the reformed party in much the same light as Anne Boleyn had formerly been by the Roman Catholics. It was fondly imagined by persons who regarded Anne of Cleves as Henry's lawful queen, that he might be won to a reconciliation with her, if he could be convinced of the unworthiness of her fair successor to fill her place. That the duke of Cleves was so persuaded, we have shown in the preceding memoir, and it is a fact that throws some light on the diplomatic tact with which the political leaders of that party had organized their plans for the downfall of Katharine Howard.

The early follies of Katharine were known to too many not to have reached the persons most interested in destroying her influence with the king; and if they delayed striking the blow that was to lay her honours in the dust, it was only to render it more effectual. The "snake was to be killed, not scotched." A crisis at length arrived, which afforded a favourable opportunity for carrying the project into execution. There was a Roman catholic insurrection in Yorkshire this spring, headed by Sir John Neville. Henry, attributing this to the influence of cardinal Pole, gave orders for the execution of the venerable countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had lain under sentence of death in the Tower for upwards of a twelvemonth. Her sentence had been basely procured by Cromwell, just before his own arrest for treason.¹ The influence of the new queen had probably thus long delayed the headsman's axe from descending on the guiltless victim. She was the last of the Plantagenets, and, with a spirit not unworthy of her mighty ancestors, refused to submit to an unjust sentence by laying her head upon the block. "So should traitors do," she said, "but I am none. If you will have my head, you must win it as you can." A scene of horror followed, which was concluded by the ruffian minister of Henry's vengeance dragging the aged princess by her hoary hair to the block, where he "slovenly butchered her, and stained the scaffold from veins enriched with all the royal blood of England."²

Henry's mistrust of the Romish party, in consequence of the late insurrection, induced him to leave the administration of affairs in the hands of an anti-papal council, headed by Cranmer, Audley the lord chancellor, and Seymour earl of Hertford, the brother of the late queen Jane, when he proceeded on his progress into Yorkshire. Queen Katharine was the companion of his journey. They left London early in July, passed some days at the palace at Grafton, and travelled

¹ Herbert. Guthrie. Lingard. ² Guthrie. Lingard. Tytler. Rapin. Burnet.

through Northampton and Lincolnshire to York.¹ The progress was attended with some degree of splendour, but more of terror. Henry was received by his subjects on the road as a destroying angel, ready to inflict the vengeance of Heaven on the counties implicated in the late revolt. As the best propitiation they could devise, the men of Lincolnshire offered him money in all the towns through which he passed with his fair young queen:² probably, he would not have been appeased without blood, also, if she who possessed the art of charming his fury-passions had not been at his side. In Yorkshire, the king and queen were met by two hundred gentlemen of the shire, in coats of velvet, with four thousand tall yeomen and serving-men, who on their knees made a submission by the mouth of Sir Robert Bowes, and gave the king 900*l*. Katharine witnessed a pageant of no less interest when the archbishop of York, with upwards of three hundred ecclesiastics and their attendants, met the king at Barnesdale, and made a like submission, with the peace-offering of 600*l*. Like submission was made by the mayors of York, of Newcastle, and of Hull, each of whom gave the king 100*l*. In the course of their progress, Katharine held a court at her dower-manor of Shire, which, in memory of that circumstance, is still called "queen's-hold."

It was during this fatal progress that Katharine, when at Pontefract-castle, sealed her own doom by admitting her former paramour, Francis Derham, into her household as a gentleman in waiting and private secretary to herself. Sharon Turner, following lord Herbert and some other writers, says, "that Derham was only employed on two or three occasions, in the absence of the queen's secretary, to write her private letters." When we reflect on the nature of some of the letters the unfortunate Katharine was in the habit of receiving, we may readily suppose she preferred the dreadful alternative of employing Derham as her amanuensis, rather than a stranger. It is a doubtful point whether the "mysteries of writing," and consequently of reading letters, were among the accomplishments of this ill-fated queen. Joan Bulmer's epistle, previous to the royal marriage, claims Katharine's grateful remembrance on the grounds of having exercised her clerkly skill in her service when but a private gentlewoman, and it is certain that no letter written by Katharine can be found: even her signature has been vainly sought at the State-Paper office and elsewhere. The duchess of Norfolk has been accused of having herself introduced Derham into her grand-daughter's court,³ and desired her to give him some appointment in her household. It is to be lamented that neither of these unhappy ladies had the moral courage to put a stern negative on his audacious demand of preferment. That it was not willingly given may certainly be inferred from the fact, that Katharine had been queen of England upwards of a year before she

¹ *Acts of Privy Council.* Hall. Guthrie

² *Ibid.*

³ *Holinshed.* *State Papers MS.*

granted this appointment, the date of which, according to Holinshed, was the 27th of August, 1541. On the 29th of the same month, her cousin Thomas Culpepper had a long private interview with her at Lincoln, in her closet or privy-chamber at eleven at night, no one being present but lady Rochford, her principal lady in waiting, by whom he was introduced. The conference lasted many hours, and at his departure the queen presented him with a chain and a rich cap.¹ This secret meeting, and the unseasonable time at which it took place, was afterwards construed into a proof of a criminal intimacy between the queen and her kinsman; but if Katharine had really been engaged in an intrigue with this near relation, she would scarcely have hazarded bringing him and Derham into contact, knowing as she did the jealous temper and lawless character of her seducer. Culpepper was one of the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber: he had lately committed a frightful crime in his native county, and had, moreover, perpetrated murder when resisting his apprehension. Henry VIII. pardoned him his complicated guilt,² but it was very probable that pecuniary distress had impelled the interview with the queen, his kinswoman, and his extortion from her of such jewels as she had nearest at hand.

The king and queen arrived at York about the 14th of September, and tarried there twelve days. Great preparations had been made for the reception of Henry's nephew, James V. of Scotland; but that prince, placing no great reliance on his uncle's principles, excused himself from accepting his invitation to meet him there. Henry and Katharine quitted York September 26, and that night they supped and slept at Holme,³ an ancient moated mansion, which had been recently forfeited to the crown by the rebellion of Sir Robert Constable. On the 1st of October they reached Hull, where they remained five days, and crossing the Humber, they pursued their homeward route through Lincolnshire. In one of the letters from the council with the king to that in London, Mr. Secretary Wriothesley writes, "The king and queen, and all the train, be merry and in health." In the course of this progress Katharine enjoyed more of the pomp and pageantry of royalty than had fallen to her lot since her marriage with the king. The truth was, they travelled at the expense of the wealthy aristocracy of those counties which, having been recently involved in rebellion, omitted nothing that was likely to conciliate the offended sovereign. Henry, who became every day more enamoured of his young queen, took great delight in displaying her to his people in his public entrances into the principal towns in their route, and omitted nothing that was likely to give her pleasure. Katharine, being of a plastic age and temper, readily adapted herself to

¹ Burnet, Rapin.

² Richard Hill's to Henry Bullinger, Zurich Letters, second series: Parker Society, p. 224.
Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

his humour, and made it her study to amuse and cheer him when he came to her fatigued and harassed with the cares of state. The increase of her influence during this progress was beheld with jealous feelings by those who were naturally desirous of destroying her credit with the king; and the circumstance of the royal travellers resting one night at the house of Sir John Gorstwick, who had, during the preceding spring, denounced Cranmer in open parliament "as the root of all heresies," was sufficiently alarming to that primate. There was, moreover, a select meeting of the privy council, at which Gardiner presided, held at Gorstwick's house, affording strong confirmation to the assertions of Burnet and Rapin, that Cranmer had reason to believe that he should very shortly follow Cromwell to the scaffold, unless some means were found of averting the gathering storm.

At this momentous crisis the archbishop communicated to his colleagues, the earl of Hertford and the lord chancellor, the particulars of the queen's early misconduct in the house of the duchess of Norfolk, which had been conveyed to him by John Lassells, brother of the vile woman who had connived at the indiscretions, and finally the guilt, of the unhappy girl. This disclosure was stated to have taken place in a conversation between Lassells and his sister, in consequence of his advising her to ask for a place in the queen's household, as others had done; to which Mary said "she did not wish to enter into the service of the queen, but that she pitied her."—"Why so?" asked Lassells. "Marry!" replied the other, "because she is light both in conditions and living," and then she related the tale of Katharine's lapse from virtue with Derham in revolting terms.¹ Alas, for the motherless child who had, in the most perilous season of woman's life, been exposed to the contaminating society of such a female! The disclosure was regarded by the earl of Hertford and the lord chancellor as a matter proper to be laid before the king, and the task was deputed to Cranmer.²

CHAPTER II.

THE queen, unconscious of how dark a cloud impended over her, was receiving fresh tokens of regard every hour from Henry, who behaved as if it were his intention to prove to the world—

"How much the wife was dearer than the bride."

They arrived at Windsor on the 26th of October, and proceeded to Hampton-court on the 30th, in readiness to keep the festival of All Saints.³ Henry and Katharine both received the sacrament that day

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council, Lord Herbert's Henry VIII. White Kennet. Burnet.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Acts of Privy Council.*

Henry, on this occasion, while kneeling before the altar, raised his eyes to heaven, and exclaimed aloud, "I render thanks to thee, O Lord. that after so many strange accidents that have befallen my marriages, thou hast been pleased to give me a wife so entirely conformed to my inclinations as her I now have." He then requested his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, to prepare a public form of thanksgiving to Almighty God for having blessed him with so loving, dutiful, and virtuous a queen. This was to be read on the morrow, which was All Souls'-day; but on that fatal morrow, while Henry was at mass, the paper that contained the particulars of the misconduct of her whom he esteemed such "a jewel of womanhood and perfect love to himself," was put into his hands by Cranmer, with a humble request that he would read it when he was in entire privacy.¹ The object of Cranmer in presenting the information against the queen to Henry in the chapel, was evidently to prevent the announcement to the people of the public form of thanksgiving which had been prepared by the bishop. The absence of Katharine from her accustomed place in the royal closet, afforded the archbishop the better opportunity of striking this decisive blow.

Henry, at first, treated the statement as a calumny invented for the destruction of the queen; for, as he himself afterwards declared, "he so tenderly loved the woman, and had conceived such a constant opinion of her honesty, that he supposed it rather to be a forged matter than the truth." On which, being greatly perplexed, he sent for the lord privy-seal, the lord admiral, Sir Anthony Browne, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, to whom he opened the case, saying, at the same time, "He could not believe it to be true; and yet, the information having once been made, he could not be *satisfied* till the certainty thereof was known, but he would not, in any wise, that in the inquisition any spark of scandal should arise against the queen."² He then despatched the lord privy-seal to London, where John Lassells was secretly kept, to try if he would stand to his saying. Lassells reiterated his tale, and added, that "He would rather die in the declaration of the truth, since it so nearly touched the king, than live with the concealment of the same." His sister was also examined, who gave evidence of the early misconduct of the queen. That Katharine had admitted Derham and Manox, with Joan Bulmer and other persons who were acquainted with her previous guilt, into her royal household, was probably a matter in which she had no choice, as she was entirely in their power; but the circumstance of their being there afforded a startling confirmation of the charges against her.

Wriothesley received express instructions from the king to take Derham into custody on an accusation of piracy, because he had been formerly noted in Ireland for that offence,³ making that pretence lest any

¹ Herbert. Burnet. Rapin.² Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii. 354.³ Ibid.

spark of suspicion should get abroad from his examination. The arrest was effected; and Henry's wrathful jealousy having been powerfully excited by a report that the old duchess of Norfolk should have had the folly to say, when in the queen's chamber, to a certain gentlewoman, "There," pointing to Derham, "this is he who fled away into Ireland for the queen's sake," caused him to be examined very sharply as to the nature of his connection with the queen.¹ Derham boldly acknowledged "that a promise of marriage had been exchanged between himself and the queen many years previous to her union with the king; that they had lived as man and wife while he was in the service of her grandmother the duchess of Norfolk; and that they were regarded in that light among the servants in the family. That he was accustomed to call her wife, and she had often called him husband, before witnesses; that they had exchanged gifts and love-tokens frequently in those days; and he had given her money whenever he had it. He solemnly denied that the slightest familiarity had ever taken place between them since Katharine's marriage with the king."² This was the substance of his first statements, freely given, nor could the extremity of torture wring from him anything of further import against the queen; neither is there the slightest evidence tending to convict her of having renewed her criminal intimacy with him.³ On the contrary, it would appear by the bitter scorn of her expressions, when compelled to name him,⁴ that he had become the object of her greatest aversion after she had seen the folly of her early infatuation, and felt the blight his selfish passion had been the means of casting on her morning bloom of life.

According to the historical traditions of Hampton-court, the queen, when she learned what was in agitation, called incessantly on the name of her royal husband, and made more than one desperate attempt to see him. The first time was at the hour when she knew he would be at mass in the chapel, and although she had been ordered to confine herself to her own chamber, she was not so strictly kept but she watched her opportunity to rush into the private gallery leading from her bed-room to the queen's entrance to the royal closet in the chapel, and was with difficulty prevented from bursting into his presence, with the declared intent of throwing herself at his feet and imploring his mercy, or claiming his protection. When she was stopped and carried back, she struggled violently, and her screams were heard by every one in the chapel. On another occasion, she escaped from her chamber, through the low door in the alcove at the bed's head, into the back-stairs lobby, and though instantly pursued, she reached the foot of the private stair, called "the maid of honour's stair,"⁵ before she was overtaken and brought back.

¹ State Paper MS.

² State Papers, vol. i.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Queen Katharine's examination, in Burnet.

⁵ The staircase so called led from the lobby of the queen's back-stairs to that portion of the ancient Tudor palace which was demolished.

Local superstition long asserted, that the phantom of a shrieking lady, clothed in white, with dishevelled hair, haunted that gallery and staircase. But to return to sober facts: when the result of the first day's investigation was brought to the king by the persons employed in that business, he seemed like a man pierced to the heart;¹ and after vainly struggling for utterance, his pride and firmness gave way, and he burst into a passion of tears. He left Hampton-court the next morning without seeing the queen, or sending her any message. The same day the council came to her in a body, and informed her of the charge that had been made against her. She denied it with earnest protestations of her innocence, but the moment they were gone fell into fits so violent, that her life and reason were that night supposed to be in danger.² When this was reported to the king, he sent Cranmer to her in the morning with a deceitful assurance, that "If she would acknowledge her transgressions, the king, although her life had been forfeited by the law, had determined to extend unto her his most gracious mercy." Katharine, who was in a state of frantic agony when the archbishop entered, was overpowered with softer emotions on hearing the message, and unable to do more than raise her hands with expressions of thankfulness to the king for having shown her more mercy than she had dared to ask for herself.³ In the evening Cranmer returned to her again, when, finding her more composed, he drew from her a promise "that she would reply to his questions as truly and faithfully as she would answer at the day of judgment, on the promise which she made at her baptism, and by the sacrament which she received on All Hallows'-day last past."⁴

The particulars of the queen's behaviour during these interviews, and the agonizing state of excitement in which she was at this dreadful crisis of her fate, are thus detailed in Cranmer's letter to the king:—"At the repair to the queen's grace, I found her in such lamentation and heaviness as I never saw no creature, so that it would have pitied any man's heart in the world to have looked upon her; and in that vehement *rage*⁵ she continued (as they informed me which be about her) from my departure from her unto my return again, and then I found her, as I do suppose, far entered towards a *franz*y, which I feared, before my departure from her, at my first being with her. Surely, if your grace's comfort had not come in time, she could have continued no long time in that condition without a *franz*y, which, nevertheless, I do yet much suspect to follow hereafter. As for my message from your majesty unto her, I was purposed to enter communication in this wise: First, to exaggerate the grievousness of her demerits; then to declare unto her the justice of your grace's laws, and what she ought to suffer by the same; and last of all,

¹ Acts of Privy Council. Herbert. Lingard. Guthrie.

² Lingard. Tytler. State Papers.

³ State Papers.

⁴ Lingard. Tytler.
⁵ By the word "*rage*" the writer always means *agony*.

to signify unto her your most gracious mercy. But when I saw in what condition she was, I was fain to turn my purpose, and to begin at the last part first, to comfort her with your grace's benignity and mercy; for else, the recital of your grace's laws, with the aggravation of her offences, might, peradventure, have driven her into some dangerous extasy, or else into a very franzy, so that the words of comfort, coming last, might have come too late. And after I had declared your grace's mercy extended unto her, she held up her hands, and gave most humble thanks unto your majesty, who had shown her more grace and mercy than she herself thought meet to sue for, or could have hoped for. Then, for a time, she became more temperate and moderate, saving that she still sobbed and wept; but after a little pausing, she suddenly fell into a new *rage*, much worse than before; and, after a certain time, when she had recovered herself that she might speak, she cried, and said:—'Alas, my lord, that I am alive! The fear of death did not grieve me so much before, as doth now the remembrance of the king's goodness, for when I remember how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow; but this sudden mercy, more than I could have looked for (showed unto me, so unworthy, at this time), maketh mine offences to appear before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before. And the more I consider the greatness of his mercy, the more I do sorrow in my heart that I should so mis-order myself against his majesty.' And for all I could say to her, she continued in a great pang a long while. After that, she began something to remit her *rage*, and come to herself; she was metely well until night, and I had good communication with her, and, as I thought, brought her into a great quietness. Nevertheless, at night, about six of the clock, she fell into another pang, but not so outrageous as the first; and that was (as she showed me) because of remembrance, that at the time of the evening (as she said) master Heneage was wont to bring her news of your grace. And because I lack time to write all things to your majesty, I have referred other things to be opened by the mouth of the bearer of this, Sir John Dudley, saving I have sent enclosed all that I can get of her concerning any communication with Derham, which, although it be not so much as I thought, yet I suppose is surely sufficient to prove a contract, although she thinks it be no contract. The cause that master Baynton was sent to your majesty was, partly for the declaration of her state, and partly because, after my departure from her, she began to excuse and tamper those things which she had spoken unto me and set her hand, as, at my coming unto your majesty, I shall more fully declare by word of mouth, for she saith, 'that Derham used to importune-force, and had not her free will and consent.'"¹

From Cranmer's assertion that the queen had "set her hand" to the

¹ State Papers, vol. i. pp. 689-691.

paper, it has been inferred that she was able to write, but it might be only her mark of attestation; and, even if she could sign her name, it does not prove her capability of writing letters, or anything beyond a signature. In the whole of this transaction, there is nothing more extraordinary than the perversity of Katharine in refusing to acknowledge that, as far as an obligation which had not received the sanction of the church could go, she was plighted to her kinsman, Francis Derham, before she received the nuptial ring from king Henry. But, with the same headstrong rashness which had characterised her conduct from childhood, she determined to cling to her queenly dignity at all hazards, rather than admit of any plea that would have the effect of rendering her subsequent marriage with the king null and void. The following passages are subjoined, on that point, from her confession, which was sent by Cranmer to the king:—"Being again examined by my lord Canterbury, of contracts and communications of marriage between Derham and me, I shall here answer faithfully and truly, as I shall make answer at the last day of judgment, and by the promise that I made in baptism, and the sacrament I received upon All Hallows'-day last past. First, I do say that Derham hath many times moved me unto the question of matrimony, whereunto, as far as I remember, I never granted him more than I have confessed. And as for those words, 'I do promise that I love you with all my heart,' I do not remember that I ever spoke them; but as concerning the other words, that 'I should promise him by my faith and troth,' I am *sure* I never spoke them. Questioned whether I called him husband, and he me wife? I do answer, that there was communication in the house that we two should marry together, and some of his enemies had envy thereat; wherefore he desired me to give him leave to call me wife, and that I would call him husband, and I said, 'I was content.' And so, after that, commonly he called me wife, and many times I called him husband, and he used many times to kiss me. And I suppose this is true, that at one time he kissed me very often. Some who stood by made observations on his conduct, whereunto he answered, 'Who should hinder him from kissing his own wife?'"¹

King Henry remained in the neighbouring palace of Oatlands, whither he had withdrawn to await the result of these investigations. He appears to have been torn with contending passions, and not venturing to trust to his own feelings with regard to his unhappy queen, he left all proceedings to the direction of Cranmer and the council. Katharine was now placed under arrest, and her keys were taken away from her.² On the 11th of October, the archbishop of Canterbury, with Wriothesley and Mr. Comptroller, received orders to go to the queen, and signify to her the king's pleasure that she should depart on the following Monday

¹ Queen Katharine Howard's confession; Burnet's Reformation. ² State Papers, vol. 1.

to Sion-house, while the inquiry pended. The state of a queen was not yet entirely taken from her, but reduced to the following appointments, which are copied from the order in council :—

“The furniture of three chambers, hanged with mean stuff, without any cloth of estate [canopy]; of which three, one shall serve for Mr. Baynton and the others to dine in, and the other two to serve for her use, and with a small number of servants. The king's highness's pleasure is, that the queen have, according to her choice, four gentlewomen and two chamberers, forseeing always that my lady Baynton be one, whose husband the king's pleasure is should attend the queen, and have the rule and government of the whole house. Besides Mr. Baynton, his wife, and the almoner, the king appointeth none specially to remain with her.”

The queen's maids of honour were ordered to return to their friends, excepting Mrs. Basset, whom the king, “considering the calamity of her friends, determined to provide for.” The privy council report states also :—

“The king's resolution to lay before the parliament and judges the abominable behaviour of the queen, but without any mention of pre-contract to Derham ‘which might serve for her defence,’ but only to open and make manifest the king's highness's just cause of indignation and displeasure. Considering no man would think it reasonable that the king's highness (although his majesty doth not yet take the degree of her estate utterly from her) should entertain her so tenderly in the high degree and estate of a queen, who for her demerits is so unworthy of the same. Therefore the king's majesty willeth, that whoever among you know not only the whole matter, but also how it was first detected, by whom, and by what means it came to the king's majesty's knowledge, with the whole of the king's majesty's sorrowful behaviour and careful proceeding in it, should upon the Sunday coming assemble all the ladies and gentlewomen and gentlemen being now in the queen's household, and declare unto them the whole process of the matter (except that ye make no mention of the pre-contract), but omitting that, set forth such matter as might confound their misdemeanour. Touching the queen's departing from that house and removing to Sion, shall be on Monday next coming, such ladies only to remain at Hampton-court to abide the queen's removing as by advertisements from you of those that shall succeed there; providing always that the ladies keep their day of departure upon Monday, and such only to remain at Hampton-court to abide the queen's removing as shall be attendant at Sion.

“Furthermore, his majesty's pleasure is, that Mr. Seymour shall remain there, with all the jewels and other things of the queen's, till she be gone, and then to bring them hither. And to the queen's grace ye must appoint six French hoods, with the appurtenances, with edges of goldsmiths' work, so there be no stone or pearl in the same; likewise, as many pair of sleeves, six gowns, and six kirtles of satin damask and velvet, with such things as belong to the same, except always stone and pearl.

“At the court [Westminster], to my lord of Canterbury, at Hampton-court.”¹

In parts of this order we trace the lingering tenderness of the king for her who had been so lately the object of his adoring fondness. It is also curious to observe how those, who at first raked up the most trivial gossips' tales (that six years before circulated among the menials of the duchess of Norfolk), in order to establish the fact of a pre-contract between Derham and the queen, now caution their colleagues “by no means to mention the *pre-contract*, lest it should serve her for an excuse to save her life.” The council had, in fact, come to the determination of proceeding against the queen on the awful charge of adultery, and, finding it impossible to convict her of that crime with Derham, they

¹ State Papers, p. 695.

determined to fix it on some other person. But so circumspect had been the deportment of Katharine since her marriage, that the only man to whom she had ever manifested the slightest degree of condescension was her first cousin, Thomas Culpepper, the son of her maternal uncle, Sir John Culpepper, of Holingbourne, in Kent. Thomas bore a bad character in his native county, which, however, did not prevent his appointment as a gentleman of the privy-chamber to Henry VIII. before the elevation of his fair kinswoman to the fatal dignity of queen-consort. His name is found among the royal appointments at the marriage of Anne of Cleves, and he distinguished himself in the jousts at Durham-house in honour of those nuptials. In the thirty-third year of king Henry he obtained the grant of three manors from the crown. The nearness of their relationship naturally caused great intimacy between him and Katharine, for they had been companions in childhood; but whether there were ever a matrimonial engagement in perspective between them, as suspected by her forsaken and jealous lover, Derham, previous to her union with the king, cannot now be ascertained. It is possible that such a report might have decided the council to implicate him with the queen in a charge of adultery. As this was the only means of dissolving the king's marriage, the queen's female attendants were strictly examined with a view to establish the charge. Whether these unfortunate women were examined by torture, like the men, or only put in terror of it, is not on record; but when we remember that Wriothsley and Rich were the agents by whom the evidences were collected, it may be supposed that they were not very scrupulous as to the means they employed. These were the men afterwards found superseding the more merciful executioner in his abhorrent office in the dungeon of the young, the lovely, and pious Anne Askew, when, provoked by her silent fortitude, they threw off their gowns and worked the rack with their own ferocious hands, till they nearly tore her delicate frame asunder. These two men were the most unprincipled and sanguinary of the whole swarm of *parvenus* of whom Henry's cabinet was composed. Wriothsley is thus portrayed by a contemporary poet:—

"From vile estate, of base and low degree,
By false deceit, by craft and subtle ways,
Of mischief mould, and key of cruelty,
Was crept full high, borne up by various stays.

* * * *

With ireful eye, or glaring like a cat,
Killing by spite whom he thought fit to hit." ¹

It is impossible to read Wriothsley's reports of the examinations of the witnesses without perceiving his deadly malice against the queen and her kindred. When writing to his colleague Sadler, he does not disguise his satisfaction at "pyking out anything that is likely to serve

¹ Cavendish.

the purpose of *our business*," as he calls it. "I assure you," writes he, "my woman Tylney hath done *us* worthy service and true, as it appeareth."¹ That the evidence on which Mr. Secretary Wriothesley felicitates himself so highly goes no further than to prove that the queen was surrounded by spies, who were disposed to place evil constructions on her most trifling departure from the rigour of royal etiquette, let the dispassionate reader judge. The following is a faithful transcript of the curiously indited document which contains the deposition of Katharine Tylney, at Westminster, November 13, 33 Henry VIII.—"She saith, that she remembers at Lincoln the queen went two nights out of her chamber, when it was late, to lady Rochford's chamber, which was up a little pair of stairs by the queen's chamber.² And the first night this deponent and Margaret,³ her colleague, went up with her; and the queen made them both go down again, but Margaret went up again eftsoons, and this deponent went to bed with Mrs. Fryswith (another of the queen's chamberers). As far as she remembereth, when it was late, about two of the clock, Margaret came up to bed to them; and she (Tylney) said to Margaret, 'Jesus! is not the queen abed yet?' and Margaret said, 'Yes, even now.' The second night, she says that 'the queen made all her fellows go to bed, and took only this deponent with her; at which time she tarried also in manner as long as she did the other night, during which time this deponent was in a little place with my lady Rochford's woman,' and therefore, 'on her peril,' saith 'she never saw who came unto the queen and my lady Rochford, nor heard what was said between them.'" The only way of reporting the examination of witnesses is, by stating both queries and replies verbatim: such was not however the mode of master Wriothesley's recital of Katharine Tylney's deposition, since, by omitting all his own queries and threats, and condensing all her replies into a subtly arranged narrative deposition, he produces an impression "that the queen went into lady Rochford's chamber to meet some person whom the deponent could not see." Now the tenor of the evidence is simply this, that Tylney saw no one; and even if there had been any one there, the place where she waited with lady Rochford's woman was so situate, that she could neither have seen nor heard what passed. But was there any one to see? as Wriothesley endeavours to imply; and to that straightforward question common sense replies, What need of implications by logical subtleties, if a fact so suspicious as the queen meeting any one secretly

¹ MS in State-Paper office.

² The chamber of the lady in waiting is situated precisely in the same way in the royal château of St. Germain's, up a small narrow staircase, through the lobby of the queen's back-stairs, for the convenience of private communication between the queen and her principal female attendant of state. The

customs of royalty in those days were much the same in England and France, the precedents having been formed by the French princesses who have worn the crown-matrimonial of this country.

³ Katharine Tylney and Margaret Morton were two of the queen's chamberers, or bed-chamber women.

in her lady in waiting's chamber at dead of night had really been elicited from Katharine Tylney, even by the terror of rack and gibbet. It was a period when admissions so extorted were used as legal evidence, therefore if Tylney had admitted such a proceeding on the part of her unhappy mistress, it would have been stated in report point-blank, without mincing the matter, as presumptive evidence of the general levity and impropriety of the queen, although it could not have established her guilt, since she was not alone.

Equally vague and inconclusive as the above is the context of Wriothesley's recital of Tylney's deposition.—“*Item.* She saith that the queen hath caused her to do sundry such strange messages to lady Rochford, that she could not tell how to utter them; and at Hampton-court, lately, she bade her go to my lady Rochford and ask her ‘When she should have the thing she promised her?’ And she (lady Rochford) answered, that ‘She sat up for it, and she would the next day bring her word herself.’ A like message and answer was conveyed to and from my lord of Suffolk.”¹ It is, of course, impossible to penetrate into the secret of these messages, but as the king's brother-in-law, Suffolk, was one of the parties concerned, it is impossible to imagine they were any way connected with love-affairs; if they had been, he would have deposed to that effect. The probability is, that they related to supplies of money, or the private purchase of jewels or articles of adornment, which the queen employed the agency of these persons to procure in an underhand way. Katharine, like all persons who have been early initiated into the dark mysteries of sin, had evidently acquired a systematic habit of concealment, even with regard to those trifling actions which, when openly performed, would never excite suspicion.

The testimony of Margaret Morton² (Tylney's companion) is unfavourable to the queen, as far as her own opinion goes. She imagined “that the lady Rochford was a party to some intrigue that the queen was carrying on when she was at Lincoln, Pontefract, and York. When they were at Pontefract,” she says, “the queen had angry words with Mrs. Luffkyn (another of the chamberers) and herself, and forbade their attendance in her bedchamber;” on which, these two women kept a jealous watch on her majesty's proceedings. “Lady Rochford,” Margaret said, “conveyed letters to and from the queen to Culpepper, as it was supposed; and that one night, when they were at Pontefract, and the queen was in her bedchamber with no other attendant than my lady Rochford, that lady (which was an unusual thing) did not only lock the chamber door, but bolted it in the inside also; and when the king came with the intent to pass the night there, he found the door fastened, and there was some delay before he was admitted.” It is possible, however, that the queen was in the bath, or so engaged as to

¹ MSS. State-Paper office, 33 Henry VIII.

² *Ibid.*

render it expedient to fasten her chamber door, for there is no evidence to prove that any *other* person was in the chamber besides the lady in waiting and the queen.

The fate of Anne Boleyn and her brother lord Rochford, had recently afforded melancholy witness on how slight grounds a queen of England might be sent to the block, and noble gentlemen (Norris, Brereton, and Weston) "done to death by slanderous tongues." The only evidence adduced in proof of the alleged crime of Anne Boleyn with her brother was, that he had leaned his hand on her bed; and now his widow, who had borne murderous testimony against her lord, was to be brought by retributive justice to an ignominious death on a charge of having been an accomplice in a royal intrigue, because she, as lady in waiting, had been present at an interview between the queen and her first cousin. Lady Rochford was many years older than her thoughtless mistress, and, having been lady of the bedchamber to the four preceding queens, she was well versed in all matters of royal etiquette, and ought to have warned the young, inexperienced consort of a sovereign so jealous as Henry of the misconstructions that might be placed on her conduct, if she gave a private audience to her cousin at an improper hour.

How greatly Katharine's health was shaken by the agitating scenes of that dreadful week, may be gathered from a letter of Sir Ralph Sadler, directing the archbishop and Wriothesley to "question the queen again with respect to her intimacy with Culpepper, if they found her in such a state of health and mind as to bear it." Nothing could induce Katharine to admit that there had ever been the slightest impropriety between her and this near relative. None of the great ladies in attendance on the queen were examined. Margaret Douglas, the king's niece, who was the first lady in waiting, however, received a severe reprimand,¹ not for being privy to any levity on the part of the queen, but for her own misconduct in having entered into a clandestine courtship with lord Charles Howard, the young uncle of the queen. Katharine was removed, 13th November, as a degraded prisoner from Hampton-court to Sion. Her disgrace was proclaimed to her attendants, who were assembled in the Star-chamber for that purpose, and the household was discharged.

Though many of the queen's ladies were, as we have seen, of the highest rank, the lord chancellor entered into all the details, in his declaration of Katharine's former misconduct with Derham, when both were in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk. He concluded with an intimation that there was "a still further appearance of abomination in the queen, which for the present he left in a cloud."² The very next day Henry's ministers (who were in great haste to proclaim the dishonour of their royal master to foreign nations) addressed a circular

¹ State Paper MS.

² State Papers, vol. i. p. 684.

announcing the whole order and story of the queen's early frailty and suspected adultery to the king's ministers abroad, and even confided all the details to the French ambassador. Francis I., in return, sent his condolences to Henry on the misbehaviour of Katharine Howard, saying, "He was sorry to hear of the great displeasures, troubles, and inquietations which his good brother had recently had by the naughty demeanour of her, lately reputed for queen."¹ The motives of Henry's council in thus blazoning the charges against the queen as facts, before they had been substantiated as such by a trial, are glaringly apparent. There was a strong yearning in the king's heart towards her, therefore the chance existed of her regaining her former influence, since no actual evidence could be brought of her disloyalty to him; and, in the event of a reconciliation, those who had accused Katharine would have cause to apprehend punishment for conspiring against her life and fame. They played their perilous game with too much skill to allow the bruised reed to rise again, and before the first transport of Henry's indignation had subsided sufficiently to admit of his forming a dispassionate judgment of the nature of his wrong they struck a master-stroke of policy, by inducing him to sanction the publication of details which would prevent the possibility of his ever receiving Katharine again as his queen.

In the mean time, information was conveyed to the council that the duchess of Norfolk, on hearing the rumour of the arrest of the queen and Derham, had secretly despatched a confidential servant, named Pewson, to Hampton-court, to ascertain the real state of the case. Pewson, on his return, told his lady "that it was reported that the queen had played the king false with Derham, and that Katharine Tylney was privy to her guilt." The duchess said "She could not think it was true; but if it were, all three deserved to be hanged." She then said to Derham's friend, Dampont, "I hear Mr. Derham is taken, and also the queen. What is the matter?" "Some words, belike, spoken by him to a gentleman usher," was the reply. The duchess expressed great alarm "lest any harm should befall the queen in consequence of evil reports."²

The duke of Norfolk was despatched, by order of the king, to make search at the duchess's house, at Lambeth, for Derham's papers and effects; before his arrival, however, the old duchess, with the assistance of the yeoman of her kitchen, and some others of her *meinë*, had broken open the coffers and trunks belonging to Derham, and carried off and (as it is supposed) destroyed everything that was likely to be brought in evidence against herself, or any of the parties implicated in a knowledge of the queen's early history.³ When the duke reported what had been done by his step-mother, she and all her servants were placed under arrest, and very strictly examined by the council. The following

¹ State Papers, vol. i. p. 684.

² State Paper MS., 33 Henry VIII.

³ Ibid.

is their account of the examination of one of the subordinates:—"First we began with Ashby, the duchess of Norfolk's man, and wrote on Sunday three or four leaves of paper, where, among many long tales of small importance, he said, that when the duchess broke up Derham's coffers, he (Ashby) and her comptroller (a priest) were present, besides the smith, who picked the one coffer and broke open the other. The duchess took out all the writings, and carried them to her chamber, saying she would peruse them at her leisure, without suffering any person to be present: the like she did, also, with such writings as were in his *mail*.¹ She declared that she meant not any of these things to come to revelation. She would have had Ashby take a satin coat belonging to Derham, in the place of 30s. 8d. which Derham owed him, but he refused it. He confessed, also, that the duchess had been in the greatest fear lest Alice Wilks should have told lord William of the familiarity between the queen and Derham. She would have sent one to Calais, to have informed the lord William Howard of this matter, if she had not been advised to the contrary. Ashby confessed that the duchess once said, that 'If there be no offence since the marriage, the queen ought not to die for what was done before,' and also, 'that she demanded whether the *pardon*² would not serve other persons who knew of their naughty life before the marriage.' Also, he confessed that she broke open a chest and two coffers of Dampart, after he was committed to the Tower, and likewise took out all his writings and letters at this breaking also. Ashby and her comptroller were present, and one Dunn, yeoman of her cellar, who played the smith's part."³ On a second and third examination of the persons concerned in this transaction, nothing further could be learned than that the duchess found several bundles of paper, some ballads, and books with musical notes for playing on the lute, among Derham's effects. How his trunks and personal property came to be in the duchess of Norfolk's house can only be accounted for on the supposition that his office at court did not entitle him to lodgings in the palace; that he was only there in rotation with other gentlemen in waiting, and that his general home was in the house of his noble kinswoman, the duchess of Norfolk.

Although his parentage is a mystery, for he appears as if standing alone in the world, connected only by some unexplained tie of kindred with the noble house of Howard, yet he always had the command of money, as we find by his costly presents to Katharine when she was living as a dependant in the house of the duchess. Being cross-questioned on some portions of Katharine Tylney's evidence, touching the duchess of Norfolk's knowledge of his clandestine courtship of the queen when a girl, Derham admitted the fact "that the duchess had once seen

¹ 'Malle,' the French word for portmanteau.

This pardon is frequently mentioned, but is inexplicable.

³ State Papers, vol. 1. p. 697.

him kiss her grand-daughter ; for which she struck him and beat her and gave Mrs. Bulmer a blow for permitting it," as related before. "Many times, also," he said, "she would blame him and mistress Katharine." He affirmed "that he was introduced into the royal household by the queen's desire, who told the duchess of Norfolk to bring him ;"¹ and this admission is, in reality, the only point in the evidence tending to criminate Katharine after her royal marriage. Then, however, it is to be observed, that Derham, from first to last, represented himself as the affianced husband of the queen, whom he still loved with unabated passion ; and there can be no doubt, as the ecclesiastical law then stood, that he could have invalidated her marriage with Henry, or any other man, by the proofs he adduced of his prior claim to her hand. Lady Howard deposed, that the queen once asked her, "Where Derham was?" and she replied, "He is here with my lord;" and the queen said, "My lady of Norfolk hath desired me to be good unto him." The circumstance of his being in the household had the worst possible effect on the queen's cause, and was used by the council as presumptive evidence that it was her intention to wrong the king. Henry naturally regarded it in that light.²

Mr. Secretary Wriothesley gives a lively account of the terror of the duchess of Norfolk, and her resistance to the royal mandate, when he brought the order for her arrest. The recent butchery of the aged countess of Salisbury of course rendered such a proceeding sufficiently alarming. The duchess immediately fell very ill, and "said she was not well enough to be removed;" on which, Wriothesley tells the council, "that he, and the earl of Southampton, and Mr. Pollard went to see her, the better to perceive whether she were indeed as sick as she pretended. . . . At first," says he,³ "we entered as though we had only come to visit and comfort her, whereby we perceived, in short space, that she was not so sick as she made for, but able enough to repair to my lord chancellor, as his highness appointed. Then began we to tell her that my lord chancellor had certain questions to demand of her, which should much serve to the clearing of the matter, and so advised her to repair to him, saying the matters were not long, *ne* such as we thought she would not both shortly and truly answer ; but here she began to be very sick again, 'even at the heart,' as she said, which was the sickness of mistrust that, if she went, she should not return again. Nevertheless, with much ado we got her to condescend to her going, and so we departed, to the intent that she should mistrust no false measure ; and we all staid at the house of *me* Sir Thomas Wriothesley, till we saw her barge pass. We have also travailed this day with Pewson, whom we have in custody, but he is yet stiff. Marry ! he confesseth already his going to Hampton-court after Derham's apprehension, 'but the purport of his

¹ State Paper MS., ?? Henry VIII.² Ibid.³ State Paper, vol. 1 p. 696.

going to those parts was to buy boards for my lady of Norfolk, and faggots for himself at Kingston,' as he saith; but we think he can, and shall tell another tale, wherein, as in all the rest, we shall travail to the best of our powers to get out the truth. Sir, we pray you to send hither all such examinations as you have touching these matters, that we may peruse them, and *pick* all such things out of them as may serve to the purpose of our business."¹

Katharine had now the bitter agony of learning that her aged relative was not only involved in her disgrace, but was sick and in prison, and in peril of being brought to a death of ignominy for having concealed her light conduct. "We twain," write Southampton and Wriothesley, "went to the Tower, and then first began with my lady of Norfolk, whom we found on her bed, as it appeared very sickly. Pressing her as much as we might to declare some further matter and knowledge touching the misconduct of the queen and Derham, assuring her on his majesty's behalf of her own life if she would in some sort make us her ghostly confessors, she made us answer, 'that she would take her death of it, that she never suspected anything wrong between them.' She took God to witness that she never thought them to be of that abominable sort she now knoweth them to be of; nevertheless, she will not deny but she perceived a sort of light love and favour between them more than between indifferent persons, and had heard that Derham would sundry times give her (Katharine Howard) money, which she thought proceeded from the affection that groweth of kindred, the same Derham being her kinsman. But in that she told not his majesty thereof before his marriage, and in that she brake Derham and Dampont's coffers, she confesseth to have offended God and his majesty, and beseecheth his highness most humbly, therefore, 'in his most noble heart to forgive her, and to be her good and gracious lord as he hath been, for otherwise her days would not be long.' We assure you she appeareth wondrous sorrowful, repentant, and sickly."²

Queen Katharine and her grandmother were both at this period sick nearly unto death with grief and terror, and in their separate prisons they were assailed with subtle interrogatories day after day by the pitiless members of king Henry's council, of which the purport was to outrage all the ties of nature by rendering them witnesses against each other. Some of the questions put to the unhappy queen bore no reference to her alleged offences, but are standing proofs of the insolent curiosity of those by whom she was examined. She was even asked "what change of apparel the duchess was wont to give her yearly, when under her care?" with other questions of the most irrelevant and trivial nature.³

¹ Letter from Wriothesley and Southampton to Sir Ralph Sadler.—State Papers, vol. I.

² State Papers, p. 722.

³ Proceedings of the Council, in State Paper office.

No evidence proving the crime of adultery against the queen could be extorted from the duchess of Norfolk, or any other witness. On the 31st of November, Culpepper and Derham were arraigned for high treason in Guildhall before the lord mayor, contrary to any previous form of law¹—justice was out of the question, for on the right hand of the intimidated civic magistrate sat the lord chancellor, on his left the duke of Suffolk. The lord privy-seal, the earls of Sussex and Hertford, with others of the council, sat also as judges that day.² By those great state-officers of the crown, some of whom had previously presided while the prisoners were questioned by torture, Derham and Culpepper were adjudged guilty, and condemned to the dreadful death decreed to traitors. But though this sentence was pronounced, no proof of the crime of which they were accused had been established, and as it was considered necessary to substantiate the charge against the queen, they were respited for a few days—not in mercy, but that they might be subjected to fresh examinations by torture. They bore their sufferings from day to day, if not unshrinkingly, without permitting anything that could criminate the queen to be wrung from the weakness of exhausted nature. Culpepper maintained the innocence of his royal kinswoman to the last unswervingly, nor could the extremity of torture draw from Derham an admission that the slightest criminality had passed between himself and Katharine since her marriage with the king.³ Dampont, his friend, was subjected to the torture of having his teeth forced out in the brakes, an instrument supposed to be the same as that called “the duke of Exeter’s daughter.” Worn out with his sufferings, Dampont at length desired to speak to one of the council, and he would make confession. The report of the two gentlemen to whom his admissions were made is as follows: “I, Sir John Gage, and I, Sir Richard Rich, went to him, and his saying for that time was, that Derham once said to him, when the king favoured mistress Katharine, ‘I could be sure of mistress Katharine Howard an’ [if] I would, but I dare not, the king beginneth to love her; but an’ he were dead, I might marry her.’⁴ Dampont also confesseth, that Derham told him that the duchess of Norfolk once said to a gentlewoman, in the queen’s chamber, pointing to him, ‘This is he who fled away to Ireland for the queen’s sake.’ Dampont confesseth this now, but would not do it before for any torture that he could be put to; we have resolved, that both he and Derham shall be seriously examined again this day of certain points. Derham maketh humble suit for the remission of some part of the extremity of his judgment, wherein we require you to know his majesty’s pleasure. He denied these confessions of Dampont. From Christ’s-church this Tuesday morning, December 6.”

¹ Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii.

² Holinshed, p. 1583, first edition.

³ State-Paper office MS.

⁴ State Papers, vol. I.

The council, by the king's direction, gave this reply to the query of the coadjutors in London: "Touching Culpepper and Derham, if your lordships do think that ye have got as much out of Derham as can be had, that ye shall then (giving them time that they may prepare themselves to God for the salvation of their souls) proceed to their execution."—"We think," writes Wriothesley again, "we can get no more of Derham than is already confessed; therefore, unless we shall hear otherwise from the king's majesty, we have resolved that they shall suffer to-morrow, December 9." This was followed by an order from the council in London to the council with the king, saying, "Though they thought the offence of Culpepper very heinous, they had given orders for him to be drawn to Tyburn, and there only to lose his head, according to his highness's most gracious determination." Derham petitioned for some mitigation of his cruel sentence, but when application was made to the king, the following was the reply: "The king's majesty thinketh he deserveth no mercy at his hand, and therefore hath determined that he shall undergo the whole execution."¹

On the following day, Derham and Culpepper were drawn to Tyburn. Culpepper, out of consideration to his noble connections, was beheaded; Derham was hanged and quartered, with the usual barbarous circumstances of a traitor's death: both protested their innocence of the crime for which they suffered. The heads of both were placed on London-bridge. Wriothesley expresses an enthusiastic wish "that every one's faults who were accused, might be *totted* on their own heads," and thus proceeds to sum up the malefactions of the duchess of Norfolk in the following order: "First, having knowledge of Katharine's derelictions, she did recommend her to his majesty; and afterwards was a *mean* [medium] for her to extend favour, or rather to renew favour, to Derham. And when Derham was taken and in the Tower for his treason, after the same was declared to her by the whole council, she did secretly break up two chests, and out of the same conveyed all such letters as might manifest her *own* knowledge of the affair."²

There is something peculiarly characteristic of the man in the zest with which Wriothesley enters into the proceedings against the unfortunate kindred of the queen. "Yesterday," he writes, "we committed the lord William Howard, his wife, and Anne Howard. The lord William stood as stiff as his mother, and made himself most clear from all mistrust or suspicion. I did not much like his fashion."³ This letter is in confidence to his colleague, and affords shrewd signs of a conspiracy in the council against the queen and her family. Why else should Wriothesley have disliked the appearance of fearless innocence in lord William Howard, or felt uneasy at the probability of his clearing himself from the charge that was aimed at his life? As for his pro-

¹ State Papers.² Ibid., 709, 710.³ State Paper MSS., 33 Henry VIII.

erty, that was immediately sequestered, and strict inquiry made into the truth of a report, "that some of his lordship's stuff [goods] had been thrown into the sea during the stormy passage of lord William and his family from France:" the loss was, however, confined to the mules and horses. The council were greatly embarrassed what to do with the infant children of lord William Howard, four in number, and those of lady Bridgewater, who were thus rendered homeless; but at last they consigned them to the custody of Cranmer, or the bishop of Durham, and lady Oxford, "to be dealt with according to their own discretion and convenience."¹

The unfairness with which the trials of lord William Howard and Dampfort were conducted was so great, that the master of the rolls, the attorney and solicitor-general, and three of the king's council, the very persons who had taken the examinations, were brought as witnesses against the prisoners, in lieu of other evidence.² The offence of Dampfort was simply that of being acquainted with the previous state of affairs between his friend Derham and the queen before her marriage, which, instead of revealing to the king, he had tattled to his acquaintance. He was, in the end, subjected to the most horrible tortures to compel him to make further disclosures, or rather, as the case really stood, to force him to purchase a respite by inventing incidents tending to furnish evidence of a criminal intimacy between Katharine and Derham after her marriage with the king, which the council had failed to prove. If Dampfort had possessed any such knowledge, he would doubtless have divulged it, for he had not the faculty of keeping a secret; yet he bore all the inflictions Wriothesley and his colleagues could devise in the shape of torture, rather than bear false witness against the queen and his former friend, Derham. The latter had actually been condemned and hung on the presumptive evidence of "having evil intentions." The crime of having seduced a noble maiden whom the king subsequently had unwittingly wedded, was his real offence; but, however deserving he was of death for such a breach of the law of God, his punishment was illegal, as the law of England does not decree the penalty of being hanged, drawn, and quartered for such transgressions.

The members of the council in London, in one of their letters to the council with the king, express a fear, "as the duchess of Norfolk is old and testy, that she may die out of perversity, to defraud the king's highness of the confiscation of her goods; therefore it will be most advisable that she, and all the other parties named in a former letter, may be indicted forthwith of misprision of treason, whereby the parliament should have better grounds to *confiskee* their goods than if any of them chanced to die before the bill of attainder passed."³ Here, then,

¹ Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii. pp. 280, 283.

² Lingard, vol. vi. p. 315.

³ State Papers, vol. i.

was a laudable attention to contingencies of life and death for the benefit of the royal purse. Shades of Dudley and Empson, hide your diminished heads, while the proceedings of the monarch who brought ye to the scaffold for deeds of wrong and robbery are unveiled ! In a letter, dated December 11, his majesty's council is advertised by the council in London, that they had found the value of 2000 marks in money, and about 600 or 700 in plate, belonging to the duchess of Norfolk.¹ The disgusting thirst for plunder, which is so marked a feature in the proceedings of the king and his council at this period, was further gratified on the 21st, when Southampton, Wriothesley, and Sadler triumphantly wrote to Henry, to inform him that they had had another interview with the poor sick old duchess, who had voluntarily confessed where she had hid 800*l.* in money of her own property.² On the news of this unexpected addition to their prey, they informed the aged captive that it was the king's gracious intention to spare her life ; whereupon she fell on her knees with uplifted hands, and went into such paroxysms of hysterical weeping, that these gentlemen were "sorely troubled" to raise her up again. Henry certainly appears to have derived much consolation for his matrimonial mortifications from the rich spoils of plate, jewels, and money that were torn from the kindred of his unhappy queen. Sir John Gorstwick and John Skinner were appointed to go to Ryegate to lord William Howard's house, to take an inventory of all the money, jewels, goods, and chattels they should find there, and bring the same to the council ; Mr. Secretary Wriothesley, master Pollard, and Mr. attorney were appointed to go to the duchess of Norfolk's and lord William's houses, at Lambeth, for the same purpose. Sir Richard Long and Sir Thomas Pope were sent on the like errand to the lady Bridgewater's houses in Kent and Southwark : the duchess of Norfolk's house at Horsham had been previously ransacked. Lady Rochford's house at Blickling, in Norfolk, was also put under sequestration.

Damport, Manox, and the duchess of Norfolk's servants were found guilty of the crime of misprision of treason. They made pitiful supplication for mercy, and the punishment of death was remitted by the king. Mary Lassells was, by the desire of the council with the king, exempted from the indictment for misprision of treason, in which all the parties privy to the queen's early frailty were included. So low had the personal dignity of the sovereign fallen, that a feeling of gratitude was expressed in his majesty's name to this woman, because "she did from the first opening of the matter to her brother seem to be sorry, and to lament that the king's majesty had married the queen."³ Great credit is given by the council to Mary Lassells for her good service in having revealed the matter, and also that she had

¹ State Papers, vol. i.² Ibid MS.³ Ibid, vol. i.

refused to enter into the service of the queen. Beyond her own assertion, there is not the slightest evidence that she ever had the offer of doing this, and it was probably Katharine's neglect or forgetfulness of this woman that provoked her to the denouncement. It is impossible to overlook her enmity to the queen throughout. So end the friendships of vice.

The new year opened dismally on the fallen queen, who was still confined to the two apartments hung with mean stuff that had been allotted to her in the desecrated abbey of Sion. Her reflections during the two dreary months she had worn away in her wintry prison may be imagined: they were months replete with every agony—shame, grief, remorse, and terrible suspense. On the 16th of January, 1541-2, the new parliament that was to decide the fate of the queen met at Westminster. Katharine had, indeed, received a promise in the king's name from Cranmer that her life should be spared; but if, relying on the sacredness of that promise, she had fondly imagined the bitterness of death was passed, she must have been the more astounded when the bill for her attainder was brought into the house of lords. She was without friends, counsellors, or money at this awful crisis. The only person who might have succoured her in her sore distress was her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, if he had been so disposed. This nobleman was one of the greatest men of the age. In point of naval, military, and diplomatic talents he had no second. He was the premier peer of England, and his unbounded wealth enabled him to retain in his band of pensioners a little standing army of his own, in defiance of all the royal edicts against feudal retainers. He had the power of rising up in the house of lords, and demanding that his niece, the queen of England, should be allowed the privilege of an Englishwoman—a privilege which the lowliest subjects, the most atrocious criminal in the realm, could claim—a fair trial for the offences of which she had been accused by her enemies; and that, if guilty, she should be proved so by the law, and not treated as such on presumption only.

But Katharine had offended her uncle by withdrawing herself from his political tutelage. Like her fair and reckless cousin, Anne Boleyn, she had spurned his trammels in the brief hour of her queenly pride, and when the day of her adversity arrived, he not only abandoned her to her fate, but ranged himself on the side of her enemies. We have seen how this duke treated Anne Boleyn at the time of her trial; his conduct to the unhappy Katharine, whom he had been partly the means of placing in a situation so full of peril even to a woman of sound principles and approved conduct, appears scarcely less cruel. It is impossible that feelings of personal apprehension could have elicited from the conqueror of Sir Andrew Barton, and one of the victors of Flodden, the expressions we find in the following extract of his letter to the king, on

the arrest of the members of his family who were involved in the disgrace of the queen :—

“THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

“Most noble and gracious Sovereign Lord: yesterday came to my knowledge that mine ungracious mother-in-law, mine unhappy brother and his wife, with my lewd sister of Bridgewater, were committed to the Tower, which I (by long experience knowing your accustomed equity and justice used to all your subjects) am sure is not done but for some of their false and traitorous proceedings against your royal majesty; which revolving in my mind, with also the most abominable deeds done by two of my nieces¹ against your highness, hath brought me into the greatest perplexity that ever poor wretch was in, fearing that your majesty, having so often and by so many of my kin been thus falsely and traitorously handled, might not only conceive a displeasure in your heart against me and all other of kin, but also abhor in manner to hear speak of any of the same. Wherefore, most gracious sovereign lord, prostrate at your feet most humbly I beseech your majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter has come to light by my declaration to your majesty, according to my bounden duty, of the words spoken to me by my mother-in-law when your highness sent me to Lambeth to search Derham's coffers, without the which I think she had not further been examined, nor consequently her ungracious children. Which my true proceeding towards your majesty being considered, and also the small love my two false traitorous nieces and my mother-in-law have borne unto me, doth put me in some hope that your highness will not conceive any displeasure in your most gentle heart against me, that God knoweth did never think thought which might be to your discontentation.”²

This letter seems to throw some light on the hostility of the duke of Norfolk to the unfortunate queens, his nieces. They had evidently espoused the cause of his step-mother, the old duchess Agnes, in the family feud, and her influence had probably been exerted, both with Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard, in crossing his political measures and lessening his credit at court.

The bill for the attainder of Katharine Howard, late Queen of England, Jane lady Rochford, Agnes Howard duchess of Norfolk, Anne countess of Bridgewater, lord William Howard, Anne Howard, wife to the queen's brother Henry, and some others, was read for the first time January 21.³ On the 28th, the lord chancellor, feeling some misgivings as to the legality of bringing the queen and so many noble ladies to the block without allowing the accused the opportunity of making the slightest defence, reminded the peers “how much it concerned them all not to proceed too hastily with the bill for attainder of the queen and others, which had been yet only read once among them;” bidding them remember, “that a queen was no mean or private person, but a public and illustrious one: therefore her cause ought to be judged in a manner that should leave no room for suspicion of some latent quarrel, and that she had not liberty to clear herself if, perchance, by reason or counsel she were able to do it.” For this purpose he proposed “that a deputation, as well of the commons as of the lords, should go to the queen partly to tell her the cause of their coming, and partly, in order to help her womanish fears, to advise her to have presence of mind sufficient to say anything to make her cause the better.” He added, “that it was

¹ Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard.

² State Papers, vol. i

³ Journals of Parliament.

but just that a princess should be tried by equal laws with themselves, and expressed his assurance that it would be most acceptable to her most loving consort if the queen could clear herself in this way," and in the mean time the bill against her was ordered to be suspended.¹ This equitable proposition of the lord chancellor was disapproved and negatived by the privy council,² by whom it was determined that no opportunity, however limited, should be granted to Katharine of either speaking in her own defence, or impugning the testimony of the witnesses on whose unsifted depositions she was to be brought to the block. Whatever the conduct of the queen had been, she was in this instance the victim of the most unconstitutional despotism, and the presumption may be reasonably drawn, from the illegality and unfairness of the proceedings of the privy council, that the evidence against her could not have been substantiated, if investigated according to the common forms of justice.

The demeanour of the unfortunate young queen at this dread crisis of her fate is thus described by a contemporary statesman:—"January 29. —The queen is still at Sion, very cheerful, and more plump and pretty than ever. She is as careful about her dress, and as imperious and wilful as when with the king, although she expects to be put to death, which she confesses she has well deserved, and asks for no favour excepting that she may not be put to death publicly. If the king does not mean to marry again, he may show mercy to her, or if he can divorce her, under plea of adultery, he may take another, which question has been debated by learned theologians; yet there is no appearance that the king thinks of another woman."³

On the 30th of January the lord chancellor declared "that the council, disliking the message that was to be sent to the queen, had thought of another way less objectionable; which was, to petition the king that the parliament might have leave to proceed to give judgment and finish the queen's cause, that the event of that business might no longer be in doubt; that his majesty would be pleased to pardon them, if by chance in speaking of the queen they might offend against the statutes then in existence; that the attainder against Derham and Culpepper might be confirmed by authority of parliament; and that his majesty would, out of regard to his own health, spare himself the pain of giving his assent in person to the bill of attainder, but allow it to pass by letters patent under his great seal."⁴ The bill was, with brutal haste, hurried through both houses, February 6. On the 10th, the queen was conveyed by water from her doleful prison at Sion to the Tower of London, under the charge of the duke of Suffolk, the lord privy-seal, and the lord great-chamberlain.⁵ No record has been preserved of the manner in which

¹ Journals of Parliament, 34 Henry VIII. Parliamentary Hist. vol. iii. p. 178.

² Ibid.

³ Report of Eustachio Capucius, Spanish ambassador in London, to Charles V.

⁴ Journals of Parliament.

⁵ Holinshed; first edition.

Katharine Howard received the announcement that she must prepare for this ominous change. It is possible that, till that moment, the elastic spirits of youth, and a fond reliance on Cranmer's promise, had preserved

"The hope that keeps alive despair."

Those by whom she was guarded and attended on her last, cold desolate voyage have been silent as to her deportment; and no page in history tells us whether Katharine Howard behaved with the proud firmness of a descendant of the Plantagenets, or betrayed the passionate grief and terror of a trembling woman when the portentous arch of the traitor's gate overshadowed her devoted head. From the length of the voyage and the season of the year, it is probable that darkness must have closed over the wintry waters of the Thames before the forlorn captive arrived at her destination, exhausted with fatigue and benumbed with cold. If this were the case, she was spared the horror of beholding the heads of her seducer Derham, and her unfortunate cousin, Thomas Culpepper, over the bridge. The Spanish resident minister informs his sovereign "that the queen was not removed from Sion to the Tower without difficulty and some resistance. She was brought down the river in a small barge, with three or four men and as many women, preceded by a barge containing the lord privy-seal and many servants. The duke of Suffolk came behind, as a rear guard, in a large boat crowded with his retinue. When they reached the Tower stairs, the lords disembarked first, and afterwards the queen, in a dress of black velvet. The same forms of respect were paid her as when she shared the throne."¹ She was, two days after, Sunday evening, instructed to disburden her conscience, as she was to die the following day. No one appears ever to have felt deeper contrition for the offences of her youth than this unhappy queen. When she was informed that she must prepare for death, she addressed her confessor, Dr. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, in these words, which were afterwards delivered by him to a noble young lord of her name and near alliance: "As to the act, my reverend lord, for which I stand condemned, God and his holy angels I take to witness, upon my soul's salvation, that I die guiltless, never having so abused my sovereign's bed. What other sins and follies of youth I have committed, I will not excuse; but am assured that for them God hath brought this punishment upon me, and will, in his mercy, remit them, for which, I pray you, pray with me unto his Son, and my Saviour, Christ."² One night of suspense was passed by Katharine in her new prison lodging before her fate was sealed.

Henry gave his assent by commission the following day, February 11 to the bill of attainder against his once-idolized consort. The same instrument included the names of Jane lady Rochford, Thomas Cul-

Eustachio Capucius.

² Speed, 1030. Carte. Burnet.

pepper, and Francis Derham. The heads of those gentlemen had been, for the last two months, withering on London-bridge; so to them the sentence was immaterial. Notwithstanding the deceitful assurances of the royal grace that had been held out to the aged duchess of Norfolk by Wriothesley, for the purpose of beguiling her, if possible, into becoming a witness against her grand-daughter, the queen, she was included in the act of attainder, for Henry was resolutely bent on taking her life. He maintained that the offence of breaking open Derham's coffers and destroying the papers she took from thence, was sufficient evidence of the crime of high treason.¹ The judges, compliant as they were in most cases, had, in this instance, ventured to dissent from his majesty, as it was impossible to ascertain of what nature those papers were. Henry was irritated at the opinion of his law-officers, and said, "That there was as much reason to convict the duchess of Norfolk of treason, as there had been to convict Derham. They cannot say," he observes, "that they have any learning, to maintain that they have a better ground to make Derham's case treason, and to suppose that his coming again to the queen's service was to an ill intent of the renovation of his former naughty life, than they have, in this case, to presume that the breaking open of the coffers was to the intent to conceal letters of treason."² Thus we learn, from the highest possible authority, that Derham suffered on presumptive evidence only; not that he *had* wronged the sovereign, but that he had conceived an intention of doing so. Derham maintained his innocence through all the extremities of torture that were inflicted, and it is a violation of history for any modern historian to assert that he confessed the crime with which he was charged.

The lord chancellor produced the bill, with the royal seal, in the house of lords, and desired the commons might attend. Previously, however, to the entrance of that body, the duke of Suffolk rose, and stated "That he and his fellow-deputies had been with the queen, and that she had openly confessed to them the great crime of which she had been guilty against the most high God and a kind prince, and, lastly, against the whole English nation; that she begged of them all to implore his majesty not to impute her crime to her whole kindred and family, but that his majesty would extend his unbounded mercy and benevolence to all her brothers, that they might not suffer for her faults; lastly, she besought his majesty, that it would please him to bestow some of her clothes on those maid-servants who had been with her from the time of her marriage, since she had now nothing else left to recompense them as they deserved."³ The earl of Southampton rose and confirmed what the duke said, but added something which has been obliterated from the journals of that day's pre-

State Papers, 700.

² Journals of Parliament. Parl. Hist. Lingard.³ Journals of Parliament. Lingard.

ceedings, which, it is conjectured, was done to prevent posterity from learning some fact connected with the fate of the Howard queen. When the commons entered, the assent of the king to the bill was given by commission, and the fatal sentence, "*le roi le veut*," was pronounced to the act which deprived a queen of England of her life without trial, and loaded her memory with obloquy of so dark a hue, that no historian has ventured to raise the veil, even to inquire how far the charges are based on fact.

The persons who went with the duke of Suffolk to receive the confession of the queen, were those by whom she had been first accused to the king, viz., Cranmer, Southampton, Audley, and Thirlby.

Cranmer had humanely tried, by every means in his power, to induce Katharine to preserve her life by acknowledging a pre-contract with Francis Derham. But she repelled the idea with scorn; and, with the characteristic firmness of a Howard, determined rather to go to the block as queen of England, than to prolong her dishonoured existence on the terms suggested. The church of Rome allowed no divorce except in cases of pre-contract; and, as Katharine would not admit that she was troth-plight to Francis Derham, there was no other mode of severing Henry's matrimonial engagement with her than by the axe of the executioner. The only person against whom she testified resentment was her uncle Norfolk, who, in a letter to the council, written when he, in his turn, lay under sentence of death in the Tower, thus expresses himself of her and Anne Boleyn:¹—"What malice both my nieces that it pleased the king's highness to marry did bear unto me, is not unknown to such ladies as kept them in *this house*,² as my lady Herbert, my lady Tyrwhitt, my lady Kingston, and others, which heard what they said of me." In the same letter the duke shows sufficient cause for the indignation expressed by the unhappy Katharine against him for his unmanly conduct to the unfortunate ladies of his family in their distress, since he boasts that he was the principal witness against the poor old duchess, his father's widow, saying, "Who showed his majesty the words of my mother-in-law, for which she was attainted of misprision, but only I?"³ Katharine, when she vented the natural feelings of contempt and bitterness against her cruel uncle, had every reason to believe that her aged grandmother would follow her to the block, as she then lay under sentence of death in the Tower: who can wonder that she regarded Norfolk with horror?

The interval allowed to the un-queened Katharine Howard between her condemnation and the execution of her sentence was brief. More time to prepare for the awful change from life to eternity would have been granted to the lowest criminal who should have been found guilty

¹ Letter of the duke of Norfolk, in Guthrie and Burnet.

² Viz., the Tower of London, when they were under sentence there. By this it appears that the ladies named above were

at that time with queen Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard.

³ Letter of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, to the council; MS. Cotton.

by the laws of his country, than was allotted to her who had snared the throne of the sovereign. The royal assent to her attainder was signified to her February 11, and she was executed on the morning of the 13th. But Katharine Howard, though still in the morning of life and the bloom of beauty, was already weaned from the world: she had proved the vanity of all its delusions, and the deceitfulness of royal favour. The night before she was to suffer, she desired that the block might be brought in, that she might learn the best way of placing herself. This was done, and she practised the proper method.¹ At seven the next morning, all the king's council, excepting the duke of Suffolk, who was very ill, came to the Tower with many lords and gentlemen, among the rest the earl of Surrey, the queen's cousin. "Familiarized as the people now were with the sight of blood," observes Tytler, "it was not without some feelings of national abasement that they beheld another queen ignominiously led to the scaffold," and that, we may add, to die, not according to the law, but in defiance of the laws of England, which have provided, for the security of human life, that no one shall be put to death without a fair and open trial. Frivolous as were the evidences on which Anne Boleyn was condemned, she was allowed the privilege of speaking for herself. Her wit, her acuteness and impassioned eloquence, if heard with callous indifference by her partial judges, have pleaded her cause to all posterity—they plead for her still. Katharine Howard was led like a sheep to the slaughter, without being permitted to unclothe her lips in her own defence, save to her spiritual adviser, who received her last confession. This prelate, be it remembered, was also the king's confessor, the same whom he had required upon All Saints'-day to unite with him in thanking God for having blessed him with such a wife!

More sympathy would in all probability have been manifested for the young, the beautiful, and deeply penitent queen, if she had had any other companion on the scaffold than the infamous lady Rochford, whose conduct in regard to her accomplished husband and Anne Boleyn had rendered her an object of general execration. Katharine Howard submitted to the headsman's stroke with meekness and courage, and her more guilty companion imitated her humility and piety in the closing scene of their fearful tragedy. A cloth was thrown over the bleeding body of the young queen, and it was removed by her ladies.²

"I saw," writes an eye-witness, "the queen and the lady Rochford suffer within the Tower the day following my letter on Sunday evening, whose souls (I doubt not) be with God. For they made the most godly and Christian end that ever was heard tell of (I think) since the world's creation, uttering their lively faith in the blood of Christ only, and with godly words and steadfast countenances they desired all Christian people

¹ Report of Capucius to Charles V

² *Ibid.*

to take regard unto their worthy and just punishment of death for their offences against God heinously from their youth upward, and also against the king's royal majesty very dangerously; wherefore they, being justly condemned (as they said) by the laws of the realm and parliament, required the people (I say) to take example at them for amendment of ungodly lives, and to gladly obey the king in all things—for whose preservation they did heartily pray, and willed all people so to do, commending their souls to God, and earnestly calling upon him for mercy.”¹

Thus died, in the flower of her age, and in the eighteenth month of her marriage, queen Katharine Howard, the fifth wife of Henry VIII., and the second queen whom he had sent to the block, after repudiating a lawful wife to obtain her hand.

That doubts were entertained of the guilt of queen Katharine Howard, from the misgivings of the lord chancellor after the first reading of the bill for her attainder, appears, and may also be inferred from the following contemporary notice among the Lambeth MSS. :—“This day, February 13, was executed queen Katharine for many shocking misdemeanours, though some do suppose her to be innocent.” The last words of lady Rochford were, “That she supposed God had permitted her to suffer this shameful doom as a punishment for having contributed to her husband's death by her false accusation of queen Anne Boleyn, but she was guilty of no other crime.”² This declaration was made on the scaffold, probably after she had seen the head of her royal mistress severed by the axe of the executioner. If urged by conscience at that dreadful moment to acknowledge the guilt of perjury and murder, she would scarcely have marred her dying confession by falsely protesting her innocence of the more venial offences for which she had been sentenced to die with the queen. The scaffold on which Katharine Howard and lady Rochford suffered was the same on which Anne Boleyn, the marquis of Exeter, and the venerable countess of Salisbury had been previously executed. It was erected within the Tower, before the church of St. Peter-ad-Vincula. It has been long since removed; but its site may still be traced at a little distance by the indelible stains on the flints, which faintly map out the dimensions of the fatal spot where so much royal and noble blood was spilt by the headsman's axe during the Tudor reigns of terror.

Christina, duchess-dowager of Milan to whom the royal Bluebeard offered his hand, declined the honour with this sarcastic observation, that “If she had had two heads, one should have been at his service.”

Henry's motives for marrying Katharine Howard are thus explained in a

¹ Ottwell Johnson to his brother Joann Johnson, merchant of the Staple at Calais. At London, 15th of Feb. 1541-2.

² Leti.

letter from the privy council to Mr. Paget, his ambassador in France, written by her uncle the duke of Norfolk:—"It pleased his highness, upon a notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour, to bend his affection towards Mrs. Katharine Howard, daughter to the lord Edmund Howard (brother to *me* the duke of Norfolk); insomuch that his highness was finally contented to honour her with his marriage, thinking now in his old age, after sundry troubles of mind which have happened unto him by marriages, to have obtained such a perfect jewel of womanhood and very perfect love to him, as should have not only been to his quietness, but also brought forth the desired fruit of marriage, like as the whole realm thought semblable, and did her all honour accordingly."¹ In the act of settlement of the succession, the imaginary children which Henry expected his fair young consort to bring him, were given the preference to his disinherited daughters by his first two queens. Katharine Howard, like her cousin Anne Boleyn, probably fared the worse for not having fulfilled the royal tyrant's wish of male offspring. "Give me children or you die," appears to have been the fearful alternative offered by Henry to his queens. He had assumed the title of king of Ireland a few days before the execution of his fifth consort. Katharine Howard therefore died the first queen of England and Ireland.

The mangled form of Katharine Howard was borne from the bloody scaffold to a dishonoured grave with indecent haste and no more regard to funereal obsequies than had been vouchsafed to her unfortunate cousin, and predecessor in the fatal dignity of queen, Anne Boleyn, near whose ostensible place of burial her remains were interred. Weever gives the following record of her grave:—"In St. Peter's chapel of the Tower, very near the relics of Anne Boleyn, lieth interred the body of Katharine, the fifth wife of Henry VIII., the daughter of Edmund and niece to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk. It is verily believed, and many strong reasons are given both by English and foreign writers, that neither this queen Katharine nor queen Anne were any way guilty of the breach of matrimony whereof they were accused."—"If all the patterns of a merciless tyrant had been lost to the world," says Sir Walter Raleigh, when speaking of Henry VIII., "they might have been found in this prince." He has found a panegyrist, nevertheless, in an eloquent modern writer; but facts are stubborn things. Henry VIII. was the first king of England who brought ladies to the block, and who caused the tender female form to be distorted with tortures and committed a living prey to the flames. He was the only king who sought consolation for the imagined offences of his wives against his honour by plundering their relatives of their plate and money. Shame, not humanity, prevented him from staining the scaffold with the blood of the aged duchess of Norfolk; he released her after long imprisonment

¹ Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.,

Nikander Nucius, a Greek attaché of the imperial ambassador at the court of Henry VIII. in the year 1546, tells us that Katharine Howard, whom he places as the fourth, instead of the fifth, in his catalogue of Henry's wives, "was esteemed the most beautiful woman of her time." He records her tragic fate, but has so little idea of the real state of the facts that he says, "She had fallen in love with a noble youth of the court, and the king himself detected their guilt, and commanded their heads to be cut off, with those who were the accessories to their passion. And the heads, except that of the queen, he caused to be elevated on spears, and fixed on one of the turrets of the bridge; and the skulls are even at this time to be seen, denuded of flesh." A strange confusion of truth and falsehood pervades this statement, but it is curious, because from the pen of a contemporary, and denoting the precise spot occupied by the heads of Culpepper and Derham. Nikander's ignorance of the English language caused him to make a few mistakes in the history attached to these ghastly relics of the royal matrimonial tragedy which occurred in 1541-2.

George Cavendish introduces the sorrowful shade of the unfortunate Howard queen among his metrical visions. A few lines may bear quotation. As written by her contemporary they are very curious:—

"Thus as I sat (the tears within my eyen,
Of her the wreck whiles I did debate,
Before my face me-thought I saw this queen,
No whit as I her left, God wot, of late,
But all be-wept, in black, and poor estate,
Which prayed me that I would ne forget
The fall of her within my book to set."

Notwithstanding the rudeness of the measure, there is something very pathetic in the piteous imagery of the fallen queen, "all be-wept, in black, and poor estate," petitioning for her place in the melancholy train of contemporary victims, of which the shadowy *dramatis personæ* of George Cavendish's book is made up. She is not much beholden to his report after all, for he violates history by making her confess that which she denied before God and his holy angels, namely, violation of her marriage vows. Cavendish speaks of her as very young, and extols her great beauty, which he makes her lament as the occasion of her fall:—

"To be a queen Fortune did me prefer,
Flourishing in youth with beauty fresh and pure,
Whom Nature made shine equal with the *steere* [stars],
And to reign in felicity with joy and pleasure,
Wanting no thing that love might me procure,
So much beloved, far, far beyond the rest,
With my sovereign lord, who lodged me in his nest."

Our poet makes the young queen bewail her loss of the royal obsequies,

and that no one would wear mourning for her, in the following quaint lines:—

“ Now I know well,” quod she, “ among my friends all,
That here I left the day of my decay,
That I shall get no pompous funeral,
Nor of my black no man the charge shall pay;
Save that some one, perchance, mayhap to say,
‘ Such one there was, alas! and that was *ruth* [pity
That she herself distained with such untruth.’ ”

Culpepper is also compelled by our poet to make a ghostly confession of a crime there is no evidence to believe he ever committed, and which he denied on the rack and on the scaffold. It is, however, to be observed, that Cavendish makes all Henry’s victims suffer justly, except the countess of Salisbury, though the view he has taken of both Katharine Howard and her predecessor Anne Boleyn is afterwards contradicted very fully, by the admission he describes Henry as making in the midst of his death-bed remorse:—

“ After I forsook my first most lawful wife,
And took another my pleasure to fulfil,
I changed often, so inconstant was my life.
Death was the meed of some that did none ill,
Which only was to satisfy my will.”

It was in consequence of the discovery of Katharine Howard’s early misconduct, that the memorable act of parliament was passed, making it high treason for any person to know of a flaw in the character of any lady whom the king might propose to marry without revealing it; and also subjecting the lady to the penalty of death, if she presumed to deceive her sovereign on that point.

The attainder of queen Katharine Howard wanted one of the ingredients necessary for its validity, viz., the signature of the king’s own hand, and this defect constituted one of the reasons for annulling it by statute, first year of Mary.

Thus the unfortunate Katharine Howard was positively murdered, for neither the act for her attainder nor her death-warrant was signed by the king.

KATHARINE PARR

SIXTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

KATHARINE PARR was the first Protestant queen of England. She was the only one among the consorts of Henry VIII. who, in the sincerity of an honest heart, embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, and imperilled her crown and life in support of her principles. The name of Katharine, which, from its Greek derivation *Katharos*, signifies "pure as a limpid stream," seems peculiarly suited to the characteristics of this illustrious lady, in whom we behold the protectress of Coverdale, the friend of Anne Askew—the learned and virtuous matron who directed the studies of lady Jane Gray, Edward VI., and queen Elizabeth, and who may, with truth, be called the nursing-mother of the Reformation.

Katharine Parr was not only queen of England, but an English queen. Although of ancient and even royal descent, she claimed, by birth, no other rank than that of a private gentlewoman. Like Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, Katharine Parr was only the daughter of a knight; but her father, Sir Thomas Parr, was of a more distinguished ancestry than either Sir Thomas Boleyn or Sir John Seymour. From the marriage of his Norman progenitor, Ivo de Tallebois, with Lucy, the sister of the renowned earls Morcar and Edwin, Sir Thomas Parr inherited the blood of the Anglo-Saxon kings. Ivo de Tallebois was the first baron of Kendal, and maintained the state of a petty sovereign in the north. The male line failing with William de Lancaster, the seventh in descent, the honour and estates of that mighty family passed to his sisters Helwise and Alice. Margaret, the elder co-heiress of Helwise by Peter le Brus, married the younger son of Robert lord Roos, of Hamlake and Werks, by Isabel, daughter of Alexander II. king of Scotland. Their grandson, Sir Thomas de Roos, married Katherine, the daughter of Sir Thomas Strickland, of Sizergh-castle, Westmoreland. The fruit of this union was an only daughter, Elizabeth, who brought Kendal-castle and a rich inheritance into queen Katharine's paternal house, by

her marriage with Sir William de Parr, knight. Sir William Parr, the grandson of this pair, was made knight of the Garter, and married Elizabeth, one of the co-heiresses of the lord Fitzhugh, by Alice, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland and Joanna Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Alice Neville was sister to the king's great-grandmother, Cicely Neville, duchess of York; and, through this connection, Katharine Parr was fourth cousin to Henry VIII.¹

From the elder co-heiress of Fitzhugh, the patrimony of the Marmions, the ancient champions of England, was transmitted to Sir Thomas Parr, father of queen Katharine. Her mother, Matilda, or, as she was commonly called, Maud Green, was daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Green, of Boughton and Green's Norton, in the county of Northampton. This lady was a descendant of the distinguished families of Talbot and Throckmorton. Her sister Anne wedded Sir Nicholas Vaux, afterwards created lord Vaux of Harrowden; and, dying childless, the whole of the rich inheritance of the Greens of Boughton centred in Matilda.² At the age of thirteen Matilda became the wife of Sir Thomas Parr. This marriage took place in the year 1508. The date generally assigned for the birth of Katharine Parr is 1510; but the correspondence between her mother and lord Dacre, in the fifteenth year of king Henry VIII., in which her age is specified to be *under* twelve,³ will prove that she could not have been born till 1513. Her father, Sir Thomas Parr, at that time held high offices at court, being master of the wards and comptroller of the household to Henry VIII. As a token of royal favour, we find that the king presented him with a rich gold chain, value 140*l.*—a very large sum in those days.⁴ Both Sir Thomas and his lady were frequent residents in the court; but the child who was destined hereafter to share the throne of their royal master, first saw the light at Kendal-castle, in Westmoreland, the time-honoured fortress which had been the hereditary seat of her ancestors from the days of its Norman founder, Ivo de Tallebois.

A crumbling relic of this stronghold of feudal greatness is still in existence, rising like a grey crown over the green hills of Kendal. It is situate on a lofty eminence, commanding a panoramic view of the town and the picturesque, ever-verdant vale of the Kent, that clear and rapid stream which, night and day, sings an unwearied song as it rushes over its rocky bed at the foot of the castle-hill. The circular tower of the castle is the most considerable portion of the ruins, but there is a large enclosure of ivy-mantled walls remaining, with a few broken arches. These are now crowned with wild flowers, whose peaceful blossoms wave unnoted where the red-cross banner of St. George once flaunted on tower and parapet of the sternly-guarded fortress that for centuries was

¹ Dugdale.² Baker's Northamptonshire, corrected from Dugdale.³ Hopkinson's MSS. Whittaker's Richmondshire.⁴ See Sir Thomas Parr's will, in *Testamenta Vetusta*.

regarded as the most important defence of the town of Kendal and the adjacent country.

The warlike progenitors of Katharine had stern duties to perform at the period when the kings of Scotland held Cumberland of the English crown and were perpetually harassing the northern counties with predatory expeditions. Before the auspicious era when the realms of England and Scotland were united under one sovereign, the lord of Kendal-castle and his feudal neighbour of Sizergh were compelled to furnish a numerous quota of men-at-arms, for the service of the crown and the protection of the border. The contingent consisted of horse and foot, and, above all, of those bowmen so renowned in border history and song, the Kendal archers. They are thus noted by the metrical chronicler of the battle of Flodden,

“ These are the bows of Kentdale bold,
Who fierce will fight and never flee.”

Dame Maud Parr evinced a courageous disposition in venturing to choose Kendal-castle for the place of her accouchement, at the time when the northern counties were menaced with an invasion from the puissance and flower of Scotland, headed by their king in person. Sir Thomas Parr was, however, obliged to be on duty there with his warlike *meiné*, in readiness either to attend the summons of the lord warden of the marches, or to hold the fortress for the defence of the town and neighbourhood; and his lady, instead of remaining in the metropolis, or seeking a safer abiding-place at Green's Norton, her own patrimonial domain, decided on sharing her husband's perils in the north, and there gave birth to Katharine. They had two other children, William, their son and heir, afterwards created earl of Essex and marquis of Northampton, and Anne, the wife of William Herbert, the natural son of the earl of Pembroke, to which dignity he was himself raised by Edward VI. Sir Thomas Parr died in the year 1517, leaving his three infant children to the guardianship of his faithful widow, who is said to have been a lady of great prudence and wisdom, with a discreet care for the main chance.

The will of Sir Thomas Parr is dated November 7, the 9th of Henry VIII. He bequeathed his body to be interred in Blackfriars church, London. All his manors, lands, and tenements he gave to his wife, dame Maud, during her life. He willed his daughters, Katharine and Anne, to have eight hundred pounds between them, as marriage-portions, except they proved to be his heirs or his son's heirs; in which case that sum was to be laid out in copes and vestments, and given to the monks of Clairveaux, with a hundred pounds to the chantry of Kendal. He willed his son William “to have his great chain, worth one hundred and forty pounds, which the king's grace gave him.” He made Maude, his

wife, and Dr. Tunstall, master of the rolls, his executors. Four hundred pounds, Katharine's moiety of the sum provided by her father for the nuptial portions of herself and her sister, would be scarcely equal to two thousand pounds in these days, and seems but an inadequate dowry for the daughters of parents so richly endowed with the gifts of fortune as Sir Thomas and lady Parr. It was, however, all that was accorded to her who was hereafter to contract matrimony with the sovereign of the realm. Sir Thomas Parr died in London on the 11th of November, four days after the date of his will.

It has generally been said, that Katharine Parr received a learned education from her father ; but, as she was only in her fifth year when he died, it must have been to the maternal wisdom of lady Parr that she was indebted for those mental acquirements that so eminently fitted her to adorn the exalted station to which she was afterwards raised. Katharine was gifted by nature with fine talents, and these were improved by the advantages of careful cultivation. She both read and wrote Latin with facility, possessed some knowledge of Greek, and was well versed in modern languages. How perfect a mistress she was of her own, the elegance and beauty of her devotional writings are a standing monument. "I have met with a passage concerning this queen," says Strype, "in the margin of Bale's Centuries, in possession of a late friend of mine, Dr. Sampson, which showed the greatness of her mind and the quickness of her wit while she was yet a young child. Somebody skilled in prognostication, casting her nativity, said that she was born to sit in the highest seat of imperial majesty, having all the eminent stars and planets in her house. This she heard and took such notice of, that when her mother used sometimes to call her to work, she would reply—'My hands are ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, and not spindles and needles.'"¹

This striking incident affords one among many instances in which the prediction of a brilliant destiny has insured its own fulfilment, by its powerful influence on an energetic mind. It is also an exemplification at how precocious an age the germ of ambition may take root in the human heart. But, however disposed the little Katharine might have been to dispense with the performance of her tasks, under the idea of queening it hereafter, lady Parr was too wise a parent to allow vain dreams of royalty to unfit her child for the duties of the station of life in which she was born ; and, notwithstanding Katharine's early repugnance to touch a needle, her skill and industry in its use became so remarkable, that there are specimens of her embroidery at Sizergh-castle which could scarcely have been surpassed by the far-famed stitcheries of the sisters of king Athelstan. The friend and companion of Katharine's childhood and early youth was her young kinswoman Elizabeth Bellingham, daughter

¹ Strype's Mems., vol. ii. part 1, p. 206.

and co-heiress of Sir Robert Bellingham, of Burneside, a beautiful village near Kendal. This young lady, who was nearly related to Katharine, both through the Parrs and Stricklands, was brought up at Kendal-castle under the maternal auspices of dame Maud Parr, and shared the studies of the future queen of England, who formed so tender a regard for her, that when the wild dreams of childhood touching her royal destiny were strangely realized, one of her first exercises of queenly influence was to send for her cousin Elizabeth Bellingham to court, and bestow an appointment in her royal household upon her.¹

Though dame Maud Parr had scarcely completed her twenty-second year at the time of her husband's death, she never entered into a second marriage, but devoted herself entirely to the superintendence of her children's education. In the year 1524 she entered into a negotiation with her kinsman, lord Dacre, for a marriage between his grandson, the heir of lord Scrope, and her daughter Katharine, of which the particulars may be learned from some very curious letters preserved among the Scrope MSS.² The first is from dame Maud Parr to lord Dacre, and refers to a personal conference she had had with his lordship at Greenwich on the subject of this alliance :—

"Whereas it pleased you at your last being here to take pains in the matter in consideration of marriage between the lord Scroop's son and my daughter Katharine, for the which I heartily thank you, at which time I thought the matter in good furtherance. Howbeit, I perceive that my lord Scroop is not agreeable to that consideration. The jointure is little for 1100 marks which I will not pass, and my said lord will not repay after marriage had; and 200 marks must needs be repaid if my daughter Katharine dies before the age of sixteen, or else I should break master Parr's will [meaning the will of her husband Sir Thomas], which I should be loath to do; and there can be no marriage until my lord's son [lord Scroop] comes to the age of thirteen, *and my daughter to the age of twelve*, before which time, if the marriage should take none effect, or be dissolved either by death, wardship, disagreement, or otherwise, which may be before that time notwithstanding marriage solemnized, repayment must needs be had of the whole, or else I might fortune to pay my money for nothing. The conversation I had with you at Greenwich was, that I was to pay at desire 1100 marks, 100 on hand—and 100 every year, which is as much as I can spare, as you know; and for that my daughter Katharine is to have 100 marks jointure, whereof I am to have 50 marks for her finding till they live together, and then they are to have the whole 100 marks, and repayment to be had if the marriage took not effect."

Lord Scrope, of Bolton-castle, did not choose to submit to the refunding part of the clause, and was unwilling to allow more than forty marks per annum for the board or *finding* of the young lady till the heir of Scrope came to the age of eighteen. Lord Dacre, after some inconsequential letters between him and dame Maud, proved his sincerity in the promotion of the wedlock by the following pithy arguments, contained in an epistle to lord Scrope, his son-in-law :—

"MY LORD,

"Your son and heir is the greatest jewel that ye can have, seeing he must represent *your own person* after your death, unto whom I pray God grant many long years. And if ye be

¹ Burns' Westmoreland and Cumberland, vol. iv. p. 366.

² Quoted in Whittaker's History of Richmondshire.

disposed to marry him, I cannot see, without you marry him to an heir of land (which would be right costly¹), that ye can marry him to so good a stock as my lady Parr, for divers considerations: first, in remembering the wisdom of my said lady, and the good, wise stock of the Greens, whereof she is come, and also of the wise stock of the Parrs of Kendale, for all wise men do look, when they do marry their child, to the wisdom of the blood they do marry with. I speak not of the possibility of the lady Parr's daughter Katharine, who has but one child² between her and 800 marks yearly to inherit thereof.

"My lord, the demands you have and my lady's demands are so far asunder, that it is impossible ye can ever agree. I think it is not convenient nor profitable that so large a sum as 100 marks should go yearly out of your land to so young a person as my lady's eldest daughter Katharine, if it fortune, as God defend, that your said son and mine die. Also, I think it good (but I would not have it comprised in the covenant) that, during the time of three years that he should be with my said lady Parr, if she keep her widowhood, and ye to find him clothing and a servant to wait upon him, and she to find him meat and drink; for I assure you he might learn with her as well as in any place—that I know, as well nurture, as French and other languages, which *me seems* were a commodious thing for him."

These letters certify us that Katharine Parr was under twelve years of age in the year 1524; she could not, therefore, have been born *before* 1513. We also learn that lord Dacre was anxious that his youthful grandson should participate in the advantages of the liberal education lady Parr was bestowing on her children, and that he placed due importance on the fact that the lady came of a family celebrated for sound sense and good conduct, a point little regarded now in the marriages of the heirs of an illustrious line. Lady Parr and all her lineage had a great reputation for wisdom, it seems; but the wisdom of this world formed so prominent a feature in the matrimonial bargain which the sagacious widow and the wary lord Scrope were attempting to drive in behalf of their children, that the affair came to nothing.

Lord Dacre tells lady Parr "that lord Scrope must needs have money, and he has nothing whereof to make it but the marriage of his said son;"³ and dame Maud, in a letter from the court of Greenwich, dated the 15th of the following March, laments to my lord Dacre that the custom of her country and the advice of her friends will not permit her to submit to lord Scrope's way of driving a bargain. Lord Dacre, who seems some degrees less acquisitive than Scrope and the lady Parr, replies,—

"MADAM,

"For my part, I am sorry that ye be thus converted in this matter, seeing the labour I have had in it, which was most for the strength of my friendship for my cousin Katharine, your daughter, assuring you that ye shall not marry Katharine in any place that be so good and comfortable to my said cousin your daughter. And concerning my lord Scrope's demands, he *demandit* nothing but that ye were content to give, which was 1100 marks. And concerning his offer, which was 100 marks jointure, it is not far from the custom of the country for, from the highest to the lowest, it is the custom to give for every hundred marks of dower ten marks jointure."

Thus ended the abortive matrimonial treaty for the union of Katharine

¹ For the consent of parents or guardians had to be bought.

Her brother, afterwards marquis of Northampton. In fact, the youngest sister, Anne Parr, inherited the Parr estate.

³ One of the very worst abuses of feodality was the sale of the marriages of wards by their guardians in their childhood.

Parr and the heir of Scrope, who was her kinsman by the maternal connection of both with the great northern family of Dacre. Katharine must have been still of very tender age when she was given in marriage to her first husband, Edward lord Borough of Gainsborough,¹ a mature widower, with children who had arrived at man's estate. Henry, the second of these sons, after his father's marriage with Katharine Parr, espoused her friend and kinswoman, Katharine Neville, the widow of Sir Walter Strickland of Sizergh;² and this lady, though only twenty-nine at the time of their union, was fourteen years older than her husband's step-mother. The principal family seat of Katharine's first husband was his manor-house of Gainsborough, situate about seventeen miles from Lincoln, and here, no doubt, he resided with his young bride. His father had expended considerable sums in enlarging and improving this mansion, which was sold a century afterwards, by one of his descendants, to a wealthy London citizen. Lord Borough had a fine mansion at Catterick, in Yorkshire, and probably at Newark likewise, where his arms, impaled with those of his first wife, Alice Cobham, were painted on a window which his father presented to the parish church.

In Gainsborough church, on the tomb of the first lord Borough, father of Katharine Parr's husband, the arms of Borough were quartered with Tallebois, Marmion, and Fitzhugh,³ which afford sufficient proof of the ancestral connection of this nobleman with the Parrs: he appears to have been related to Katharine somewhere about the fourth degree. He died in 1528-9; Katharine, therefore, could not have exceeded her fifteenth year at the period of her first widowhood. She had no children by lord Borough. Soon after the death of her husband, Katharine was bereaved of her last surviving parent. From a passage in the will of lady Parr, it appears as if that lady had sacrificed the interests of her daughter, in order to purchase a marriage with a kinswoman of the sovereign for her son, Sir William Parr.

Like many of the marriages based on parental pride and avarice, this union of Katharine's brother with the heiress of the royally descended and wealthy house of Bouchier proved a source of guilt and misery to

¹ This nobleman was the second peer of family of Borough, anciently written De Burgh. He was of the same lineage as the famous Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent and justiciary of England, the favourite of Henry III. His father, Sir Thomas Borough, was made knight of the Garter at the coronation of Henry VII. He was afterwards called to the peerage by the title of lord Borough of Gainsborough; and Edward, the husband of Katharine, succeeded his father in the year 1495-6. He had married Anne, the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Cobham, of Sterborough, Kent, by whom he had a family before he succeeded to his father's honours, for his eldest son is mentioned in the first

lord Borough's will. That son was probably as old as the mother of Katharine Parr.

² Katharine Neville was the co-heiress of Sir Ralph Neville, of Thornton Briggs, in Yorkshire. She married Sir Walter Strickland, who died 19th year of Henry VIII., January, 1527; and lady Strickland married, the year after, 1528, Henry Borough, entailing her inheritance of Thornton Briggs on her only son, Walter Strickland. She afterwards married William Knyvet. She was twenty-two years old in 1521, when Katharine Parr was about eight.—Plumpton Papers, 260. Strickland's Family Papers, third folio Sizergh-castle.

³ Haile's MSS., British Museum.

both parties. The young lady Parr was the sole descendant of Isabel Plantagenet, sister to the king's great-grandfather, Richard duke of York.

This alliance increased the previous family connection of the Parrs with the sovereign's lineage, on the female side. Some degree of friendly intercourse appears to have been kept up between the king and his cousin, the young lady Parr; and we observe that, in the year 1530, she sent him a present of a coat of Kendal cloth.¹ Both the brother and the uncle of Katharine were now attached to the royal household; but there is reason to suppose that Katharine became an inmate of Sizergh-castle about this period. She was a lovely, noble, and wealthy widow, in her sixteenth year, when deprived of the protection of her last surviving parent. Her only near female relations were an unmarried sister, younger than herself, and her aunt, lady Throckmorton, who resided in a distant county. As heiress-presumptive to her brother William, it was desirable to remain in the vicinity of Kendal-castle, and the family estates in that neighbourhood; therefore the most prudent and natural thing she could do was to take up her abode with her kinswoman and friend, lady Strickland. That lady, though she had, by her marriage with Katharine's step-son Henry Borough, become her daughter-in-law, was quite old enough to afford matronly countenance to the youthful widow of lord Borough, whom, according to the quaint custom of the time, she called "her good mother." Katharine Parr and lady Strickland were alike descended from the Nevilles of Raby, Sir Walter Strickland, the deceased husband of the latter, was also a relative of the Parrs; and as lady Strickland held of the crown the wardship of her son, young Walter Strickland's person and estates, she remained mistress of Sizergh-castle, even after her marriage with Henry Borough.²

At no other period of her life than the interval between her mother's death and her own marriage with Neville lord Latimer, could Katharine Parr have found leisure to embroider the magnificent counterpane and toilette-cover, which are proudly exhibited at Sizergh-castle as trophies of her industry, having been worked by her own hands during a visit to her kinsfolk there. As the ornamental labours of the needle have become once more a source of domestic recreation to the ladies of England, and even the lords of creation appear to derive some pleasure, as lookers-on, in tracing the progress of their fair friends at the embroidering-frame, a brief description of these beautiful and well-preserved specimens of Katharine Parr's proficiency in that accomplishment, may not be displeasing.

The material on which both counterpane and toilette-cover are worked is the richest white satin, of a fabric with which the production

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII.

² Strickland Papers at Sizergh-castle, vol. 3.

of no modern loom can vie. The centre of the pattern is a medallion, surrounded with a wreath of natural flowers, wrought in twisted silks and bullion. A spread eagle, in bold relief gorged with the imperial crown, forms the middle. At each corner is a lively heraldic monster of the dragon class, glowing with purple, crimson, and gold. The field is gaily beset with large flowers in gorgeous colours, highly embossed and enriched with threads of gold. The toilette is *en suite*, but of a smaller pattern. The lapse of three centuries has scarcely diminished the brilliancy of the colours, or tarnished the bullion; nor is the purity of the satin sullied, though these queenly relics have been used, on state occasions, by the family in whose possession they have remained as precious heirlooms and memorials of their ancestral connection with queen Katharine Parr. The apartment which Katharine occupied in Sizergh-castle is still called "the Queen's Room." It is a fine state chamber, in that ancient portion of the castle the D'Eyncourt tower. It opens through the drawing-room, and is panelled with richly carved black oak, which is covered with tapestry of great beauty. The designs represent hunting in all its gradations, from a fox-chase up to a lion-hunt; varied with delineations of trees and flowers, and surrounded with a very unique border, in which young tigers are fighting and brandishing their claws at each other, in the manner of enraged kittens. Splendid patterns for modern needlework might be taken from these spirited devices. Over the lofty carved chimney-piece are the arms of England and France, supported between the lion and the Tudor dragon, with the motto *VIVAT REGINA*. The date, 1569, proves they were put up some years after the death of Katharine Parr, though doubtless intended to commemorate the fact that this apartment was once honoured by her use.¹ The bed, with its hangings of costly crimson damask, is shown as the veritable one in which she reposed; but the fashion of the bedstead is too modern to favour the tradition, which, we think, more probably belongs to one of the elaborately carved and canopied oaken bedsteads, coeval with the days of the Plantagenets, which are to be seen in other chambers of this venerable mansion.

How long Katharine continued the widow of lord Borough is uncertain; but she was probably under twenty years of age when she became, for the second time, the wife of a mature widower, and again undertook the office of a step-mother. It is not unlikely that her residence at Sizergh-castle might have led to her marriage with John Neville, lord Latimer, as lady Strickland was a Neville, of Thornton Briggs, and would naturally afford her kinsman every facility for his courtship to their fair cousin. Lord Latimer was related to Katharine in about the

¹ The arms of D'Eyncourt, quartering Strickland, Roos, and Parr, are painted in the upper part of the antique window of the apartment in Sizergh-castle, called "the un-

laid chamber," which, from that circumstance, has been mistaken for "the queen's room" by Mr. Allom, in his *Beauties of Westmoreland*.

same degree as her first husband, lord Borough.¹ The date of her marriage with this nobleman is not known. He had been previously married twice; first, to Elizabeth daughter of Sir Richard Musgrave, who died without issue;² secondly, to Dorothy daughter of Sir George de Vere, and sister and co-heiress to John de Vere, fourteenth earl of Oxford, by whom he had two children, John and Margaret.³ The second lady Latimer died in 1526-7.

After Katharine became the wife of lord Latimer, she chiefly resided with him and his family at the stately mansion of Snape-hall, in Yorkshire, which is thus described by Leland: "Snape, a goodly castel in a valley belonging to the lord Latimer, with two or three good parks well wooded about it. It is his chief house, and standeth about two miles from Great-Tanfield." The manors of Cumberton, Wadborough, and several other estates in Worcestershire, which he inherited from Elizabeth Beauchamp, were settled on Katharine Parr, his third wife. The ancestors of Katharine Parr, the Marmions, had formerly held sway at Tanfield; and through the marriage of her grandfather, Sir William Parr, with Elizabeth Fitzhugh, the grand-daughter of the heiress of Sir Robert Marmion, the castle and manor of Tanfield descended to the father of Katharine, and was now the property of her brother, young William Parr. He was at that time childless; and as Katharine was his heiress-presumptive, there was a contingency, by no means remote, of this demesne, which was so desirably contiguous to her husband's estates, falling to her. It would be too much to say that lord Latimer had an eye to this contingency when he sought the hand of Katharine Parr, for she was young, lovely, accomplished, learned, and virtuous; and, to a man who had enjoyed the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the perfections of a mind like hers, the worldly advantages that might accrue from a matrimonial alliance with her must have been considerations of a very secondary nature. Fortunate indeed must lord Latimer have felt himself in being able to obtain so charming a companion for his latter days, and at the same time one so well qualified to direct the studies and form the minds of his children. The amiable temper and sound sense of Katharine taught her to perform the difficult duties that devolved upon her, in the character of a step-mother, with such conscientious and endearing gentleness, that she insured the love

¹ The maternal ancestors of Katharine's second husband were the Latimers, lords of Corby and Shenstone, afterwards of Braybrooke and Danby. The heiress of this family, marrying John lord Neville, of Raby and Middleham, became the mother of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, whose fifth son, by Joanna Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, took the title of lord Latimer, and married the third daughter and co-heiress of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. From this pair John Neville,

lord Latimer, Katharine's husband, was the fourth in descent. He was the eldest son of a family of thirteen children.—Hopkinson's MSS.

² Lord Latimer was united to this lady 20th July, 1518, in the chapel of his manor of Snape during his father's life, being then only a knight.—Wolsey's Register, p. 94. Unpublished History of the Family of Neville by Daniel Rowland, Esq.

³ Rev. T. Nash, *Archæologia*, vol. ix. p. 6

and esteem of all the families with whom she was thus connected. During the first years of her marriage with lord Latimer, she pursued the noiseless tenor of her way in the peaceful routine and privacy of domestic life, to which those talents and acquirements, which afterwards rendered her the admiration of the most learned men in Europe, and the intellectual model of the ladies of England, were calculated to lend a charm.

Lord Latimer was so strenuous a Roman Catholic, that he became one of the leaders of the northern insurrection on account of the suppression of the monasteries and the sequestration of the church property by Cromwell, in 1536. This revolt, though chiefly proceeding from the miseries of a starving population, who found themselves suddenly deprived of the relief of conventual alms in seasons of distress, assumed the tone of a domestic crusade against the supporters of the Reformation, and was called "the Pilgrimage of Grace." Forty thousand rustics, in Yorkshire alone, appeared in arms, bearing white banners, with the image of the Saviour on the cross, and the chalice and Host depicted thereon. Their nominal general was Robert Aske, a gentleman of mean condition, and a mysterious personage entitled "the earl of Poverty;" but an enthusiastic junta of nobles, knights, and ecclesiastics, at the head of whom was the archbishop of York, lord D'Arcy, and the husband of Katharine Parr, were allied with these enthusiasts.¹ They were knit together with oaths of compact, and they compelled the inhabitants of every village or town to take the oaths, and to join "the Pilgrimage." They became so formidable in a short time, that the duke of Norfolk, who was empowered by the king to put down the rebellion, considered it more desirable to negotiate than to fight; and a peaceable conference was appointed, between the royal commissioners and a chosen number of the leading men among the insurgents, at Doncaster. Lord Latimer was one of the delegates nominated by the pilgrims, for the perilous service of laying their grievances before the sovereign, and stating their demands.² Four pledges were given by the duke for the safe return of the delegates.³ They demanded, among other things, the restoration of the monastic establishments and the papal supremacy; the suppression of heretical books, especially the writings of Wickliffe, Luther, Melancthon, and others whom they specified; and that the heretical bishops might be condemned to the flames, or else compelled to do battle in single combat with certain valiantly disposed pilgrims, who would take upon themselves the office of champions for the church-militant. There were also many legal and statistical reforms required; but the most extraordinary demand of the northern democracy was "that the king should expel from his council all men of *vileyn* blood, especially Cromwell, Rich, and others, who had risen from a humble station in

¹ Speed.² Speed. Lord Herbert.³ Ibid.

society." In every era of our history it may be noted, that the lower classes have disliked the elevation of persons of their own degree to the exercise of authority in the state. Such is the inconsistency of popular pride.

The king was much offended at the manifesto of the pilgrims, and took upon himself the task of compounding a reply, in which he expressed his astonishment "that ignorant people should go about to instruct him in matters of theology, who somewhat had been noted to be learned in what the true faith should be."² In this his majesty, with all the pride of authorship, evidently designed to recall to the memory of the more polite members of the confederacy his own book against Luther, which had procured for him from the pope the title of "defender of the faith." He also angrily complains "of their presumption in wanting to mend his laws, as if, after being their king eight-and-twenty years, he did not know how to govern the realm." He rejected all their petitions, but offered to pardon them for appearing in arms against him if they would give up their ringleaders, and concluded by bidding them admire the "benignity of their sovereign." The pilgrims declined the royal grace under such conditions, recalled their delegates, and made them ready for battle. The wise and conciliating policy of the duke of Norfolk prevented the collision which appeared almost inevitable: he prevailed upon the insurgents to lay down their arms, on condition of receiving free pardon from the king, with a promise that their grievances should be discussed in parliament. With some difficulty he induced the king, who was very peevish with him about it, to publish the amnesty without exceptions. The general pardon was dated December 9, 1536. In February the insurrection broke out again, but lord Latimer did not join it. The prudent counsels of Katharine possibly deterred her lord from involving himself a second time in so rash an enterprise. It is certain that by remaining quiescent he escaped the tragic fate of his northern neighbours and late confederates, the lord D'Arcy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Stephen Hamerton, and upwards of seventy others, on whom the royal vengeance inflicted the extreme penalty of the law.

The only daughter of Sir Stephen Hamerton was betrothed to Katharine's youthful kinsman, Walter Strickland; and not only this family connection, but the execution of several of the Nevilles after the second rising, must have rendered this period a season of fearful anxiety to lord and lady Latimer. It was probably about this time that Sir John Russell, the lord privy-seal, took the opportunity of requesting a very inconvenient favour, for one of his friends, of lord Latimer; namely, that his lordship should oblige this person with the loan of his fine mansion in the churchyard of the Chartreuse, now called the Charter-

¹ Speed. Lord Herbert.² Speed. Herbert. Lingard.

house. Latimer did not venture to refuse, but his extreme reluctance to comply with the request may be seen by his reply :¹—

"I assure your lordship the getting of a lease of it cost me 100 marcs, besides other *pleasures* [improvements] that I did to the house ; for it was much my desire to have it, because it stands in good air, out of press of the city. And I do alway lie there when I come to London, and I have no other house to lie at. And, also, I have granted it to farm to Mr. Nudygate [Newdigate], son and heir to serjeant Nudygate, to lie in the said house in my absence ; and he to void whensoever I come up to London. Nevertheless, I am contented, if it can do your lordship any pleasure for your friend, that he lie there forthwith. I seek my lodgings at this Michaelmas term myself."

The household arrangements of the second husband of Katharine Parr were of the same prudential character which induces many of the nobles of the present age to let their mansions, ready furnished, to wealthy commoners, when they retire to their country seats—with this difference : lord Latimer's arrangement with the heir of serjeant Newdigate was a perennial engagement, by which the tenant was to vacate the house when his duties in parliament or other business called his lordship to town. It must have been a serious annoyance to all parties for the friend of my lord privy-seal to take the impertinent fancy of occupying lord Latimer's town house under these circumstances ; and yet, because the minister prefers the suit, the noble owner of the mansion is compelled to break his agreement with his tenant, and to seek other lodgings for himself against the ensuing session of parliament, in order to accommodate a person who has evidently no claim on his courtesy. But a man who had been once in arms against the sovereign would, in that reign, be careful how he afforded cause for offence to one of the satellites of the crown. After his name had been connected with the "Pilgrimage of Grace," lord Latimer had a delicate game to play ; and it was well for him that his wife was related to the king, and a niece of a favoured member of the royal household—Sir William Parr. Katharine's sister, lady Herbert, had an appointment in Jane Seymour's court, and assisted at the christening of Edward VI.

That Katharine Parr was not only acquainted with Henry VIII., but possessed a considerable influence over his mind some years before there was the slightest probability of her ever becoming the sharer of his throne, is certified by the history of the Throckmorton family, to which we are principally indebted for the following details. Sir George Throckmorton, the husband of Katharine Parr's aunt, having incurred the ill-will of lord Cromwell, in consequence of some disputes arising from the contiguity of their manors of Coughton-court and Oursley, Cromwell endeavoured to compass the ruin of his aristocratic neighbour by accusing him of having denied the king's supremacy.² The charge was peculiarly alarming to Throckmorton, because his brother Michael was in the service of cardinal Pole, and had taken an active part in

¹ *Vespasian*, F xlii. 133. folio 131.

² MS. Throckmorton, collated by Brown Willis.

opposing the king's divorce from Katharine of Arragon, as we are told by his kinsman in a metrical chronicle of the life of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.¹

The subject of Sir George Throckmorton's imprisonment, and the distress of his family, is introduced in these quaint lines :—

" My father's foes clapt him, through cankered hate,
In Tower fast, and gaped to joint his neck.
They were in hope for to obtain a *mate*,
Who heretofore had laboured for a *check* ;
Yea, Grevills grieved him ill without a cause,
Who hurt not them, nor yet the prince's laws.
Thus every thing did run against the *hair* ;²
Our name disgraced, and we but witless boys,
Did deem it hard such crosses then to bear—
Our minds more fit to deal with childish toys ;
But troubles are of perfect wit the schools,
When life at will feeds men as fat as fools."

After drawing rather a ludicrous picture of their tribulations, and comparing lady Throckmorton in her tears to a drowned mouse, he introduces the family of Parr on the scene :—

" While flocking foes to work our bane were bent,
While thunder-claps of angry Jove did last,
Then to lord Parr my mother³ saw me sent,
So with her brother I was safely placed ;
Of alms he kept me in extremity,
Who did misdoubt a worse calamity.
Oh, lucky looks that fawned on Katharine Parr !
A woman rare like her, but seldom seen,
To Borough first, and then to Latimer
She widow was, and then became a queen.
My mother prayed her niece, with watery eyes,
To rid both her and hers from endless cries.
She, willing of herself to do us good,
Sought out the means her uncle's life to save,
And when the king was in his pleasing mood,
She humbly then her suit began to crave ;
With wooing times denials disagree,
She spake and sped—my father was set free."

In his rapturous allusion to the good offices of Katharine Parr, the poet, by mentioning her subsequent marriage with the king, a little

¹ This curious literary treasure belongs to the Throckmorton MS., and contains some of the most remarkable passages in the life of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (the son of Sir George and Katharine Parr's aunt), arranged in verse by his nephew, Sir Thomas Throckmorton : the poem consists of 229 stanzas, of six lines each. The near relationship between queen Katharine Parr and the Throckmorton family renders it a valuable addition to the scanty records of this period of her life.

² Similar to the proverbial saying, "against the grain."

³ This lady was the daughter of Katharine's grandmother, widow of Sir William Parr,

K.C., by a second marriage with Sir Nicholas Vaux ; consequently, lady Throckmorton was sister, by the half-blood, to Katharine Parr's father and uncle. Lord Vaux of Harrowden, the younger brother of lady Throckmorton, married Elizabeth Green, sister to lady Parr, and both these ladies were the grand-daughters of Matilda Throckmorton, whose stately monument is to be seen in the church of Green's Norton. Thus we see that Katharine Parr was bound in a triple cord of alliance with the family of Throckmorton.—Baker's Northamptonshire. Throckmorton Papers.

confuses the time when her intercession was successfully employed for the deliverance of Sir George Throckmorton. The date of this event is clearly defined, in the prose documents of the Throckmorton family, to have taken place in the year 1540, by the statement "that Sir George was released through the influence of his kinswoman, the lady Katharine Parr, and advised with by the king, at her suggestion, about Cromwell, immediately before the arrest of that minister," which was in the June of that year.¹ This fact throws a new light on the fall of Cromwell, and leads us to infer that his ruin was caused, not as Burnet and his copyists assert, by the enmity of Katharine Howard, but of her unsuspected successor Katharine Parr, at that time the wife of lord Latimer, and a member of the church of Rome. It was probably from the eloquent lips of this strong-minded and intrepid lady, when pleading for the life of her uncle, that Henry learned the extent of Cromwell's rapacity, and the real state of the public mind as to his administration; and thus we may, perhaps, account for the otherwise mysterious change in the royal mind, when the monarch, after loading his favourite with honours and immunities, suddenly resolved to sacrifice him to popular indignation as a scape-goat, on whose shoulders the political sins of both king and council might be conveniently laid. Sir George Throckmorton took an active part in bringing his former persecutor to the block, and instead of being stripped by him of his fair domain of Coughton-court, was enabled to purchase Cromwell's manor of Oursley, on advantageous terms, of the crown, and to transmit it to his descendants, in whose possession it remains at the present day.²

Few things, perhaps, tend more importantly to the elucidation of historical mysteries than the study of genealogies. It is by obtaining an acquaintance with the family connections of the leading actors in any memorable era that we gain a clue to the secret springs of their actions, and perceive the wheel within a wheel which impelled to deeds otherwise unaccountable. The brother of Katharine Parr was the husband of the heiress of the last earl of Essex, of the ancient line of Bourchier; but on the demise of that nobleman, those honours, which in equity ought to have been vested in his descendants, were, to the indignation of all the connections of the Bourckiers and Parrs, bestowed on Cromwell. The presumption of the blacksmith-secretary in aspiring to the title of earl of Essex was the more offensive to the legal claimants of the honours of that high family, because the second title of the Bourchiers was lord

¹ This important incident is recorded in Brown Willis's history of the ancient family of Throckmorton, drawn up from the archives of that house in the year 1730. By the courtesy of the late venerable and lamented Sir Charles Throckmorton, bart., I have been favoured with some interesting and valuable

extracts connected with the history of Katharine Parr.

² MS. Throckmorton. This statement is confirmed by Pollino, who says that Henry had secret consultations with a noble cavalier called *Roberto Trogmorton*, in order to bring about the fall of Cromwell.

Cromwell, they being the sole descendants and representatives of the extinct line of barons of that name; the mushroom minister of Henry VIII. certainly meant to assume that, because he bore the name, he was the rightful heir of that extinct family. The death of the rapacious minister smoothed the way for the summons of William Parr to the house of lords as earl of Essex, in the right of his wife. Katharine herself came in for a share of the spoils of the enemy of her house, for his manor of Wimbledon was settled on her. Tradition says that she resided at the mansion at some period of her life. A portion of this ancient edifice was in existence within a few years.¹ Cromwell was the third great statesman of Henry VIII.'s cabinet, within the brief period of ten years, whose fall is attributable to female influence. Wolsey and More were the victims of Anne Boleyn's undisguised animosity, and the influence of Katharine Parr appears to have been equally fatal to Cromwell, although her consummate prudence in avoiding any demonstration of hostility has prevented her from being recognised as the author of his ruin, save in the records of the house of Throckmorton.

The execution of the unfortunate queen, Katharine Howard, in February, 1542, preceded the death of Katharine Parr's second husband, 'ord Latimer, about twelve months. The will of lord Latimer is dated September 12, 1542, but as it was not proved till the 11th of the following March,² it is probable that he died early in 1543. In this document lord Latimer bequeaths to the lady Katharine, his wife, the manors of Nunmonkton and Hamerton. He bequeathes his body "to be buried on the south side of the church of Well, where his ancestors were buried, if he should die in Yorkshire; appointing that the master of the hospital and vicar of the church of Well should take and receive all the rents and profits of the parsonage of Askham Richard, in the county of the city of York, as also of the parsonage of St. George's church, in York, for the time of forty years, wherewith to endow a grammar-school at Well, and to pray for him the founder."³ The latter clause affords evidence that lord Latimer died, as he had lived, a member of the church of Rome. There is, however, neither monument nor memorial of him in the church of Well, for he died not in Yorkshire, but in London, and was interred in St. Paul's cathedral.⁴

The conversion of Katharine to the principles of the reformed religion did not, in all probability, take place till after the decease of lord Latimer, when, unbiassed by the influence of that zealous supporter of the ancient system, she found herself at liberty to listen to the impassioned eloquence of the apostles of the Reformation—men who were daily called upon to testify the sincerity of their profession through tortures and a fiery

¹ Manning's History of Surrey.² Testamenta Vetusta; Sir H. Nicolas.

Testamenta Vetusta. Whittaker's Richmondshire.

⁴ History of the House of Neville.

death. The house of the noble and learned widow soon became the resort of such men as Coverdale, Latimer, and Parkhurst; and sermons were daily preached in her chamber of state by those who were desirous of restoring the practice of the Christian religion to its primitive simplicity.¹

Katharine was not only pious, learned, and passing fair, but possessed of great wealth as the mistress of two ample jointures, both unencumbered. With these advantages, and connected as she was, either by descent or marriage, with some of the noblest families in England, even with royalty itself in no very remote degree, it is not to be supposed that she was left unwooed. At an early stage of her widowhood she was sought in marriage by Sir Thomas Seymour, the brother of the late queen Jane, and uncle to the infant heir of England. Sir Thomas Seymour enjoyed the favour of his royal brother-in-law in a high degree, and was the handsomest and most admired bachelor of the court. He was gay, magnificent, and brave, excelling in all the manly exercises of that age, and much distinguished by the richness of his dress and ornaments, in which his fashions were implicitly followed by the other courtiers; and with the ladies he was considered irresistible. How it happened that the learned and devout lady Latimer should be the one to fix the wandering heart of this gay and reckless gallant, for whom the sprightliest beauties of the court had sighed in vain, has never been explained, nor is it always possible to account for the inconsistencies of love. As the Seymours were among the political leaders of the anti-papal party, it is probable that Sir Thomas might be induced to attend the religious assemblies that were held at the house of this distinguished lady from motives of curiosity in the first instance, till a more powerful interest was excited in his mind by her charms and winning deportment. Be this as it may, it is certain that Katharine fully returned his passion, as she herself subsequently acknowledges, and had determined to become his wife at that time, if her will had not, for wise purposes, been overruled by a higher power."²

A more important destiny was reserved for her, and while she delayed her union with the man of her heart till a proper interval from the death of her husband should have elapsed, her hand was demanded by a third widower, in the decline of life, and the father of three children by three different wives. This widower was no other than her sovereign, who had remained in a gloomy state of disconsolate celibacy since the execution of his fifth queen, apparently wearied out by the frequent disappointments and mistakes that had attended his ventures in the matrimonial lottery. His desire for conjugal companionship was, however, unabated; and rendered, perhaps, wiser by experience, he determined, in his selection of a sixth wife, not to be guided by externals only. The

¹ Richard.

² Letters of queen Katharine Parr, to lord admiral Sir Thomas Seymour.

circumstances that led to Henry's marriage with Katharine Parr are quaintly glanced at by her poet-cousin, Sir Thomas Throckmorton, who dates the advancement of his family from that event :—

“ But when the king's fifth wife had lost her head,

Yet he mislikes the life to live alone,

And, once resolved the sixth time for to wed,

He sought outright to make his choice of one ;

That choice was chance right happy for us all,

It brewed our bliss, and rid us quite from thrall.”—*Throckmorton MS.*

When the celebrated act of parliament was passed which rendered it a capital offence for any lady who had ever made a lapse from virtue to contract matrimony with her sovereign without first apprising him of her fault, it had been shrewdly observed that his majesty had now no other alternative than to marry a widow. No spinster, however pure her conduct might have been, it was presumed, would venture to place herself within the peril of a penalty, which might be inflicted on the most innocent woman in the world the moment she ceased to charm the king, whose fickleness was only equalled by his cruelty. When Henry first made known to lady Latimer that she was the lady whom he intended to honour with the sixth reversion of his hand, she was struck with dismay, and, in the terror with which his cruel treatment of his matrimonial victims had inspired her, frankly told him, “that it was better to be his mistress than his wife.”¹ A few months after marriage, such a sarcasm on his conduct as a husband might have cost Henry's best-loved queen her head ; as it was, this cutting observation from the lips of a matron of Katharine's well-known virtue, though it must have afforded him a mortifying idea of the estimation in which the dignity of queen-consort was regarded by the ladies of his court, had no other effect than to increase the eagerness of his suit to the reluctant widow. Fear was not, however, her only objection to become the wife of Henry ; love was, for awhile, victorious over ambition in the heart of Katharine. Her affection for Seymour rendered her very listless about the royal match at first,² but her favoured lover presumed not to contest the prize with his all-powerful brother-in-law and sovereign. A rival of Henry's temper, who held the heads of wives, kinsmen, and favourites as cheaply as tennis-balls, was not to be withstood. The Adonis of the court vanished from the scene, and the bride-elect, accommodating her mind as she best might to the change of bridegroom, prepared to assume, with a good grace, the glittering fetters of a queenly slave.

The arrangements for the royal nuptials were made with a celerity truly astonishing ; barely three months intervened between the proving of lord Latimer's will, and the day on which Cranmer grants a licence “for the marriage of his sovereign lord king Henry, with Katharine

¹ Letl.

² *Strype's Memorials*, vol. ii., part 1, p. 206.

Latymer, late the wife of lord de Latymer, deceased, in whatever church, chapel, or oratory he may please, without publication of banns, dispensing with all ordinances to the contrary for reasons concerning the honour and advancement of the whole realm.”¹ Dated July 10, 1543. Two days afterwards Katharine exchanged her briefly worn weeds of widowhood for the bridal robes of a queen of England—robes that had proved fatal trappings to four of her five predecessors in the perilous dignity to which it was the pleasure of her enamoured sovereign to advance her. The nuptials of Henry VIII. and Katharine Parr, instead of being hurried over secretly in some obscure corner, like some unhallowed mystery (as was the case in his previous marriages with Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard), were solemnized much in the same way as royal marriages are in the present times, without pageantry, but with all suitable observances. The ceremony was performed by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in the queen’s closet at Hampton-court, and the high respect of the monarch for his bride was proved by his permitting the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, his daughters, and his niece, the lady Mary Douglas, to assist at these nuptials.² The queen was also supported by her sister Mrs. Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke; her beloved friend Katharine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk; Anne countess of Hertford, and Jane lady Dudley. The king was attended by his brother-in-law the earl of Hertford, lord John Russell (privy seal), Sir Anthony Browne (master of the pensioners), Henry Howard, Richard Long, Thomas d’Arcy, Edward Baynton (the husband of the late queen’s sister), Anthony Denny and Thomas Speke, knights, and William Herbert, the brother-in-law of his bride.

It is scarcely possible but the cheek of Katharine must have blanched, when the nuptial ring was placed on her finger by the ruthless prince who had sent two of his consorts to the block within the last seven years. If a parallel might be permitted between the grave facts of history and the creations of romance, we should say that the situation of Henry’s sixth queen greatly resembled that of the fair Scheherazade in the Arabian Nights’ Entertainments, who voluntarily contracted matrimony with sultan Schriar, though aware that it was his custom to marry a fresh wife every day, and cut off her head the next morning. The sound principles, excellent judgment, and endearing qualities of Katharine Parr, and, above all, her superlative skill as a nurse, by rendering her necessary to the comfort of the selfish and irritable monarch who had chosen her as a help-mate for him in the season of premature old age and increasing disease, afforded her best security from the fate of her predecessors. But of this hereafter.

Among the unpublished MSS. in the State-Paper office, we find the

¹ Chronological Catalogue of Papers for New Rymer, p. 238.

² Notarial certificate in the Chapter-house, No. 400; date, July, 1543.

following paragraph, in a letter from Sir Thomas Wriothesley, relating to the recent bridal of the sovereign: "I doubt not of your grace knowing, by the fame and otherwise, that the king's majesty was married on Thursday last to my lady Latimer, a woman, in my judgment, for certain wisdom and gentleness most meet for his highness; and sure I am his majesty had never a wife more agreeable to his heart than she is. The Lord grant them long life, and much joy together."¹ On the day of her marriage, queen Katharine presented her royal step-daughter and bridesmaid, the princess Mary, with a magnificent pair of gold bracelets set with rubies, and the yet more acceptable gift in money of 25*l*.² Of course the princess Elizabeth, who also assisted at the bridal, was not forgotten. The pecuniary present to Mary was repeated on the 26th of September.³

Katharine Parr had now for the third time undertaken the office of a step-mother—an office at all times of much difficulty and responsibility, but peculiarly so with regard to the children of Henry VIII., who were the offspring of queens so fatally opposed as Katharine of Arragon, Anne Boleyn, and Jane Seymour had successively been. How well the sound sense and endearing manners of Katharine Parr fitted her to reconcile the rival interests, and to render herself a bond of union between the disjointed links of the royal family, is proved by the affection and respect of her step-children, even after king Henry's death. Whether a man who had so glaringly violated the duties of a father to his daughters as Henry had done, deserves any credit for paternal care in his choice of his sixth queen, it would be difficult to say; but it was scarcely possible for him to have selected a lady better qualified to conduce to the happiness of his children, to improve their minds, and to fit them, by the inculcation of virtuous and noble sentiments, to adorn the high station to which they were born.

The union of the sovereign with the pious and learned lady Latimer was the cause of great joy to the university of Cambridge, where the doctrines of the Reformation had already taken deep root. The opinions of this erudite body on the subject are eloquently expressed in their congratulatory address to Henry on his marriage. Katharine Parr, while queen-consort of England, continued to correspond with the university of Cambridge, in the name of which the celebrated Roger Ascham thanks her for her royal benefactions and the sauvity of her letters. "Write to us oftener," says the enthusiastic scholar, "*eruditissima regina*, and do not despise the term erudition, most noble lady: it is the praise of your industry, and a greater one to your talents than all the ornaments of your fortune. We rejoice vehemently in your happiness, most happy princess! because you are learning more amidst the oc-

¹ This letter seems to be written to the duke of Norfolk.

² Privy-purse Expenses of princess Mary, edited by Sir F. Madden

³ *Ibid.*

cupations of your dignity, than many with us do in all our leisure and quiet."¹

The dignity of the scholar and the queen are beautifully blended with the tenderness of the woman and the devotedness of the Christian, in the line of conduct adopted by Katharine Parr after her elevation to a throne. Her situation at this period is not unlike that of Esther in the house of Ahasuerus. Her attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation naturally rendered her an object of jealous ill-will to Gardiner bishop of Winchester, the leader of the anti-papal Henrican party;² and as early as the second week after her marriage, this daring ecclesiastic ventured to measure his power against that of the royal bride, by an attack on a humble society of Reformers at Windsor. Anthony Persons, a priest, John Marbeck, a chorister, Robert Testwood, and Henry Filmer were the leading persons attached to this community, but it was suspected that they received encouragement from members of the royal household. Dr. London, one of the most unprincipled agents of Cromwell in the spoliation of the abbeys, had, since the fall of his patron, changed his tack, and was employed by the triumphant faction in preparing a book of informations, denouncing every person in Windsor suspected of holding opinions at variance with the six articles. This book was presented to Gardiner, who moved the king in council that a commission should be granted for searching all the houses in Windsor for books written in favour of the new learning.³ Henry acceded to this measure as regarded the town, but excepted the castle, his own royal residence, having doubtless shrewd reason to suspect that more works of the kind objected to would be found in the closets and chambers of those nearest and dearest to him, than among the poor and unlearned inhabitants of that town.

A few MS. notes on the Bible, and a Latin Concordance in progress of arrangement, which were found in the house of Marbeck, furnished an excuse for the arrest, trial, and condemnation of himself and his three friends. Nothing could induce them to betray any person in the royal household, to save themselves from the fiery death with which they were menaced. Marbeck found an intercessor sufficiently powerful and courageous to represent his case to the king. Henry was shown the Latin Concordance, of which several hundred pages were completed. "Poor Marbeck!" exclaimed he, with an unwonted burst of sympathy; "it would be well for thine accusers if they had employed their time no worse."⁴ A reprieve was granted to Marbeck; but Persons, Testwood, and Filmer were sent to the stake, July 26, two days after their con-

¹ Ascham's Epistles, 303.

² It is the most vulgar of mistakes to call Gardiner and his colleagues *papists*, they having adopted Henry VIII. for the head of their church in opposition to the pope, from

whom they were then in a state of separation.

³ Burnet.

⁴ Soame's History of the Reformation.

demnation. Though the flames of their martyrdom were kindled almost in the sight of Henry's Protestant queen, she was unable to avert the fate of the victims; and well aware was she that the blow which produced this fell sacrifice of human life was aimed at herself, and would be followed by an attack on persons in her immediate confidence. The murder of these humble Reformers was, indeed, but the preliminary move in the bold yet subtle game which Gardiner was playing against the more elevated individuals professing the same religion with the queen.

Dr. Haines, the dean of Exeter and a prebendary of Windsor, Sir Philip Hoby and his lady, Sir Thomas Carden, and other members of the royal household, were denounced by Dr. London and his coadjutor Symonds, as persons encouraging the new learning, and were placed under arrest.¹ The only evidence against them that could be produced, was contained in certain inferences and false statements which Dr. London had suborned Ockham, the clerk of the court, to introduce into the notes he had taken at the trials of the recent victims.² The queen, having obtained full information of these proceedings, sent one of her most trusty and courageous servants into court to expose the iniquity of this plot. Ockham was arrested and his papers seized, which afforded full proof of the base conspiracy into which he had entered, and the whole transaction was laid before the king. The tables were now completely turned. London and Symonds were sent for and examined on oath, and, not being aware that their letters were intercepted, fully committed themselves, were found guilty of perjury, and sentenced to be placed on horseback with their faces to the horses' tails, with papers on their foreheads setting forth their perjury, and set in the pillory at Windsor. Katharine sought no further vengeance, and the mortification caused by this disgraceful punishment is supposed to have caused Dr. London's death.³

Such were the scenes that marked the bridal month of Katharine Parr as queen of England—that month which is generally styled the honeymoon. Her elevation to the perilous dignity of queen-consort afforded her, however, the satisfaction of advancing the fortunes of various members of her own family. She bestowed the office of lord chamberlain on her uncle, lord Parr of Horton: she made her sister, lady Herbert, one of her ladies of the bedchamber; and her step-daughter, Margaret Neville, the only daughter of her deceased husband lord Latimer, one of her maids of honour. Her brother, William Parr, was created earl of Essex, in right of his wife, having been previously made baron Parr of Kendal. The preferment which queen Katharine's cousins of the house of Throckmorton obtained, through her powerful

¹ Burnet.² *Ibid*, Hist. Ref., vol. i. p. 312. Rapin. Hall.³ Burnet, vol. i.

patronage, is thus quaintly described by the poetical chronicler of that family:—

“First in the court my brother Clement served,
A fee he had the queen her cup to bring;
And some supposed that I right well deserved,
When sewer they saw me chosen to the king;
My brother George, by valour in youth rare,
A pension got, and gallant halbert bare.”

One of the first fruits of queen Katharine's virtuous influence over the mind of the king was, the restoration of his daughters, the persecuted Mary and the young neglected Elizabeth, to their proper rank in the court, and recognition in the order of succession to the crown. The privy-purse expenses of the princess Mary bear evidence of many little traits of kindness and friendly attentions which she, from time to time, received from her amiable step-mother. When Mary was taken ill, on her journey between Grafton and Woodstock, the queen sent her own litter to convey her to Ampthill, where she was herself residing with the king. On the New-year's day after her marriage,¹ queen Katharine sent her footman Jacob with the present of a cheese for the princess Mary, who guerdoned the bearer with seven-and-sixpence. A rich night-gown, or evening-dress, is on another occasion sent by queen Katharine to Mary by Fitton, the keeper of the royal robes. Mary's reward to Fitton was fifteen shillings. Mary embroidered a cushion with her own hands as an offering for the queen, and paid seven-and-sixpence to John Hayes for devising the pattern.² Katharine, on her marriage, received into her household one Mrs. Barbara, undoubtedly at the request of the princess Mary, who had kindly supplied this person with money, clothes, food, and medical attendance during a long illness. An item occurs, at the time of Katharine Parr's marriage, in the accounts of the princess, of money presented to Mrs. Barbara when she was sworn queen's woman; and being thus honourably provided for, her name no longer occurs on the list of Mary's pensioners.

Notwithstanding the great difference in their religious tenets, a firm friendship ever subsisted between Katharine Parr and Mary. They were near enough in age to have been sisters, they excelled in the same accomplishments, and the great learning and studious pursuits of these royal ladies rendered them suitable companions for each other. The more brilliant talents of the young Elizabeth were drawn forth and fostered under the auspices of her highly gifted step-mother. Katharine Parr took also an active part in directing the studies of the heir of England, and her approbation appears to have been the greatest encouragement the prince could receive. In a letter, written in French,

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of princess Mary, by Sir F. Madden.

² *Ibid.*

to queen Katharine, Edward notices the beauty of her penmanship. "I thank you," says he, "most noble and excellent queen, for the letters you have lately sent me, not only for their beauty, but for their imagination; for when I see your *belle écriture* [fair writing] and the excellence of your genius, greatly surpassing my invention, I am sick of writing. But then I think how kind your nature is, and that whatever proceeds from a good mind and intention will be acceptable; and so I write you this letter."¹ A modern author has noticed the great similarity between the hand-writing of Edward VI. and Katharine Parr, and from this circumstance it has been conjectured that Katharine superintended the education of one or other of the juvenile members of the royal family, previous to her marriage with king Henry. No official evidence of her appointment to any office of the kind has been discovered, but her great reputation for wisdom and learning renders the tradition not improbable. Certain it is, that after she became queen she took great delight in directing the studies of her royal step-children. It is evident that Edward VI., queen Elizabeth, and their youthful cousins, lady Jane and lady Katharine Gray, all imbibed her taste for classic literature, and her attachment to the principles of the Reformation. She induced not only Elizabeth, but Mary, to translate passages from the Scriptures. Each of these princesses compiled a little manual of devotions in Latin, French, and English, dedicated to their accomplished step-mother.

Katharine Parr's celebrity as a scholar and a theologian did not render her neglectful of the feminine accomplishment of needlework, in which, notwithstanding her early resistance to its practice, she much delighted. Like Henry's first excellent queen, Katharine of Arragon, she employed her hours of retirement in embroidering among her ladies. It is said that a portion of the hangings which ornamented the royal apartments of the Tower, before they were dismantled or destroyed, were the work of this queen; the only specimens, however, that are now to be found of her skill and industry in this pleasing art, are those preserved at Sizergh-castle. Her taste in dress appears to have been excellent, uniting magnificence of material with a simplicity of form. In fact, the costume of Katharine Parr, as shown in the celebrated miniature belonging to the Strawberry-hill collection, might be worn with perfect propriety in any courtly circle of the present age.

Katharine Parr enacted the queen with as much royal state and splendour as the loftiest of her predecessors. She granted an interview to the Spanish duke De Nevara at Westminster-palace, February 17, 1544. This Spanish grandee visited England on his return from the army of Charles V., and was admitted to pay his respects to the queen,

¹ Ellis, p. 132.

and her daughter-in-law the princess Mary. The queen permitted him to kiss her hand. Pedro de Gante, secretary to the grandee, has described her dress with the zeal of a man-milliner. She wore a kirtle of brocade, and an open robe of cloth of gold; the sleeves lined with crimson satin, and trimmed with three-piled crimson velvet; the train more than two yards long. Suspended from the neck were two crosses, and a jewel of very rich diamonds; in her head-dress, also, were many rich and beautiful stones. Her girdle was of gold, with large pendants.

The original miniature of this queen was in the collection of Horace Walpole. It is a small oval, on a deep smalt-blue back-ground. Her age is stated, in gilt figures in front of the picture, to be *xxxii*; so that the likeness must have been taken in the year 1545, about two years after her marriage with Henry VIII. Katharine is there represented with very small and delicately marked features, hazel eyes, and golden hair, folded in simple Madonna bands. Her forehead is lofty and serene, indicative of talent and sprightly wit. She wears a round crimson velvet hood or cap of state, edged with pearls, and surmounted with a jewelled frontlet of goldsmiths' work set with rubies and pearls; a long black veil flows from the back of the head-dress over the shoulders. The boddice and sleeves of the dress are made of rich gold brocade, and set tight to the shape: the boddice is cut plain across the bust, and is edged with a row of pearls between pipes of black and crimson velvet. She wears a double row of large pearls about her neck, from which depends a ruby cross, finished with one fair pendent pearl. Her boddice is ornamented with a large ruby brooch, set in filigree gold. This miniature was purchased by the present possessor of Sudely-castle, Mr. Dent, through whose courtesy I enjoyed the opportunity of inspecting it through a powerful magnifying-glass, which enabled me, to my own surprise as well as that of every one else, to unfold an unsuspected mystery connected with the brooch that decorates the front of the boddice. That ornament, in actual measurement not much bigger than a large spangle, contains the miniature portrait of king Henry, crowned and royally robed, seated on his throne under a canopy of state supported by pillars, holding an orb in one hand, a sceptre in the other, having his foot on an ornamented stool: the whole is richly and elaborately decorated with burnished gold and imitations of coloured gems, principally rubies, sapphires, and pearls, and is the smallest specimen of illumination ever seen. The marvel is, that eyes and fingers were ever found to execute so diminutive a work of art. The frame is in the form of the royal monogram *H R.* Perhaps this was the veritable miniature which the admiral Sir Thomas Seymour obtained from Katharine, when he subsequently entreated her "to send him one

of her little pictures, if she had not given them all away"—a proof that several original miniatures of this queen were painted, although they are now rare. The engraving, in Lodge, possesses none of her characteristics. Katharine Parr was *petite* in form, with remarkably small and delicately cut features, and her complexion was that of a genuine Westmoreland beauty—brilliantly fair and blooming, with hazel eyes, and hair of a golden auburn, realizing the *beau idéal* of Petrarca, when he exclaims :—

"Love! from what precious mine of gold didst thou
Bring the rich glories of her shining hair?
Where plucked the opening roses, fresh and fair,
Which on her cheeks in tender blushes glow?"

Katharine Parr's celebrated work, "The Lamentations of a Sinner," was written after her marriage with the king. This little volume, next to the writings of Sir Thomas More, affords one of the finest specimens of English composition of that era. It is a brief but elegant treatise on the imperfection of human nature in its unassisted state, and the utter vanity of all earthly grandeur and distinction. Within the limited compass of about 120 miniature pages, it comprises the elements of almost all the sermons that have been levelled against papal supremacy. The royal writer does not forget to compliment king Henry for having emancipated England from this domination :—

"Thanks be given to the Lord that he hath now sent us such a godly and learned king, in these latter days to reign over us, that, with the force of God's word, hath taken away the veils and mists of errors, and brought us to the knowledge of the truth by the light of God's word, which was so long hid and kept under, that the people were well-nigh famished and hungered for lack of spiritual food—such was the charity of the spiritual curates and shepherds. But our Moses, and most godly wise governor and king, hath delivered us out of the captivity and spiritual bondage of Pharaoh: I mean by this Moses king Henry VIII., my most sovereign favourable lord and husband, one (if Moses had figured any more than Christ), through the excellent grace of God, meet to be another expressed verity of Moses' conquest over Pharaoh (and I mean by this Pharaoh the bishop of Rome), who hath been, and is, a greater persecutor of all true Christians than ever was Pharaoh of the children of Israel."

The gross flattery offered up to her husband in this passage is somewhat atoned for by the pure morality and Christian holiness which generally pervades the precepts of the little treatise. The zeal with which it is written is extremely ardent, her aspiration for martyrdom frequent: the tenets inculcated are, simply, that all good works arise from the inspiration of the Spirit of God, vouchsafed through belief in Christ, derived from prayer and diligent perusal of the Scriptures. She is nearly as severe on those who call themselves "gospellers," and separate faith and works, as she is on the pope, and she evidently considers them in equal or greater error. Here are her words, and it must be owned that, if she considered Henry VIII. an exception from her description, conjugal partiality must have strangely blinded her :—

"Now I will speak with great dolour and heaviness of heart of a sort of people which be in the world called professors of the gospel, and by their words do declare and show

that they be much affected to the same. But I am afraid some of them do build on the sand, as Simon Magus did, making a weak foundation: I mean, they make not Christ their chiefest foundation. But either they would be called *gospellers*. and procure some credit and good opinion of the true and very favourers of Christ's doctrines, either to find out some carnal liberty, either to be contentious disputers, finders, or rebukers of other men's faults, or else, finally, to please and flatter the world. Such gospellers be an offence and slander to the word of God, and make the wicked to rejoice and laugh, saying, 'Behold, I pray you, their fair fruits.' What charity, what discretion, what goodness, holiness, and purity of life is amongst them? Be they not great avengers, foul gluttons, backbiters, adulterers, swearers, and blasphemers? yea, do they not wallow and tumble in all manner of sins? These be the fruits of their doctrine; and yet the word of God is all holy, sincere, and godly, being the doctrine and occasion of all pure living."

She then, with great earnestness, applies the parable of the sower and his seed, and that of the barren fig-tree. Her precepts to her own sex are as follows:—

"If they be women married, they learn of St. Paul to be obedient to their husbands, and to keep silence in the congregation, and to learn of their husbands at home. Also that they wear such apparel as becometh holiness and comely usage with soberness, not being accusers or detractors, not given to much eating of delicate meats and drinking of wine; but that they teach honest things—to make the young women sober-minded, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, housewifely, and good, that the word of God may not be evil spoken of."

The most remarkable passage in the book is, perhaps, that in which Katharine deplores her former attachment to the ceremonies of the church of Rome, some of her biographers having erroneously asserted that she was brought up in the principles of the Reformation. Those principles were abhorrent to the king, for it was the government, not the essentials of the Roman Catholic church that he was labouring to overthrow. In such low esteem, indeed, was Henry held by the fathers of the Reformation, that, on his rupture with the princes of the Smalcaldic league, Luther publicly returned thanks to God "for having delivered the Protestant church from that offensive king of England." "The king," says he, on another occasion, "is still the same *old Hintz*¹ as in my first book I pictured him. He will surely find his judge."²

The adulation of a woman of superior intellect was necessary to Henry's happiness. Katharine presently discovered his weak point, and, by condescending to adapt herself to his humour, acquired considerable influence over his mind. Early in the year 1544, king Henry gave indubitable tokens of the favour with which he regarded queen Katharine, by causing his obedient parliament to settle the royal succession on any children he might have by her, in case of the decease of prince Edward without issue. The wording of the first clause of this act³ is very curious, inasmuch as Henry treats four of his marriages as

¹ A German abbreviation, meaning the same as "old Harry."

² Luther's Familiar Discourses; sect. On the Princes of Europe.

³ Royal Acts, 37th Henry VIII.; Herbert's Hist. Henry VIII.

absolute nullities, and out of his six queens only condescends to acknowledge two; namely, Jane Seymour and Katharine Parr. "Forasmuch," says the record, "as his majesty, sithence the death of the late queen Jane, hath taken to wife Katharine, late wife to Sir John Neville, knight, lord Latimer, deceased, by whom as yet his majesty hath none issue, but may full well when it shall please God," &c., &c. In failure of heirs by his most entirely beloved wife queen Katharine, or any other his lawful wife, Henry, by the same act,¹ entails the succession on his daughter Mary, and in failure of her line, to his daughter Elizabeth; but who their mothers were he does not think proper to notice, lest he should, by word as well as by deed, contradict his previous decisions as to the unlawfulness of his marriages with Katharine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn. It was, however, too late for Henry VIII. to think of making sacrifices to consistency in his old age, after having followed no other guide than passion or caprice for nearly a quarter of a century.

Previous to his "undertaking a voyage-royal into the realm of France against the French king," Henry testified his confidence in Katharine's wisdom and integrity by appointing her to govern the realm in his absence, by the style and title of queen-regent of England and Ireland.² "The queen," observes lord Herbert, "was constituted general-regent of the realm, yet not so much that her soft sex was thought less capable of ambition, as that the Roman Catholics, of whom the king was mistrustful, would take no dependence from her, she being observed to incline a little to the reformed." Among the minutes of council of July 7, 36 Henry VIII., we have the following entry, connected with Katharine Parr's appointment to this important trust:—

"The king's majesty hath resolved that the queen's highness shall be regent in his grace's absence; and that his highness's process shall pass and bear test in her name."³

In the queen's commission of regency, Hertford was to be her lieutenant, if she needed such assistance.

Several of the queen-consorts of England have exercised vice-regal power, either by usurpation, or by the consent of the sovereign; but Katharine Parr was the first and only one on whom the style and title of queen-regent was solemnly conferred, and who signed herself as such, viz., KATHARINE THE QUEEN-REGENT, K.P.

The initials K. P., for Katharine Parr, which are attached to all her regal signatures, prove that neither her elevation to a throne, nor the distinction of the highest title of honour that had ever been borne by a female in England, had rendered her unwilling to remember her simple patronymic.

In the true spirit of a Christian, queen Katharine entered upon her

¹ Royal Acts, 37th Henry VIII.; Herbert's Hist. Henry VIII.

² Ibid.

³ Stat^s Paper MSS. Acts of Privy Council.

high office by imploring the Divine protection for her royal husband and his realm in the following prayer, which she composed for their use:¹—

“O Almighty King and Lord of Hosts! which by thy angels thereunto appointed dost minister both war and peace, who didst give unto David both courage and strength, being but a little one, unversed and inexperienced in feats of war, with his sling to set upon and overthrow the great huge Goliath, our cause now being just, and being enforced to enter into war and battail, we most humbly beseech thee, O Lord God of Hosts, so to turn the hearts of our enemies to the desire of peace, that no Christian blood be spilt. Or else grant, O Lord, that, with small effusion of blood and little damage of innocents, we may to thy glory obtain victory; and that the wars being soon ended, we may all, with one heart and mind, knit together in concord and amity, laud and praise Thee, who livest and reignest world without end. Amen.”

King Henry crossed the seas from Dover to Calais in a ship with sails of cloth of gold,² July 14. The next day he took the field in person, armed at all points, mounted on a great courser, and so rode out of Calais with a princely train, attended by Sir William Herbert, the queen's brother-in-law, who bore his head-piece and spear, and followed by the henchmen, bravely horsed and appointed. Katharine's brother the earl of Essex was chief captain of the men-at-arms in this expedition. On the 26th Henry appeared before Boulogne, and took the command of his puissance there. The duke of Albuquerque, the general of the allied Spanish forces, encamped on the other side of the town, and acted in conformity to the directions of the English monarch, who was the leader of the siege.³

Queen Katharine's correspondence with her absent consort is of a very simple business-like character, giving him an account of the proceedings of the lords of the council in sending him supplies of money and men. In a letter, dated the last day of July, she informs him of the capture of a Scotch ship by certain fishermen of Rye, having on board divers Frenchmen and Scots, with letters to the French king and others in France, which, having examined, she had sent the most important to him, promising him further particulars, if any should be elicited from the bearers of these missives. She concludes in these words:—

“My lord prince, and the rest of your majesty's children, are all, thanks be to God, in very good health; and thus, with my most humble commendations to your majesty, I pray Almighty God have the same in his most blessed keeping. From your majesty's honour of Hampton-court, the last day of July, the 36th year of your majesty's most noble reign.

“Your grace's most humble loving wife and servant,

“KATHARINE THE QUEEN, K.P.”⁴

Humility, even to the lowest degree of prostration, pervades Katharine Parr's letters to her formidable consort. She writes to him again,

¹ This beautiful aspiration for the restoration of peace is taken from a little volume, entitled “Prayers or Meditations, wherein the Mind is stirred patiently to suffer all Afflictions here, to set at nought the vaine Prosperite of this World, and always to long for the everlasting Felicity. Collected out of

certaine holy workes by the most vertuous and gracious princesse Katharine, Queen of England, France, and Ireland.” Printed by John Wayland: 12mo, 1545.

² Herbert. Hall.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Wood's Letters of Illustrious Ladies.

August 6 and August 25, more matters of business, and again certifies him that my lord prince and the rest of his children are in good health. The queen was at Hampton-court at that time, where she appears chiefly to have resided during Henry's absence, though she was not always stationary there. One of her most interesting letters, that to the princess Mary, on the subject of her translations of Erasmus's Paraphrases, is dated from Hanworth.¹ In the same letter she acknowledges the present of a purse, which her royal and learned step-daughter had made for her. "The queen's grace," writes the countess of Rutland,² "will be at Enfield on Friday come se'nnight, and remove to the prince's on Saturday next after, and come again on Monday. Wherefore, if you conveniently can, send me some fishes out of your parts against the same. It would come in good time," continues her ladyship to her correspondent, "for here is small store." This letter is written at Hallywell on Shrove-Tuesday; so the fishes which the noble lady was anxious to obtain were indispensable to furnish forth Lenten fare for the queen's entertainment. Her ladyship adds, "that the court is merry." There is no date to the following very loving and dutiful letter from Katharine to Henry:³—

"Although the distance of time and account of days neither is long nor many of your majesty's absence, yet the want of your presence, so much desired and beloved by me, maketh me that I cannot quietly pleasure in anything until I hear from your majesty. The time, therefore, seemeth to me very long, with a great desire to know how your highness hath done since your departing hence, whose prosperity and health I prefer and desire more than mine own. And whereas I know your majesty's absence is never without great need, yet love and affection compel me to desire your presence.

"Again, the same zeal and affection forceth me to be best content with that which is your will and pleasure. Thus love maketh me in all things to set apart mine own convenience and pleasure, and to embrace most joyfully his will and pleasure whom I love. God, the knower of secrets, can judge these words not to be written only with *ynke*, but most truly impressed on the heart. Much more I omit, lest it be thought I go about to praise myself, or crave a thank; which thing to do I mind nothing less, but a plain, simple relation of the love and zeal I bear your majesty, proceeding from the abundance of the heart. Wherein I must confess I desire no commendation, having such just occasion to do the same.

"I make like account with your majesty as I do with God for his benefits and gifts heaped upon me daily [*somewhat idolatrous this*], acknowledging myself a great debtor to him, not being able to recompense the least of his benefits; in which state I am certain and sure to die, yet I hope in his gracious acceptation of my goodwill. Even such confidence have I in your majesty's gentleness, knowing myself never to have done my duty as were requisite and meet for such a noble prince, at whose hands I have found and received so much love and goodness, that with words I cannot express it.

"Lest I should be too tedious to your majesty, I finish this my scribbled letter, committing you to the governance of the Lord with long and prosperous life here, and after this life to enjoy the kingdom of his elect.

"From Greenwich, by your majesty's humble and obedient servant,

KATERYN THE QUEEN, K.F."

A grateful and a loyal spirit pervades this letter. That the queen had both felt and expressed much anxiety for the safety of her royal husband as well as for the success of his expedition, may be gathered from the

¹ See the memoir of queen Mary I. ² To Sir William Paston, her father: Wood's Letters.

³ Strype's Mems., vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

following hypocritical passage in one of Wriothesley's letters to her majesty: "God is able to strengthen his own against the devil, and therefore let not the queen's majesty in any wise trouble herself, for God shall turn all to the best; and sure we be that the king's majesty's person is out of all danger."¹

King Henry left England in anger with his young daughter the princess Elizabeth, who had incurred his displeasure so deeply, that for a whole year he had neither permitted her to enter his presence, nor to write to him.² The cause of offence, whatever it was, occurred very soon after his marriage with queen Katharine Parr, who appears to have taken a very friendly part towards her royal step-daughter. During the first month of her regency, Katharine succeeded in restoring Elizabeth to her absent sire's good graces by her epistolary intercessions in her behalf. Elizabeth wrote an eloquent letter, July 31, 1544, expressing her grateful sense of the queen's goodness in having shown much solicitude about her health, and also for having conveyed her dutiful messages to the king in all her letters, to whom she had not herself, at that time, ventured to write.³ Henry VIII., in his letter, dated September 8, sends his blessing to all his children, which indicates that he had forgiven Elizabeth. He details with soldierlike plainness, to his fair regent at home, the auspicious progress of his campaign on the hostile shores of France. The manner in which he names his family to Katharine is very interesting, considering their relative positions, and implies much for the amiable conduct of the royal step-mother. Henry VIII., with all his faults, wrote very pleasant letters, and this is one of his best:—

"At the closing up of these our letters this day, the castle before named, with the dyke, is at our command, and not like to be recovered by the Frenchmen again (as we trust); not doubting, with God's grace, but that the castle and town shall shortly follow the same trade, for as this day, which is the eighth of September, we begin three batteries, and have three more going, beside one which hath done his execution in shaking and tearing off one of their greatest bulwarks. No more to you at this time, sweetheart, but for lack of time and great occupation of business, saving, we pray you, to give in our name our hearty blessings to all our children, and recommendations to our cousin Marget,⁴ and the rest of the ladies and gentlewomen, and to our council also.

"Written with the hand of your loving husband,

"HENRY R,

During the absence of the king in France, queen Katharine and her royal step-children appear to have resided together as one family. In September, the young Edward and his sisters were under her careful guardianship at Oking, whence, in consequence of the pestilence then raging, she issued her mandate to the mayor and sheriffs:—

"To make proclamation, that since, on account of the plague, great danger might arise to her, the prince, and the king's other children, no person in whose house the plague had been,

¹ State-Paper MSS.

² *Ibid.*

³ Letter from the princess Elizabeth to queen Katharine Parr.

⁴ His niece, the lady Margaret Douglas.

or who may have been with any infected person, or may have lived near any place where the infection had been, should go to court, or suffer any attendants on the court to enter his house where the infection is, under the queen's indignation, and further punishment at her pleasure. From Okinge."¹

If aught but good had befallen the dearly prized heir of England during the absence of the king, a fearful reckoning would have awaited queen Katharine from her jealous and unreasonable lord on his return. No wonder that her anxiety for the safety of this precious trust impelled her to the use of arbitrary measures to preserve the royal household from the danger of infection.

Boulogne surrendered to the arms of Henry VIII. after a fierce siege: he made his triumphant entry into the town September 18. His council in England, by command of the queen-regent, issued a general order, September 19, "that a public thanksgiving should be offered up to Almighty God in all the towns and villages throughout England, for the taking of Boulogne."² This was one of the last acts of queen Katharine Parr's regency, for the king returned to England October 1, finding it impossible to follow up his victorious career in France, because his Spanish allies had made a separate peace with Francis I. Katharine had governed with such prudence during the brief period in which the sovereign power of the crown had been confided to her administration, as to leave no cause of complaint to either party.

It was, in all probability, after Henry's return from his victorious campaign in France, that the interesting family group in her majesty's collection at Hampton-court was painted by Hans Holbein. In this splendid picture, the design of which appears to have been intended to introduce all the members of the royal house of Tudor as a united family, Henry is enthroned beneath his canopy of state, with his consort at his left hand; but instead of Katharine Parr, a pale spectral resemblance of Jane Seymour occupies the queenly place at Henry's side. The attitude and expression of the dead queen's face and figure are as rigid and inanimate as if it had been the intention of the painter to represent her as a corpse newly taken from the grave, clad in royal robes, and seated in jewelled pomp among the living. There is little doubt that the delineation was made from the wax effigy³ which was carried at her funeral. She bears a mournful and almost startling likeness to her son Prince Edward, a beautiful boy of eight years old, who leans on his father in a caressing attitude. With his right arm the king embraces his son, and his hand rests on his shoulder. The princesses Mary and Elizabeth are entering on opposite sides, as if to offer filial homage to the royal pair. The scene appears to be on a dais in Wolsey's hall, with a view of one of the turrets through a side-window.

¹ See MS. Harl., 442, fol. 207.

² Lingard.

³ See its description in the biography of Jane Seymour.

The picture is richly emblazoned with gold, and the costumes are peculiarly gorgeous and characteristic of the time. Henry's gown, of scarlet and gold brocade, is girded to his waist with a white satin sash, in which the hilt of his jewelled dagger is seen. The skirts of the gown are short, very full, and edged with gold. It is slashed on the breast, in five or six longitudinal rows, with puffs of white satin, confined with gold clasps. Over this he wears a magnificent collar of twisted pearls, with ruby medallions: a dalmatica with hanging sleeves, lined with sables, and edged with pearls, is thrown on his shoulder. His hat is of black velvet, adorned with pearls, and edged with the drooping white feather which is characteristic of the costume of this monarch, and also of his son. Henry's hose and shoes are of white satin, and he wears on his breast a large medallion jewel, having the appearance of a watch. The prince wears a crimson velvet cap, jewelled and plumed, but his hair is so arranged as to have the unpicturesque effect of a brown silk skull-cap or a little bob-wig. He has a gold chain about his neck, and is dressed in a gown of dark red damask, striped with gold, and arranged in heavy plaits from the throat to the waist, where it is confined by a narrow belt. The skirt is full, and descends below the knees; it is much padded and stiffened, and has hanging sleeves, open to the shoulders, beneath which are very full sleeves of white satin, fantastically slashed with scarlet velvet. His hose and shoes are of scarlet. The faded, statue-like representation of his dead mother appears in the pointed cloth-of-gold hood, edged with pearls, precisely like that worn by Jane Seymour in life, but which had been superseded by the pretty low French hood introduced by Katharine Howard, and adopted by Katharine Parr and her ladies. The two princesses are each represented in the same picture in round hoods, according to the prevailing fashion of their royal step-mother's court, of crimson velvet, edged with pearls, similar to that worn by queen Katharine Parr in the Strawberry-hill miniature, only not surmounted with so rich a coronal of jewels. This peculiarity of the costume marks the miniature of Katharine to have been painted at the same period as the Holbein family group, if not by the same artist. The hair of Jane Seymour, the two princesses in this picture, and that of Katharine Parr in the Strawberry-hill miniature, are all of the golden tint, which appears the universal colour in all the Holbein portraits of the last three years of Henry VIII.'s reign—a singular freak of nature, we should say, were it not well known that an imitation of the envied *chiome d'oro* was produced by the use of a bright yellow powder then in vogue. In some instances, folds of amber-coloured velvet were worn by the elder ladies of Henry VIII.'s court, arranged like crossed bands of hair, so as to give a great appearance of breadth to the forehead under the low French hood.

That Katharine Parr was in the full enjoyment of Henry's favour at this period may be inferred from the consideration with which her kindred were treated, although she was herself cautious of giving cause of disgust to the old nobility or envy to the climbing courtiers, by obtaining lavish grants of money and lands or a plurality of offices for her own family. Just such a meed of patronage was bestowed on her brother, her uncle, and her sister's husband as evinced her affection and the respect of the king for her relatives, but no more. Three of her young kinsmen, the Throckmortons, followed the banner of the sovereign in the French campaign. George was made prisoner, and a thousand pounds were demanded by the captor for his ransom, on account of his consanguinity to her majesty. After he had remained a year in captivity, the queen exerted herself for his redemption. The scene of his return, and the preferment that followed at court, is thus pleasantly described by his nephew in the Throckmorton MS. :—

"When first in presence-chamber he was come,
The king said to him, 'Welcome to our grace
I know thou lovest the alarum of a drum,
I see the marks of manhood in thy face.'
He, humbly kneeling, thanked his majesty,
That he did see him set at liberty.

And often, after that, the king would jest,
And call him 'cousin' in his merry mood,
Because therefor the Frenchmen hath assest
His fine so high, which turned him to good.
His foes did say, in serving he was free,
And for reward the prince gave land in fee.

And now, because the king and queen did use
By friendly signs their liking to display,
What men our company would then refuse?
Our betters, then, with us did seek to stay.
For lo ! it is a path to dignity,
With Cæsar's friend to be in amity.

Then Pembroke and his wife, who sister was
Unto the queen, their kinsfolk friended much;
And Parr, their brother, did them both surpass,
Who for to pleasure us did never grutch.
When these did call us 'cousin,' at each word
The other peers would friendly speech afford."

Soon after the king's return from France, the queen's uncle, Parr of Horton, resigned his office of lord chamberlain and his place in the council; and though greatly urged by Henry and Katharine to continue to assist them with his experience and advice, he sighed for the quiet of private life, "preferring," he said, "to the honours that beset him in his niece's court, the pious, peaceable, hospitable way of the country, where popularity affected him more than he sought it"—no man being more beloved by the commonalty. On the last day of the year 1544, the princess Elizabeth wrote a long complimentary letter from Ashridge to her royal step-mother, and sent her a most interesting New-year's

gift, which is still in existence, viz., an autograph translation from the Italian, beautifully written on vellum, in the form of a small quarto, entitled, "The Glasse of the Synnefull Soul," and addressed "to oure Moste Noble and Vertuous Queene Katerin; Elizabeth, her humble daughter, wisheth perpetuall felicitye and everlasting joye." It is in the religious style of the time, and has occasional strains of true eloquence. The cover, embroidered with blue and silver threads by the hands of the learned young princess, has the queen's initial letters K. R. gracefully introduced. Elizabeth in her epistle apologizes for all defects, and says that "she trusts its imperfections will all be smoothed and polished by the file of her highness's excellent wit and godly learning in the reading of it; and after it shall have passed through her hands, it will come forth as it were in a new form." Thus it appears that Katharine Parr was an Italian as well as a classic scholar and an accomplished mistress of her own language, and that she still continued to perform the office of preceptress *con amore* to Elizabeth.

CHAPTER II.

ONE great trial—we may add peril—of Katharine Parr's queenly life, was the frequent presence of her former lover, Sir Thomas Seymour who was one of the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber. The contrast between him and her royal lord must have been painfully apparent, at times, to Katharine. She was surrounded with invidious spies, withal, who would have been only too happy to be able to report a word, a look, or even a sigh, to the king, as evidence of her preference for the handsome Seymour; but the high principles and consummate prudence of the queen carried her triumphantly through an ordeal which some princesses might not have passed without loss of life and fame. The conduct of Seymour was rash, inconsistent, and selfish. He was the most restless, and at the same time the most blundering, of intriguers. He had shared in the spoils of the sequestered abbeys, though in a lesser degree than his brother the earl of Hertford, and was one of those who would have tempted the king to appropriate the revenues of the bishops. It was, however, necessary to find some cause of complaint with that body; and, according to Foxe, he began at the fountain-head.

"Sir Thomas Seymour," says our author, "who waited on the king, not much favouring Cranmer, accused him of wasting his revenues, and retrenching all hospitality, in order to gather riches for his wife and children."¹ One day, when Sir Thomas Seymour was holding the basin for the king to wash before going to dinner, his majesty said to him,

¹ Foxe; folio ed., book ii. 524 525.

"Go you out of hand to my lord of Canterbury, and bid him be with me at two o'clock, and fail not." When Seymour went to Lambeth, he found the great hall set out for dinner, and the usual hospitality going forward; and being invited by Cranmer to dine, at which meal all proceeded with the usual state of the former archbishops, he perceived that he had been sent on purpose, and after delivering his message, went back to the king in great haste. "Ho!" said Henry, when he saw him, "dined you not with my lord of Canterbury?" Sir Thomas Seymour spied a portentous cloud on the royal brow, as he replied, "That I did, your majesty, and he will be with your highness forthwith;" then, falling on his knees, he added, "I beseech your majesty to pardon me, for I have of late told you an untruth concerning my lord of Canterbury's housekeeping. But I will never henceforth believe the knave which did put that vain tale in my head, for never did I see in my life so honourable a hall set in the realm, except your majesty's, or so well furnished, according to each degree, and himself also most honourably served."—"Ah! sir," quoth the king, "have you now spied the truth? But I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a sort of you whom I have liberally given of suppressed monasteries, which, as you have lightly gotten, so you have unthriftilly spent—some at dice,¹ other some in gay apparel, and otherways worse, I fear; and now all is gone, you would fain have me make another *chevisance* [gratuity] of the bishop's lands to satisfy your greedy appetites."

Far different from this worldly, self-seeking spirit was the disinterested devotion of the queen to the cause of the Reformation. With nothing to gain, and everything to lose by her religion, she courageously maintained the opinions to which she had become a convert; and, in her zeal for the translation of the holy Scriptures, left no means untried for the accomplishment of that good work. She appointed Miles Coverdale to the office of her almoner, and rendered him every assistance in his labour of love. The learned Nicholas Udall, master of Eton school, was employed by Katharine Parr to edit the translations of Erasmus's Paraphrases on the four Gospels; in the labour of which the princess Mary was induced, by her royal step-mother, to take an active share.

The first edition of these paraphrases (of which so important a use was afterwards made by Cranmer and Somerset) was published, according to Strype, in 1545, at the sole expense of queen Katharine Parr. In his dedication to his royal patroness, Udall remarks "on the great number of noble women at that time in England given to the study of devout science and of strange tongues. It was a common thing," he quaintly adds, "to see young virgins so nouzled and trained in the study

² The king himself lost 300*l.* at a sitting with Edward Seymour, elder brother to this man. The Seymours seem the greatest gamblers at court.—See Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., many items.

of letters, that they willingly set all other pastimes at nought for learning's sake. It was now no news at all to see queens and ladies of most high estate and progeny, instead of courtly dalliance, to embrace virtuous exercises, reading, and writing, and with most earnest study, early and late, to apply themselves to the acquiring of knowledge." Fortunately for Katharine Parr, and those fair and gentle students who were encouraged by the example of that learned queen to seek the paths of knowledge, they flourished in days when the acquirements of ladies were regarded as their glory, not their reproach. Learning in women was then considered next unto holiness; and the cultivation of the female mind was hailed by the wise, the good, the noble of England as a proof of the increasing refinement of the land. In later centuries, invidious ignorance has succeeded in flinging the brand of vulgar opprobrium on such women as were all but deified by Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Udall, and Ascham. Margaret Roper, Katharine Parr, and the divine lady Jane Gray, would inevitably have been stigmatized as *blue-stockings*, if they had lived in the nineteenth century instead of the sixteenth century.

Queen Katharine and her royal step-daughter, the lady Mary, honoured Sir William and lady Petre by answering at the baptismal font for their infant daughter, to whom the queen gave her own name Katharine.¹ Wriothesley, the then lord chancellor, was the godfather. This man was the queen's deadly but undeclared foe, and a few months later made an attempt to poison the king's mind against her.

When Katharine Parr was first called to the unenviable distinction of sharing the throne of Henry VIII., the poverty of the crown precluded the king from indulging his love of pomp and pageantry in any of the public fêtes and rejoicings which had been so frequent in the first thirty years of his reign. The expense of a coronation for the new queen was out of the question; and, though she was dowered in the same proportion as her predecessors had been, it must have been a source of comfort to Katharine that she enjoyed a fine income as the widow of lord Borough and lord Latimer, independently of her royal allowance as queen-consort of England. The expenses of the queen's breakfast, on an average calculation, amounted only to 70*l.* per annum. It was commanded by the lord great-master at Westminster, in the month of June, 35th Henry VIII., that the queen's maids should daily have a chine of beef served to them for their breakfast.²

Henry's pecuniary distresses had led him to the fallacious expedient of raising the nominal value of the currency of the realm, and afterwards of issuing a fresh coinage, in which the proportion of alloy exceeded that of the silver. This purblind proceeding gave the death-blow to trade by

¹ April, 1545. Old family register, in possession of lord Petre.

² Ordinances for the king's household, p. 375. Additions to the ordinances of Eltham, p. 208.

ruining the national credit, and involved himself, his subjects, and successors in tenfold difficulties.¹ In the autumn of 1545 Henry claimed the assistance of parliament; but the subsidy granted not satisfying the rapacious sovereign, the revenues of all the hospitals and colleges in England were placed at his disposal by the time-serving legislators of whom it was composed.² The university of Cambridge, dreading the spoliation with which it was threatened, implored the protection of the learned queen.³ Katharine who was not forgetful of the affection and respect which had been ever manifested for her person and character by this erudite body, exerted her utmost influence with her royal husband to avert the storm that impended over that ancient nursery of learning and piety. The letter in which her majesty informs the members of the university of the success of her intercession with the king in their behalf, is exceedingly curious; and the advice she offers, as to the nature of their studies, is equally creditable to her head and heart:—

“You show me how agreeable it is to me, being in this worldly estate, not only for mine own part to be studious, but also a maintainer and cherisher of the learned state, bearing me in hand [insisting] that I am endowed and perfected with those qualities which *ought to be in a person of my station.*

“Truly this your discreet and politic document I as thankfully accept as you desire that I should embrace it. And forasmuch (as I do hear) all kind of learning doth flourish among you in this age as it did amongst the Greeks at Athens long ago, I desire you all not so to hunger for the exquisite knowledge of profane learning, that it may be thought that the Greek university was but transposed or now in England revived, *forgetting our Christianity*, since their excellency did only attain to moral and natural things; but rather, I gently exhort you to study and apply those doctrines as means and apt degrees to the attaining and setting forth Christ's reverent and sacred doctrine, that it may not be laid against you in evidence, at the tribunal of God, how you were ashamed of Christ's doctrine; for this *Latin lesson* ⁴ I am taught to say of St. Paul, *Non me pudet evangelii*, to the setting forth whereof (I trust) universally in all your vocations and ministries you will apply, and conform your sundry gifts, arts, and studies in such end and sort, that Cambridge may be accounted rather an university of divine philosophy than of natural and moral, as Athens was. Upon the confidence of which your accomplishment of my expectation, zeal, and request, I (according to your desires) have *attempted* my lord the king for the establishment of your livelihood and possessions, in which (notwithstanding his majesty's property and interest, through the consent of the high court of parliament), his highness being such a patron to good learning doth tender you so much, that he would rather advance learning and erect new occasion thereof, than confound your ancient and godly institutions; so that such learning may hereafter ascribe her very original whole conversation to our sovereign lord the king, her only defence and worthy ornament, the prosperous estate and princely government of whom long to preserve, I doubt not but every one of you will in the daily invocation call upon Him, who alone and only can dispose to every creature.

“Scribbled with the rude hand of her, that prayeth to the Lord and immortal God to send you all prosperous success in godly learning and knowledge. From my lord the king's majesty's manor of Greenwich, the 26th Feb.

“KATHARINE THE QUEEN, K.P.” ⁵

The triumph which Katharine Parr's virtuous influence obtained, in this instance, over the sordid passions of Henry and his greedy ministers,

¹ Herbert. Stowe. ² Herbert. Hall.

³ Strype.

⁴ Here the queen displays, much in the

style of her daughter-in-law Elizabeth, the learning she had so elaborately disclaimed.

⁵ MS., Corpus-Christi coll. Cam., 206.

ought to endear the name of the royal patroness of learning to every mind capable of appreciating her magnanimity and moral courage. The beauty, the talents, and rare acquirements of Katharine Parr, together with the delicate tact which taught her how to make the most of these advantages, enabled her to retain her empire over the fickle heart of Henry for a longer period than the fairest and most brilliant of her predecessors. But these charms were not the most powerful talismans with which the queen won her influence. It was her domestic virtues, her patience, her endearing manners, that rendered her indispensable to the irritable and diseased voluptuary, who was now paying the severe penalty of bodily tortures and mental disquiet for the excesses of his former life. Henry had grown so corpulent and unwieldy in person, that he was incapable of taking the slightest exercise, much less of recreating himself with the invigorating field-sports and boisterous pastimes in which he had formerly delighted. The days had come unexpectedly upon him in which he had no pleasure. His body was so swollen and enfeebled by dropsy, that he could not be moved to an upper chamber without the aid of machinery. Hitherto, the excitement of playing the leading part in the public drama of royal pomp and pageantry had been one of the principal objects of his life; deprived of this, and with the records of an evil conscience to dwell upon in the weary hours of pain, his irascibility and impatience would have goaded him to frenzy, but for the soothing gentleness and tender attentions of his amiable consort. Katharine was the most skilful and patient of nurses, and shrank not from any office, however humble, whereby she could afford mitigation to the sufferings of her royal husband. It is recorded of her, that she would remain for hours on her knees beside him, applying fomentations and other palliatives to his ulcerated leg, which he would not permit any one to dress but her. She had already served an apprenticeship to the infirmities of sickness, in her attendance on the death-beds of her two previous husbands, and had doubtless acquired the art of adapting herself to the humours of male invalids. A royally born lady might have been of little comfort to Henry in the days of his infirmity, but Katharine Parr had been educated in the school of domestic life, and was perfect in the practice of its virtues and its duties. She sought to charm the *ennui* which oppressed the once magnificent and active sovereign in the unwelcome quiet of his sick chamber, by inducing him to unite with her in directing the studies and watching the hopeful promise of his beloved heir, prince Edward.

The arrival of the plenipotentiaries to negotiate a peace between England and France in the commencement of the year 1546, caused the last gleam of royal festivity and splendour that was ever to enliven the court of Henry VIII. Claude d'Annebaut, the admiral who had a few months previously attempted a hostile descent on the Isle of Wight, and

attacked the English fleet, was the ambassador-extraordinary on this occasion. Henry presented Katharine Parr with many jewels, of great value, 'that she might appear with suitable *éclat*, as his consort, to the plenipotentiaries of France. He also provided new and costly hangings and furniture for her apartments, as well as plate, which she naturally regarded as her own property; but a long and vexatious litigation was instituted with regard to these gifts after the death of the king, as will be shown in its proper place.

The increasing influence of Katharine with king Henry, and the ascendancy she was acquiring over the opening mind of the future sovereign, were watched with jealous alarm by the party most inimical to the doctrines of the Reformation. Wriothesley, the lord chancellor, who had been the base suggester to Henry VIII. of a breach of faith to Anne of Cleves, and afterwards pursued his fifth unhappy queen with the zest of a bloodhound¹ till her young head was laid upon the block, waited but for a suitable opportunity for effecting the fall of Katharine Parr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was his confederate in this intention, but so blameless was the conduct, so irreproachable the manners of the queen, that, as in the case of Daniel, it was impossible for her deadliest foe to find an occasion against her, except in the matter of her religious opinions. In these she was opposed to Henry's arbitrary notions, who was endeavouring to erect the dogma of his own infallibility on the ruins of papacy. Every dissent from his decisions in points of faith had been visited with the most terrible penalties. In his last speech to parliament he had bitterly complained of the divisions in religion that distracted his realm, for which he "partly blamed the priests, some of whom," he sarcastically observed, "were so stiff in their old *mumpsimus*,² and others so busy with their new *sumpsimus*, that instead of preaching the word of God, they were employed at railing at each other;³ and partly the fault of the laity, whose delight it was to censure the proceedings of their bishops, priests, and preachers. If you know," continued the royal polemic, "that any preach perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God authority to reform and order such cases and behaviours, and be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions. And, although you be permitted to read holy Scriptures, and to have the word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed you so to do only to inform your conscience, your children, and families, and not to dispute, and to make Scripture a railing and

¹ See the biographies of Anne of Cleves and Katharine Howard.

² The origin of this expression seems to have arisen in the following circumstance: An old priest always read in his portass (breviary) *mumpsimus*, Domine, for *sumpsimus*

mus; whereof, when he was admonished, he said, "that he now had used *mumpsimus* for thirty years, and would not leave his old '*mumpsimus*' for their new '*sumpsimus*'"

³ Hall.

taunting stock against priests and preachers. I am very sorry to know and hear how irreverently that precious jewel the word of God is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every ale-house and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same."¹

This speech was a prelude to the rigorous enforcement of the six articles. The most interesting victim of the fiery persecution that ensued, in the spring and summer of 1546, was the young, and beautiful, and learned Anne Askew. She was a lady of honourable birth and ancient lineage, and having become a convert to the new faith, was for that cause violently driven from her home by her husband, Mr. Kyme, of Lincolnshire. She then resumed her maiden name, and devoted herself to the promulgation of the religious opinions she had embraced. It was soon known that the queen's sister, lady Herbert, the duchess of Suffolk, and other great ladies of the court, countenanced the fair gospeller—nay, more, that the queen herself had received books from her, in the presence of lady Herbert, lady Tyrwhitt, and the youthful lady Jane Gray, which might bring her majesty under the penalty of the statute against reading heretical works. The religious opinions of a young and beautiful woman might, perhaps, have been overlooked by men with whom religion was a matter of party, not conscience; but the supposed connection of Anne Askew with the queen, caused her to be singled out for the purpose of terrifying or torturing her into confessions that might furnish a charge of heresy or treason against her royal mistress. The unexpected firmness of the Christian heroine baffled this design; she endured the utmost inflictions of Wriothesley's vindictive fury without permitting a syllable to pass her lips that might be rendered subservient to this purpose.

Anne Askew had been supported in prison by money which had been conveyed to her, from time to time, by persons supposed to be in the service of the ladies of the queen's bedchamber; and the lord chancellor's inquisitorial cruelty was especially exercised in his attempts to extort from the hapless recipient of this charity the names of her secret friends.² It is well known that when Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant of the Tower, endeavoured by his directions to the gaoler to modify the ferocious, and it seems illegal, requisition of chancellor Wriothesley to inflict severer agonies on the tender, but unshrinking victim, his lordship threw off his gown, and with the assistance of his pitiless accomplice Rich, worked the rack till, to use Anne's own words, they well-nigh plucked her joints asunder. When the lieutenant of the Tower found his authority thus superseded, he promptly took boat, and proceeding to the king, indignantly related to him the disgusting scene he had just witnessed. Henry affected to express great displeasure that a female should have been exposed to such barbarity, but he neither

¹ Journals of Parliament.

² Foxe's Martyrology.

punished the perpetrators of the outrage, nor interposed his authority to preserve Anne Askew from a fiery death. Indeed, if the contemporary author quoted by Speed is to be credited, "Henry had himself ordered Anne Askew to be stretched on the rack, being exasperated against her for having brought prohibited books into his palace, and imbued his queen and his nieces, Suffolk's daughters, with her doctrine."

The terrible sentence, which consigned the dislocated frame of the young and lovely Anne Askew a living prey to the flames, shook not the lofty self-devotion of the victim. Several persons professing the reformed doctrine were condemned to die at the same time, among whom were two gentlemen of the royal household, William Morice, the king's gentleman usher, and Sir George Blagge, of the privy-chamber. The following touching particulars of their last meeting have been recorded by a survivor:—"I, being alive," narrates John Loud (tutor to Sir Robert Southwell, and a gentleman of Lincoln's-inn), "must needs confess of her departed to the Lord." There was a sad party of victims and their undaunted friends gathered in the little parlour by Newgate. Sir George Blagge was with Lascells (a gentleman of a right worshipful house in Nottinghamshire, at Gatford, near Worksop) the day before his execution, and that of Anne Askew, "who had," says the narrator, "an angel's countenance and a smiling face." Lascells was in the little parlour by Newgate; "he mounted up in the window-seat, and there sat. He was merry and cheerful in the Lord, and Sir George Blagge sat by his side: one Belenian, a priest, likewise burnt, was there. Three of the Throckmortons were present, Sir Nicholas being one of them. By the same token, a person unknown to me said, 'Ye are all marked men that come to them. Take heed to your lives.'"¹

The Throckmortons were, be it remembered, the near kinsmen of the queen, and confidential members of her household. They were her *élèves*, and converts withal, to the faith of which she was the nursing-mother. Undismayed by the warning they had received when they came to comfort Anne Askew and her fellow-captives in prison, these heroic brethren ventured to approach her, when she was borne to her funeral pile in Smithfield, for the purpose of offering her sympathy and encouragement; but they were again warned "that they were marked men," and compelled to withdraw.² In a far different spirit came Wriothesley, Russell, and others of the ruthless clique, to witness the last act of the tragedy,³ and to tempt the weakness of woman's nature by offering her the king's pardon on condition of her recanting. She treated the proposal with the scorn it merited, and her fearless demeanour

¹ Strype's *Mems.*, p. 599.

² Aikin's *Elizabeth*.

³ This amiable junto were seated on a bench by St. Bartholomew's church, and expressed some alarm lest their persons should

be endangered by the gunpowder among the fagots exploding. Russell reassured his colleagues, by informing them that it was *only* intended "or the condemned prisoners.

encouraged and strengthened the resolution of the three men who shared with her the crown of martyrdom. The male victims were not subjected to torture. They appear to have suffered on matters of faith, unconnected with politics. Anne Askew may be regarded as a sacrifice to the malignity of the party who failed in making her an instrument in their machinations against the queen.

The terror and anguish which must have oppressed the heart of the queen at this dreadful period may be imagined. Not only was she unable to avert the fate of the generous Anne Askew and the other Protestant martyrs, but she was herself, with some of her nearest and dearest connections, on the verge of the like peril. Sir George Blagge, who was involved in the same condemnation with Anne Askew, and those who suffered with her, was a great favourite with the king, who was wont to honour him, in moments of familiarity, with the endearing appellation of his "pig." Henry does not appear to have been aware of Blagge's arrest till informed of his condemnation. He then sent for Wriothesley, and rated him "for coming so near him, even to his privy-chamber," and commanded him to draw out a pardon. Blagge, on his release, flew to thank his master, who, seeing him, cried out, "Ah! my pig, are you here safe again?"—"Yes, sire," said he, "and if your majesty had not been better than your bishops, your pig had been roasted ere this time."¹ Notwithstanding this rebuff, Wriothesley and his coadjutors presumed to come somewhat nearer to the king than an attack on members of his household, for they struck at the wife of his bosom.

It was shrewdly observed by a contemporary, "that Gardiner had bent his bow to bring down some of the head deer." Victims of less distinguished note were destined first to fall, but it was for the purpose of compassing the disgrace and death of the queen that the fires of persecution had been rekindled, Wriothesley and Gardiner having masked an iniquitous political intrigue under the name of religion. The queen's sister, lady Herbert, had been secretly denounced to Henry as an active instrument in controverting his edict touching heretical works. This was a subtle prelude for an attack upon the queen herself; for when Henry had reason to suppose she received and read books forbidden by his royal statutes, he was prepared to take every difference in opinion, expressed or insinuated by her, in the light not only of heresy, but treason.

Henry's anger was always the most deadly and dangerous when he brooded over an offence in silence. Queen Katharine had been accustomed, in their hours of domestic privacy, to converse with him on theological subjects, in which he took great delight. The points of difference in their opinions, and the ready wit and eloquence with which

¹ Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley. Tytler.

the queen maintained her side of the question, gave piquancy to these discussions. Henry was, at first, amused and interested; but controversies between husband and wife are dangerous pastimes to the weaker vessel, especially if she chance to have the best of the argument. On subjects of less importance to his eternal welfare, Katharine might possibly have had tact enough to leave the victory to her lord; but, labouring as she saw him under a complication of incurable maladies, and loaded with a yet more fearful weight of unrepented crimes, she must have been anxious to awaken him to a sense of his accountability to that Almighty Judge at whose tribunal it was evident he must soon appear.

With the exception of his murdered tutor, Fisher, Henry's spiritual advisers, whether Catholics or Reformers, had all been false to their trust. They had flattered his worst passions, and lulled his guilty conscience by crying "Peace, peace!" when there was no peace. Katharine Parr was, perhaps, the only person who latterly had had the moral courage to speak, even in a modified manner, the language of truth in his presence. Henry had a "*sumpsimus*" of his own, which he wished to render the national rule of faith, and was, at last, exceedingly displeased that his queen should presume to doubt the infallibility of his opinions. One day she ventured, in the presence of Gardiner, to remonstrate with him on the proclamation he had recently put forth forbidding the use of a translation of the Scriptures, which he had previously licensed. This was at a time when his constitutional irascibility was aggravated by a painful inflammation of his ulcerated leg, which confined him to his chamber. Perhaps Katharine, in her zeal for the diffusion of the truths of holy writ, pressed the matter too closely, for the king showed tokens of mislike, and cut the matter short. The queen made a few pleasant observations on other subjects, and withdrew. Henry's suppressed choler broke out as soon as she had left the room. "A good hearing it is," said he, "when women become such clerks; and much to my comfort to come, in mine old age, to be taught by my wife!"¹

Gardiner, who was present, availed himself of this scornful sally to insinuate things against her majesty, which a few days before he durst not, for his life, have breathed to the king. "For," says a contemporary author, "never handmaid sought more to please her mistress than she to please his humour; and she was of singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, wherein the king greatly delighted. But Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor Wriothesley, and others of the king's privy-chamber, practised her death, that they might the better stop the passage of the gospel; yet they durst not speak to the king touching her, because they saw he loved her so well."² But now that

¹ Foze. Herbert. Lingard.² Foze.

an offence had been given to the royal egotist's self-idolatry, he was ready to listen to anything that could be said in disparagement of his dutiful and conscientious wife: her tender nursing, her unremitting attentions to his comfort, together with her amiable and affectionate conduct to his children, were all forgotten. Gardiner flattered him, to the top of his bent, on his theological knowledge and judgment, in which he declared "that his majesty excelled the princes of that and every other age, as well as all the professed doctors of divinity, insomuch, that it was unseemly for any of his subjects to argue with him so malapertly as the queen had just done. That it was grievous for any of his counsellors to hear it done, since those who were so bold in words, would not scruple to proceed to acts of disobedience;" adding, "that he could make great discoveries, if he were not deterred by the queen's powerful faction. In short, he crept so far into the king at that time," says Foxe, "and he, and his fellows, so filled Henry's mistrustful mind with fears, that he gave them warrant to consult together about drawing of articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched. They thought it best to begin with such ladies as she most esteemed, and were privy to all her doings—as the lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, her sister; the lady Jane, and the lady Tyrwhitt, all of her privy-chamber; and to accuse them of the six articles, and to search their closets and coffers, that they might find somewhat to charge the queen; who, if that were the case, should be taken and carried by night in a barge to the Tower, of which advice the king was made privy by Gardiner. This purpose was so finely handled, that it grew within few days of the time appointed, and the poor queen suspected nothing, but, after her accustomed manner, visited the king, still to deal with him touching religion as before."

At this momentous crisis, when the life of the queen might be said to hang on a balance so fearfully poised that the descent of a feather would have given it a fatal turn, the bill of articles that had been framed against her, together with the mandate for her arrest, were dropped by Wriothsley from his bosom in the gallery at Whitehall, after the royal signature of the king had been affixed. Fortunately it happened that it was picked up by one of the attendants of the queen, and instantly conveyed to her majesty,¹ whose sweetness of temper and gracious demeanour had endeared her to all her household. It is impossible but that shuddering recollections of the fell decree which doomed Henry's second consort, Anne Boleyn, to be either burned or beheaded, at his pleasure, and of the summary proceedings by which his last queen, Katharine, was hurried to the block, without even the ceremony of a trial, must have pressed upon her mind, as she glanced at these appalling documents. Her virtue, it is true, could not be impugned as

¹ Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Speed. Tytler.

theirs had been, but she had disappointed the expectation, so confidently stated by the king in the act for settling the succession to the crown, "that their union might be blessed with offspring." In that very act there was an ominous clause (in case of failure of issue by her), which secured a precedency over his daughters. "to the children he *might* have by any *other* queens." She had been Henry's wife three years, and was still childless; and as she had not brought a family to either of her former husbands, the reproach of barrenness might, not unreasonably, be ascribed to her by the king. It was doubtless to the full as great a crime, in his sight, as her heresy, and it is not improbable that it was even cited in the list of her misdemeanours, as the untimely death of Katharine of Arragon's sons had been impiously construed into evidences that the marriage was displeasing in the sight of God, when Henry was desirous of another wife.

Katharine Parr no sooner became aware, from the perusal of the paper so providentially brought to her, that a bill for her attainder was prepared, and saw that the king had treacherously given his sanction to the machinations of her foes, than she concluded that she was to be added to the list of his conjugal victims, and fell into an hysterical agony.¹ She occupied an apartment contiguous to that of the sick and froward monarch, and, as she fell from one fit into another, her shrieks and cries reached his ears. Finding they continued for many hours, either moved with pity, or, as Dr. Lingard shrewdly suggests, "incommoded by the noise," he sent to inquire what was the matter. Katharine's physician, Dr. Wendy, having penetrated the cause of her majesty's indisposition, informed the royal messenger "that the queen was dangerously ill, and that it appeared that her sickness was caused by distress of mind."² When the king heard this, he was either moved with unwonted feelings of compunction, or reminded, by his own increasing infirmities, which had confined him for the last two days to his bed, of her unrivalled skill as a nurse; and feeling, perhaps for the first time, how much he should miss her in that capacity if death deprived him of her services, he determined to pay her a visit. This act of royal condescension was the more remarkable, because it was attended with great personal inconvenience to himself, for he was carried in a chair into queen Katharine's apartment, being at that time unable to walk.³ He found her heavy and melancholy, and apparently at the point of death, at which he evinced much sympathy, as if really alarmed at the idea of losing her. Perhaps he had not, till then, discovered that she was dearer to him than her fairer and more passionately but briefly loved predecessors, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard. The hysterical agonies of those unhappy ladies had produced no such relentings in his vindictive breast, though they had been duly reported to him; but then, to be sure, he was

¹ Foxe. Speed. Herbert. Lingard.² Tyler.³ Foxe.

out of hearing of their cries. Katharine Parr, having been twice married before, and being a woman of great sense and observation, had acquired more experience in adapting herself to the humour of a froward lord, than either the gay, reckless coquette Anne Boleyn, or the young, unlettered Howard. On this occasion she testified a proper degree of gratitude for the honour of his visit, "which," she assured him, "had greatly revived and rejoiced her." She also adroitly offered an opening for an explanation of the cause of Henry's displeasure, by expressing herself much distressed at having seen so little of his majesty of late, adding, that her uneasiness at this was increased by her apprehensions of having been so unhappy as to have given him some unintentional offence.¹ Henry replied only with gracious and encouraging expressions of his goodwill. During the rest of this critical interview, Katharine behaved in so humble and endearing a manner, and so completely adapted herself to the humour of her imperious lord, that, in the excitement caused by the reaction of his feelings, he betrayed to her physician the secret of the plot against her life. The physician being both a good and prudent person, acted as a mediator with his sovereign in the first instance, and is said to have suggested to the queen the proper means of effecting a reconciliation.²

The next evening the queen found herself well enough to return the king's visit in his bedchamber. She came attended by her sister lady Herbert, and the king's young niece, lady Jane Gray,³ who carried the candles before her majesty. Henry welcomed her very courteously, and appeared to take her attention in good part, but presently turned the conversation to the old subject of controversy, for the purpose of beguiling her into an argument. Katharine adroitly avoided the snare, by observing "that she was but a woman, accompanied with all the imperfections natural to the weakness of her sex; therefore, in all matters of doubt and difficulty she must refer herself to his majesty's better judgment, as to her lord and head; for so God hath appointed you," continued she, "as the supreme head of us all, and of you, next unto God, will I ever learn."—"Not so, by St. Mary!" said the king. "Ye are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, and not to be instructed of us, as oftentimes we have seen."—"Indeed," replied the queen, "if your majesty have so conceived, my meaning has been mistaken, for I have always held it preposterous for a woman to instruct her lord; and if I have ever presumed to differ with your highness on religion, it was partly to obtain information for my own comfort, regarding certain nice points on which I stood in doubt, and sometimes because I perceived that, in talking, you were better able to pass away the pain and weariness of your present

¹ Foxe. Herbert. Speed.

² Soames' Hist. Tytler.

³ Lady Jane Gray, though only nine years

old at that time, held some office of state in the chamber of queen Katharine Parr. The fact is from Speed's Chronicle.

infirmity, which encouraged me to this boldness, in the hope of profiting withal by your majesty's learned discourse."—"And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king; "then are we perfect friends." He then kissed her with much tenderness, and gave her leave to depart.

On the day appointed for her arrest, the king, being convalescent, sent for the queen to take the air with him in the garden. Katharine came, attended, as before, by her sister lady Herbert, lady Jane Gray, and lady Tyrwhitt. Presently the lord chancellor Wriothesley, with forty of the guard, entered the garden, with the expectation of carrying off the queen to the Tower, for not the slightest intimation had reached him of the change in the royal caprice. The king received him with a burst of indignation, saluted him with the unexpected address of "Beast! fool! and knave!" and, sternly withdrawing him from the vicinity of the queen, he bade him "avaunt from his presence." Katharine, when she saw the king so greatly incensed with the chancellor, had the magnanimity to intercede for her foe, saying, "She would become a humble suitor for him, as she deemed his fault was occasioned by mistake."—"Ah, poor soul!" exclaimed the king. "Thou little knowest, how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been to thee a very knave!"¹

Katharine Parr treated the authors of the cruel conspiracy against her life with the magnanimity of a great mind, and the forbearance of a true Christian. She sought no vengeance, although the reaction of the king's uxorious fondness would undoubtedly have given her the power of destroying them if she had been of a vindictive temper; but though Henry was induced, through the intercession of Katharine, to overlook the offence of Wriothesley, he never forgave Gardiner the part he had taken in this affair, which proved no less a political blunder than a moral crime. It was the death-blow of his credit with the king, who not only struck his name out of his council-book, but forbade him his presence. Gardiner, notwithstanding this prohibition, had the boldness to present himself before the sovereign on the terrace at Windsor among his former colleagues. When Henry observed him, he turned fiercely to his chancellor, and said, "Did I not command you that *he* should come no more among you?"—"My lord of Winchester," replied Wriothesley, "has come to wait upon your highness with the offer of a benevolence from his clergy."² This was touching the right chord, for money never came amiss to the rapacious and needy monarch from any quarter. Henry condescended to receive the address and to accept the bribe, but took no further notice of the bishop than to strike his name out of the list of his executors. Henry cancelled that of Thirlby bishop of Westminster also, "because," he said, "the latter was schooled by Gardiner"³—so careful

¹ Speed. Herbert. Foxe. Rapin.
Sir Henry Neville, who were present.—Foxe.

² By the testification as well of master Denny as of

³ Lingard. Soames.

was the king to leave neither power nor influence in the council of his successor to the man who had tempted him to close his reign with the murder of his innocent wife.

Henry is said to have exhibited many public marks of coarse, but confiding fondness for queen Katharine Parr in his latter days. He was accustomed to call her "sweetheart," and to lay his sore leg on her lap before the lords and ladies in waiting; and sometimes, it is said, he so far forgot the restraints of royalty, as to do so in the presence of the whole court. The queen, who was still a very pretty little woman, and quite young enough to have been his daughter, was careful to receive these rude endearments as flattering marks of the favour of her royal lord; yet, after the fearful warning she had received of the capricious nature of his love, and the treachery of his disposition, she must have regarded herself as a "poor pensioner on the bounties of an hour." How, indeed, could the sixth wife of Henry pillow her head on his cruel bosom without dreaming of axes and flames? or fearing to see the curtains withdrawn by the pale spectres of his former matrimonial victims? Her wifely probation, as queen-consort of England, was, however, near its close, for Henry's life was rapidly drawing to a termination. Its last act was to be stained with the blood of the most accomplished nobleman in his dominions, the gallant Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, the cousin of his two beheaded queens, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard, and the friend and brother-in-law of his passionately loved son, Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond. Surrey has generally been regarded as the victim of the Seymour party, who had obtained a great ascendancy in the council since Gardiner had committed the false step of practising against the life of the queen.

Katharine Parr, though she had laboured, at the peril of being sent to the scaffold, to obtain toleration and liberty of conscience for those of her own religion, had hitherto carefully abstained from implicating herself with the intrigues of either party. Now she naturally threw the weight of her quiet influence into the scale of those who supported the doctrine of the Reformation. With this party, which was headed by the Seymours, her only brother the earl of Essex, and her sister's husband lord Herbert, were allied. A mortal hatred subsisted between the newly aggrandized family of Seymour and the house of Howard. The high-spirited heir of Norfolk, in whose veins flowed the proud blood of Charlemagne and the Plantagenets, was known to look with contempt on the new nobility, and had rashly expressed his intention of avenging the insolence with which he had been treated by the earl of Hertford when a convenient season should arrive. The precarious state of the sovereign's health warned the Seymours to make the most of the power they had got into their own hands. Among the absurd charges that were brought against Surrey, one must have been artfully framed to

cause disquiet to queen Katharine; which was, that he had conceived the monstrous project of marrying his beautiful sister, the duchess-dowager of Richmond, to the king, although she was the widow of that monarch's reputed son, Henry duke of Richmond. Stranger still, the young lady herself, out of revenge, as it is supposed, to her noble brother, for having prevented her father from bestowing her in marriage on the admiral, Sir Thomas Seymour, of whom she was deeply enamoured, came forward as a witness against him, and deposed "that he had instructed her how to behave herself that she might obtain private interviews with the king, and so endear herself in his favour that she might rule as others had done." As Henry had already married two fair ladies of the Howard lineage,¹ the foes of Surrey and his father calculated that this odious accusation might possibly obtain sufficient credit to excite the indignation of the people and the jealousy of the queen—so far, at any rate, as to deter her from interceding in behalf of the victims of their murderous policy.

The unmerited fate of the accomplished Surrey has been ever considered as one of the darkest blots of the crime-stained annals of Henry VIII. It is somewhat remarkable, that this monarch, who had received a learned education, made pretensions to authorship, and affected to be a pattern of the *belles lettres*, sent the three most distinguished literary characters of his court—Sir Thomas More, lord Rochford, and Surrey—to the block from feelings of private and personal malice, and in so illegal a manner, that their executions deserve no gentler name than murder. Surrey was beheaded on the 19th of January, 1546-7. Henry then lay on his death-bed; and his swollen and enfeebled hands having been long unequal to the task of guiding a pen, a stamp, with the fac-simile of the initials "H. R.," was affixed to the death-warrant in his presence.² In like manner was that for the execution of the duke of Norfolk signed. This nobleman claimed a three-fold relationship to the king—as the husband of his maternal aunt, the princess Anne Plantagenet, and as the uncle of two of Henry's queens, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard: according to the custom of those times, he had no doubt been occasionally called by the king "his uncle Norfolk." The last act of Henry's life was to despatch a messenger to the lieutenant of the Tower, with an order for the execution of the unfortunate duke early on the following morning. This was on the evening of the 26th of January. A more irrevocable fiat had, however, gone forth against the relentless tyrant, and ere that morning dawned which was to have seen the hoary head of Norfolk fall on the scaffold, he was himself a corpse.

When the physicians announced to those in attendance on the sove-

¹ Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard.

² On 31st August, 1546, Henry appointed A. Denny, J. Gate, and W. Clere to sign all instruments requiring his signature, from that day to the 10th of May, 1547, in the

following manner: Two of them were to impress a dry stamp upon the instrument, and the third to fill up the impression with a pen and ink.—Rymer.

reign that the hour of his departure was at hand, they shrank from the peril of incurring the last ebullition of his vindictive temper by warning him of the awful change that awaited him.¹ The queen, worn out with days and nights of fatiguing personal attendance on her wayward lord, during the burning fever which had preyed upon him for more than two months, was in all probability unequal to the trial of witnessing the last fearful scene, for she is not mentioned as having been present on that occasion. Sir Anthony Denny was the only person who had the courage to inform the king of his real state. He approached the bed, and leaning over it, told him "that all human aid was now vain; and that it was meet for him to review his past life, and seek for God's mercy through Christ." Henry, who was uttering loud cries of pain and impatience, regarded him with a stern look, and asked, "What judge had sent him to pass this sentence upon him?" "Your grace's physicians," Denny replied. When these physicians next approached the royal patient to offer him medicine, he repelled them in these words: "After the judges have once passed sentence on a criminal, they have no more to do with him; therefore begone!"² It was then suggested that he should confer with some of his divines. "I will see no one but Cranmer," replied the king, "and not him as yet. Let me repose a little, and as I find myself, so shall I determine."

After an hour's sleep he awoke, and becoming faint, commanded that Cranmer, who had withdrawn to Croydon, should be sent for with all haste. But the precious interval had been wasted, and before the archbishop entered Henry was speechless. Cranmer besought him to testify by some sign his hope in the saving mercy of Christ: the king regarded him steadily for a moment, wrung his hand, and expired.³ Thévet bears testimony to the dying monarch's remorse of conscience, for the murder of Anne Boleyn in particular, and of his other crimes in general. Harpsfield describes him as afflicted with visionary horrors at the hour of his departure, for that he glanced with rolling eyes and looks of wild import towards the darker recess of his chamber, muttering to himself, "Monks—monks!" But whether this ejaculation implied that his disordered fancy had peopled vacancy with cowed figures, or that he was desirous of summoning monks to assist at his last orisons, must for ever remain a mystery. "Warned of the moment of approaching dissolution," says another writer, "and scorched with the death-thirst, he craved a cup of white wine, and turning to one of his attendants, he exclaimed, 'All is lost!' These words were his last." The same author avers that Henry was preparing an accusation against his queen on the old charge of heresy, which was only prevented by his death. If this were indeed the case, it would sufficiently account for the silence of contemporaries touching Katharine Parr's proceedings at the time of her royal husband's death.

¹ Burnet. Tytler. Lingard.² Leti.³ Godwin.

This throws some light, too, on the general remark of the historians of that period, that Katharine's life was providentially preserved by the decease of Henry at a critical period for her, and that it was only by especial good luck that she was the survivor. The only notice of the queen which occurs at this period, is contained in a letter addressed to her on the 10th of January by Prince Edward, in which he thanks her for her New-year's gift—the pictures of herself and the king his father, “which will delight him,” he says, “to contemplate in their absence.” He calls her “illustrious queen, and dearest mother.” The youthful heir of England was at Hertford, with his preceptors, at the time of the last illness of his royal father.

Henry VIII. expired at two o'clock in the morning of January 28, 1546-7, at his royal palace of Westminster, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth of his age. This important event was kept secret till the earl of Hertford had obtained possession of the person of his royal nephew, the young king Edward VI., and arranged his plans for securing the government of England in his name. The parliament met on the 29th, according to an adjournment which had been moved during the life of the sovereign, and received no intimation of his demise till Monday, the last day of January,¹ when Wriothesley, the chancellor, announced to the assembled peers and commons the death of their late dread lord; “which,” says the deceitful record, “was unspeakably sad and sorrowful to all hearers, the chancellor himself being almost disabled by his tears from uttering the words.” A part of Henry's will was then read by Sir William Paget, secretary of state, and the parliament was declared by the chancellor to be dissolved by the demise of the crown.

The queen expressed the utmost surprise on learning that she was not appointed to the regency of the realm, and the care of the person of the young king. She complained bitterly of the counsellors and executors of king Henry, and of those persons under whose influence his last testament had been made, but they paid no attention to her displeasure.² In this will Henry places the children he may have by his queen Katharine Parr in the order of succession immediately after his only son, prince Edward, giving them precedency of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. If, therefore, the queen had borne a posthumous daughter to Henry, a civil war would unquestionably have been the result. The words are—

“And per default of lawful issue of our son prince Edward, we will that the said imperial crown, and other the premises, after our two deceases, shall fully remain and come to the heirs of our entirely beloved wife queen Katharine that now is, or of any other lawful wife that we shall hereafter marry.”³

The last sentence seems ominous enough to the childless queen, implying that Henry meant to survive her, and was seriously providing for the

¹ Lingard. Mackintosh. Tytler. Rapin.

² Leti.

³ Chapter-house royal MS. This will was dated December 30, 1546.

contingency of his issue by a seventh queen. The preamble to the legacy he bequeaths to Katherine Parr contains, however, a very high testimony to her virtues:—

“And for the great love, obedience, chastity of life, and wisdom being in our fore-named wife and queen, we bequeath unto her for her proper life, and as it shall please her to order it, three thousand pounds, in plate, jewels, and stuff of household goods, and such apparel as it shall please her to take of such as we have already. And further, we give unto her one thousand pounds in money, and the amount of her dower and jointure according to our grant in parliament.”

This legacy, when the relative value of money is considered, as well as the destitution of the exchequer at the time, will not be thought so inadequate a bequest as it appears. Katharine Parr was amply dowered by parliament, and by the king's patents; and she had two dowers besides, as the widow of the lords Borough and Latimer. She was supposed to have made great savings while she was queen-consort. After the death of the king, she received all the honours due to his acknowledged widow—he left two, be it remembered; but *she* was prayed for as queen-dowager in the presence of the young king, by her old enemy Gardiner, in the following prayer for the royal family:—“I commend to God queen Katharine, dowager,¹ my lady Mary's grace, and my lady Elizabeth's grace, your majesty's dear sisters.” February 7, 1547, Edward VI. wrote a Latin letter of condolence to his widowed step-mother, superscribed “*Reginæ Katharinæ*,” calling her his dear mother, and concluding, “Farewell, venerated queen.”

The news of Henry's death was received with exultation at Rome. The pope asked cardinal Pole “Why he did not rejoice with the rest at the death of this great enemy of the church?” Pole replied, that “Nothing would be gained by that event, for the young king Edward had been educated by preceptors of Lutheran and Zuinglian principles; that the council of regency was composed of persons of the same class; and, to complete all, his uncles and the queen-mother [Katharine Parr] were more obstinate in their heresies than all the rest.”² While Henry's body lay in state, Gardiner held a controversy with lord Oxford's players, who were located at Southwark, preparing to act a splendid play. Gardiner said “it would be more decent to perform a solemn dirge for his master, as beseemeth, whilst he laid unburied.” He applied to the justice of peace against the players, “who mean,” says he, “to see which shall have most resort, them or I;” adding, that “if he could not prevent the acting of the play, he could and would prevent the people from going to see it while the king's body was above ground.”³

A book in the college of Arms supplies the following particulars of the obsequies of Henry VIII.:—“The chest wherein the royal corpse was laid stood in the midst of the privy-chamber, with lights; and divine

¹ Foxe

Leti

³ Tytler's State Papers, pp. 20, 21

service was said about him, with masses, obsequies, and continual watch made by the chaplains and gentlemen of the privy-chamber, in their course and order, night and day for five days, till the chapel was ready, where was a goodly hearse with eighty square tapers, every light containing two feet in length—in the whole 1800 or 2000 weight in wax, garnished with pensils, escutcheons, banners, and bannerols of descents; and at the four corners, banners of saints, beaten in fine gold upon damask, with a majesty (*i.e.*, canopy) over of rich cloth of tissue, and valance of black silk, and fringe of black silk and gold. The barriers without the hearse, and the sides and floor of the chapel, were covered with black cloth to the high altar, and the sides and ceiling set with the banners and standards of St. George and others. The 2nd of February the corpse was removed and brought into the chapel, by the lord great-master and officers of the household, and there placed within the hearse, under a pall of rich cloth of tissue garnished with escutcheons, and a rich cloth of gold set with precious stones. It continued there twelve days, with masses and *diriges* sung and said every day, Norroy each day standing at the choir-door, and beginning with these words in a loud voice:—"Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince, our late sovereign lord and king, Henry VIII." February 14, the corpse was removed for interment.

An appalling incident was connected with that journey, which we copy from a contemporary document among the Sloane collection:—"The king, being carried to Windsor to be buried, stood all night among the broken walls of Sion, and there the leaden coffin being cleft by the shaking of the carriage, the pavement of the church was wetted with his blood. In the morning came plumbers to solder the coffin, under whose feet—I tremble while I write it," says the author—"was suddenly seen a dog creeping, and licking up the king's blood. If you ask me how I know this, I answer William Greville, who could scarcely drive away the dog, told me, and so did the plumber also." It appears certain that the sleepy mourners and choristers had retired to rest after the midnight dirges were sung, leaving the dead king to defend himself as best he might from the assaults of his ghostly enemies, and some people might think they made their approaches in a currish form. It is scarcely, however, to be wondered that a circumstance so frightful should have excited feelings of superstitious horror, especially at such a time and place; for this desecrated convent had been the prison of his unhappy queen, Katharine Howard, whose tragic fate was fresh in the minds of men, and, by a singular coincidence, it happened that Henry's corpse rested there the very day after the fifth anniversary of her execution. There is a class of writers who regard the accident which has just been related as a serious fulfilment of friar Peyto's denunciation against Henry from the pulpit of Greenwich church in 1533, when that daring

preacher compared him to Ahab, and told him to his face, "that the dogs would, in like manner, lick his blood." In a very different light was Henry represented by bishop Gardiner in the adulatory funeral sermon which he preached at Windsor, on the 16th of February, on the text, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord," in which he enlarged on his virtues, and lamented the loss both high and low had sustained in the death of so good and gracious a king. "The corpse, being conveyed with great pomp to St. George's chapel, Windsor-castle, was, when interred, let down into the vault by means of a vice, with the help of sixteen tall yeomen of the guard; the same bishop [Gardiner] standing at the head of the vault, proceeded in the burial service; and when the mould was cast into the grave by the officiating prelate, at the words '*pulvis pulveri, cinis cineri*,' first the lord great-master, and after him the lord chamberlain and all the rest brake their staves in shivers upon their heads, and cast them after the corpse into the pit with exceeding sorrow and heaviness, not without grievous sighs and tears. After this, *De profundis* was said, the grave covered over with planks, and Garter, attended by his officers, stood in the midst of the choir and proclaimed the young king's titles, and the rest of his officers repeated the same after him thrice. Then the trumpets sounded with great melody and courage, to the comfort of all them that were present,"¹ acting as a cordial to the official weepers, it may be presumed, after their hydraulic efforts were concluded. On the banners carried at Henry VIII.'s funeral, the arms of his late wife, queen Jane, were displayed, quartered with his; likewise a banner of the arms of queen Katharine Parr, his widow—these being the only wives he acknowledged out of six.

During the brief period of her royal widowhood, Katharine Parr, now queen-dowager, resided at her fine jointure-house at Chelsea, on the banks of the Thames, which, with its beautiful and extensive gardens, occupied the pleasant spot now called Cheyne Pier. Some of the noble trees in Mr. Druce's gardens appear coeval with that epoch, and are perhaps the same under whose budding verdure queen Katharine was accustomed to hold her secret meetings with her adventurous lover, Sir Thomas Seymour, ere royal etiquette would allow her to give public encouragement to his suit. Faulkner assures us that, at the time of Katharine Parr's residence at Chelsea-palace, there was but one passable road in the village, which was a private way to the royal residence across

¹ MS. in college of Arms.

² "In the east window of the hall of Baynard's-castle," Sandford says, "stood the escutcheon of this queen, Katharine Parr, which I delineated from the original on the 8th of November, 1664, in which she did bear quarterly of six pieces:—1st, argent, on a pile, gules, betwixt six roses of the first, the roses of the second, which was an augmentation given to her, being queen 2. Argent,

two bars, azure, a border engrailed, sable. Parr. 3. Or, three water-bougets, sable, Roofs of Kendal. 4. Varry, argent and azure, a fess, gules, Marmion. 5. Three chevrons interlaced in base, and a chief, or, Fitzhugh. 6. Vert, three bucks standing at gaze, or Green. These quarterings are ensigned with a royal crown, and are between a K and a P for Katharine Parr."—Genealogical Hist. of England, fol. ed. p. 460.

the open fields; it crossed a foot bridge, called in ancient records Blandel-bridge, afterwards the scene of many murders by highwaymen, which caused the name to be corrupted, in vulgar parlance, to Bloody-bridge. Across this dangerous track the lord admiral must have taken his nocturnal path to the queen. Seymour renewed his addresses to Katharine so immediately after king Henry's death, that she was wooed and won almost before she had assumed the widow's hood and barb, and sweeping sable pall, which marked the relict of the departed majesty of England. Seymour had opportunities of confidential communication with the widowed queen even before the funeral of the royal rival for whom she had been compelled to resign him, when lady Latimer; for he was a member of the late king's household, and had been appointed by Henry's will one of the council of regency during the minority of the young king. His person and characteristics are thus described by Hayward:—"The lord Sudely" [he had been elevated to that title by his nephew, Edward VI.] "was fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty in matter." He was still in the prime of life, and possessed of the peculiar manners calculated to charm the other sex. Though he had made more than one attempt to secure a splendid alliance, he had the art to make the queen-dowager believe that he was still a bachelor for her sake. Katharine, after having been the wife of three mature widowers in succession, to the last of whom that joyless bauble, a crown, had tricked her into three years six months and fourteen days of worse than Egyptian bondage, found herself, in her thirty-fifth year, still handsome, and apparently more passionately beloved than ever by the man of her heart. Woman-like, she gave him full credit for constancy and disinterested love, and found it difficult to withstand his ardent pleadings for her to reward his tried affection, by at once giving him the hand which had been plighted to him before her marriage with the king. The postscript of the following letter, evidently not the first *billet-doux* the widowed queen had penned to Seymour, contains an interesting allusion to her feelings on the occasion of their previous separation, and the painful struggle it had caused:—

"MY LORD,

"I send you my most humble and hearty commendations, being desirous to know how ye have done since I saw you. I pray you be not offended with me, in that I send sooner to you than I said I would, for my promise was but once in a fortnight. Howbeit the time is well abbreviated, by what means I know not, except weeks be shorter at Chelsea than in other places.

"My lord, your brotner hath deferred answering such requests as I made to him till his coming hither, which he saith shall be immediately after the term. This is not the first promise I have received of his coming, and yet unperformed. I think my lady hath taught him that lesson, for it is her custom to promise many comings to her friends, and to perform none. I trust in greater matters she is more circumspect. And thus, my lord, I make my god, bidding you most heartily farewell, wishing you the good I would myself. —From Chelsea.

"P.S.—I would not have you to think that this mine honest goodwill towards you to pro-

ceed of any sudden motion of passion ; for, as truly as God is God, my mind was fully bent, the other time I was at liberty, to marry you before any man I know. Howbeit, God withstood my will therein most vehemently for a time, and, through his grace and goodness, made that possible which seemed to me most impossible ; that was, made me renounce utterly mine own will, and to follow his will most willingly. It were long to write all the process of this matter ; if I live, I shall declare it to you myself. I can say nothing but as my lady of Suffolk saith, 'God is a marvellous man.'

"By her, that is yours to serve and obey during her life,

"KATERYN THE QUEENE, K.P."

Endorsed,—"The Queen's letter from Chelsea to my Lord-admiral. The answer to the lord-admiral of her former loves."

Seymour, who was determined not to lose Katharine a second time, would brook no delays, not even those which propriety demanded. The following letter was written by queen Katharine in reply to one of his love-letters, wherein, among other matters, their immediate marriage appears to have been warmly urged by the admiral :—

"MR LORD,

"As I gather, by your letter delivered to my brother Herbert, ye are in some fear how to frame my lord your brother to speak in your favour, the denial of your request shall make his folly more manifest to the world, which will more grieve me than the want of his speaking. I would not wish you to importune for his goodwill if it come not frankly at the first ; it shall be sufficient once to require it, and then to cease. I would desire you might obtain the king's letters in your favour, and also the aid and furtherance of the most notable of the council, such as ye shall think convenient ; which thing obtained, shall be no small shame to your brother and loving sister, in case they do not the like.

"My lord, whereas ye charge me with a promise, written with mine own hand, to change the two years into two months, I think ye have no such plain sentence written with my hand. I know not whether ye be a paraphraser or not. If ye be learned in that science, it is possible ye may of one word make a whole sentence, and yet not at all times alter the true meaning of the writer, as it appeareth by this your exposition upon my writing.

"When it shall be your pleasure to repair hither, ye must take some pain to come early in the morning, that ye may be gone again by seven o'clock ; and so I suppose ye may come without suspect. I pray you let me have knowledge over-night at what hour ye will come, that your portress may wait at the gate¹ to the fields for you. And thus, with my most humble and hearty commendations, I take my leave of you for this time, giving you like thanks for your coming to court when I was there.—From Chelsea.

"P.S.—I will keep in store, till I speak with you, my lord's large offer for Fausterne, at which time I shall be glad to know your further pleasure therein.

"By her that is, and shall be, your humble, true, and loving wife during her life,

"KATERYN THE QUEENE, K.P."

Although the precise date of Katharine Parr's fourth nuptials is uncertain, it is evident that the admiral's eloquence prevailed over her punctilio at a very early period of her widowhood, by persuading her to consent to a private marriage. Leti affirms, that exactly thirty-four days after king Henry's death, a written contract of marriage and rings of betrothal were exchanged between Katharine and Sir Thomas Seymour, but the marriage was not celebrated till some months later. According to Edward VI.'s journal this event took place in May, but it was certainly not made public till the end of June. Great censure has

¹ This postern is still in existence, in the garden of Mr. Druce. The antique hinges may be seen imbedded in the old wall.

been passed on queen Katharine for contracting matrimony again so soon after the death of her royal husband. But, in the first place, she owed neither love nor reverence to the memory of a consort who had held a sword suspended over her by a single hair for the last six months of their union; and, in the next, Henry himself had previously led her into a similar breach of widowly decorum, by inducing her to become his wife within almost as brief a period after the death of her second husband, lord Latimer, as her marriage with Seymour after his own. It appears evident, from the tenor of the following reverential letter, dated May 17, from Seymour to queen Katharine, which we give verbatim, that they had then been privately married for some days; and that, at the time it was written, he was doubtful, from the cross-questioning of her sister lady Herbert, whether the queen had confided the secret to her, or circumstances had been whispered abroad which had led to unpleasant reports as to the nature of his nocturnal visits to her majesty.

SEYMOUR TO KATHARINE PARR.

"After my humble commendation unto your highness, yesternight I supped at *my* brother Herbert's,¹ of whom for your sake besides mine own, I received good cheer; and after the same, I received from your highness, by *my* sister Herbert, your commendations, which were more welcome than they were sent. And after the same, she (lady Herbert) waded further with me touching my lodging with your highness at Chelsea, which I denied lodging with your highness, but that indeed I went by the garden as I went to the bishop of London's house, and at this point stood with her a long time; till at last she told me further tokens, which made me change colour, who, like a false wench, took me with the manner. Then remembering what she was, and knowing how well ye trusted her, examined whether those things came from your highness or were feigned; she answered, 'that they came from your highness, and he (lord Herbert) that he knew it to be true,' for the which I render unto your highness my most humble and hearty thanks, for by her company in default of yours, I shall shorten the weeks in these parts, which heretofore were four days longer in every one of them than they were under the plummet at Chelsea. Besides this commodity, I may also inform your highness by her, how I do proceed in my matter, although I should take my old friend, Walter Errol. I have not as yet attempted my strength, for that I would be first thoroughly in credit ere I would move the same; but beseeching your highness that I may not so use my said strength that they shall think, and hereafter cast in my teeth, that by their suit I sought and obtained your goodwill, for hitherto I am out of all their dangers for any pleasure that they have done for me worthy of thanks, and, as I judge, your highness may say the like; wherefore by mine advice we will keep us so, nothing mistrusting the goodness of God but we shall be able to live out of their danger, as they shall out of ours; yet I mean not but to use their friendship to bring our purpose to pass, as occasion shall serve. If I knew by what mean I might gratify your highness for your goodness to me, showed at our last lodging together, it should not be slack to declare mine lady again, and to that intent that I might be more bound unto your highness, that once in three days I might receive three lines in a letter from you, and as many lines and letters more as shall seem good unto your highness. Also, I shall humbly desire your highness to give me one of your small pictures, if ye have any left, who with *his* silence shall give me occasion to think on the friendly cheer that I shall receive when my suit shall be at an end; and thus, for fear of troubling your highness with my long and rude letter, I take my leave of your highness, wishing that my hap may be one so good, that I may declare so much by mouth at the same hour that this was writing, which was twelve of the clock in the night, this Tuesday, the 17th of May, at St. James's.

"I wrote your highness a line in my last letter, that my lord of Somerset was going to *that*

¹ As he was then husband to Katharine Parr, he calls her brother-in-law, lord Herbert, "*his*."

shire, who hath been sick, which by the ——— thereof, and as I understand, may get thither as to-morrow.

"From him whom ye have bound to honour, love, and in all lawful things obey,

"T. SEYMOUR," &c.

Emdorsed,—"The Lord-admirall to the Queene,"¹

In this lover-like and romantic manner did the fair queen-dowager and her secretly wedded lord pass the merry month of May, which, according to king Edward's diary, was their bridal month. The oft-repeated assertion, that "Katharine wedded Seymour so immediately after the death of her royal husband, that, had she proved a mother so soon as she might have done, it would have been a doubt whether the child should have been accounted the late king's or the admiral's,"² rests wholly on the charge that was brought after her decease against Seymour in his indictment. Katharine, for her own sake, would scarcely have married till full three months had elapsed since the death of the king, as her issue, whether male or female, by the tenor of Henry VIII.'s will, would have been heir-presumptive to the crown of England, and she was too prudent, and at the same time too ambitious, to have risked the benefit and dignity she would have obtained by a contingency, that might have ultimately given her the rank and power of a queen-mother. May was certainly the earliest period in which she could, with any degree of safety, to say nothing of propriety, contract matrimony with her former lover; and even this, notwithstanding the precedent afforded by the parallel case of the precipitate marriage of Mary queen of France with Charles Brandon, was a great breach of royal etiquette.

Seymour at length became impatient of the restraints that attended his clandestine intercourse with his royal bride, and applied to the princess Mary for her advice and influence in the matter. In her dry and very characteristic reply, the princess commences with allusions to some amplification of her establishment, which the interest of lord Seymour in the council of guardianship and regency had expedited:—

"MY LORD,

"After my hearty commendations, these shall be to declare to you that, according to your accustomed gentleness, I have received six warrants from you by your servant *this bearer*, for the which I do give you my hearty thanks; by whom, also, I received your letter, wherein as methinketh, I perceive strange news concerning a suit you have in hand to the queen, for marriage, for the sooner obtaining whereof you seem to think that my letters might do you a favour.

"My lord, in this case I trust your wisdom doth consider, that if it were for my nearest kinsman and dearest friend *on lyve* [alive], of all other creatures in the world it standeth least with my poor honour to be a meddler in this matter, considering whose wife her grace was of late; and besides that, if she be minded to grant your suit, my letters shall do you but small pleasure. On the other side, if the remembrance of the king's majesty my father (whose soul God pardon!) will not suffer her to grant your suit, I am nothing able to persuade her to forget the loss of him who is, as yet, very rife in mine own remembrance. Wherefore I shall most earnestly require you (the premises considered) to think none unkindness in me though

¹ State Paper MSS., Edward VI., No. 20.

² Art. 20 of charge against Seymour; Burnet's Hist. of Ref., p. 11. Records, p. 160.

I refuse to be a meddler any ways in this matter, assuring you that, *wooring matters set apart, wherein, being a maid, I am nothing cunning*, if otherways it shall lie in my power to do you pleasure, I shall be as glad to do it as you to require it, both for his blood's sake that you be of,¹ and also for the gentleness which I have always found in you, as knoweth Almighty God, to whose tuition I commit you. From Wanstead, this Saturday, at night, being the 4th of June.

"Your assured friend, to my power,

"MARYE."

The princess Elizabeth was at that time residing at Chelsea with queen Katharine, to whose maternal care she had been consigned by the council of the young king. She was probably very well acquainted with the whole affair, for even if the queen had not made her a confidante, her acute powers of observation and natural talent for intrigue would undoubtedly have enabled her to penetrate the cause of the handsome Seymour's mysterious visits and admissions through the postern gate of the gardens at Chelsea.

In the latter end of May, queen Katharine was sojourning at St. James's-palace for a few days, and while there, she wrote the young king a Latin letter on the subject of her great love for his late father Henry VIII. This was rather an extraordinary subject for the royal widow to dilate upon, since she was at the very time married to Seymour. She added to her letter many quotations from Scripture, and expressed an earnest desire that the young monarch would answer the epistle, which he did, in the same learned language. The following is a translation of Edward's letter; that of Katharine Parr is lost, but the answer gives a clear idea of its contents:—

"As I was so near to you, and saw you or expected to see you every day, I wrote no letter to you, since letters are tokens of remembrance and kindness between those who are at a great distance. But being urged by your request, I would not abstain longer from writing,—first, that I may do what is acceptable to you, and then to answer the letter you wrote to me when you were at St. James's, in which, first, you set before my eyes the great love you bear my father the king, of most noble memory; then your goodwill towards me; and lastly, your godliness, and knowledge and learning in the Scriptures. Proceed, therefore, in your good course; continue to love my father, and to show the same great kindness to me which I have ever perceived in you. Cease not to love and read the Scriptures, but persevere in always reading them; for in the first you show the duty of a good wife and a good subject, and in the second, the warmth of your friendship, and in the third, your piety to God. Wherefore, since you love my father, I cannot but much esteem you; since you love me, I cannot but love you in return; and since you love the word of God, I do love and admire you with my whole heart. Wherefore, if there be any thing wherein I may do you a kindness, either in word or deed, I will do it willingly. Farewell, this 30th of May."²

The artless young sovereign was, in the end, not only induced to recommend his wily uncle to his widowed stepmother for a husband, but led to believe that it was actually a match of his own making. In the innocence of his heart Edward wrote the following letter with his own hand to queen Katharine, in which he expresses himself highly obliged to her for acceding to his wish by marrying his uncle. The dig-

¹ Being uncle to her brother, Edward VI., to whom she here alludes.

² Strype's Mems., vol. ii. part 1, p. 59, from archbishop Parker's coll. MSS.

nity with which the monarch, in his tenth year, offers his royal protection to his step-mother and her bridegroom is truly amusing:—

TO THE QUEEN'S GRACE.

"We thank you heartily, not only for the gentle acceptation of our suit moved unto you, but also for the loving accomplishing of the same, wherein you have declared, not only a desire to gratify us, but to declare the goodwill, likewise, that we bear to you in all your requests. Wherefore ye shall not need to *fear any grief to come, or to suspect lack of aid in need*, seeing that he, being mine uncle, is of so good a nature that he will not be troublesome by any means unto you, and I of such mind, that for divers just causes I must favour you. But even as without cause you merely require help against him whom you have put in trust with the carriage of these letters, so may I merely return the same request unto you, to provide that he may live with you also without grief, which hath given him wholly unto you; and I will so provide for you both, that if hereafter any grief befall, I shall be a sufficient succour in your godly or praiseworthy enterprises.

"Fare ye well, with much increase of honour and virtue in Christ. From St. James's, the five-and-twenty day of June.

"EDWARD."

Endorsed, in an antique hand,—*"The King's majesty's letter to the Queen after marriage, June 25, 1548."*

The manner in which king Edward was persuaded to move his council for a marriage between his uncle the admiral and queen Katharine, was subsequently deposed by the royal minor in these words: "Lord admiral Seymour came to me in the last parliament at Westminster, and desired me 'to write a thing for him.' I asked him 'what?' He said 'It is no ill thing; it is for the queen's majesty' [Katharine Parr]. I said, 'If it were good, the lords would allow it; if it were ill, I would not write it.' Then he said, 'They would take it in better part if I would write.' I desired him 'to let me alone in that matter.' Cheke [the tutor of Edward] said to me afterwards, 'Ye were best not to write.'"¹

Young Edward, in his journal, notices the anger of the lord protector at the marriage of the admiral with the queen-dowager. Somerset and his council loudly condemned the presumption of the audacious Seymour, in daring to contract this lofty alliance without leave or licence of those who exercised the authority of the crown. They did what they could to testify their hostility, by withholding from queen Katharine all the jewels that had been presented to her by the late king, under the pretext that they were not personal property, but heir-looms to the crown. This was touching the lady on a very tender point. "Can a bride forget her ornaments?" is a scriptural query, founded on the characteristic attachment of females for these glittering toys. Neither the equanimity nor the philosophy of this learned queen was proof against such a provocation as the detention of the costly endowments which had formed a portion of her conjugal wages during the perilous term of her servitude to her royal husband's caprices. Her indignant remonstrances were unavailing—her jewels were never restored; and that their detention was no less illegal than vexatious, may be gathered from the

¹ Printed in a collection of documents, called *Recollections of Royalty*, by C. Jones, of the Temple.

following observation of the lord admiral: "My brother is wondrous hot in helping every man to his right, save me. He maketh a great matter to let me have the queen's jewels, which you see by the whole opinion of the lawyers ought to belong to me, and all under pretence that he would not the king should lose so much, as if it were a loss to the king to let me have mine own!"¹

The loss of her jewels was neither the only affront nor the only wrong to which the queen-dowager was subjected from her powerful brother-in-law. Somerset had fixed his mind on obtaining a lease of her favourite manor of Fausterne for a person of the name of Long, and we have seen with what scorn Katharine, in her first letter to the admiral, speaks of his brother's "large offer for Fausterne." The protector, however, strong in the authority of his office, actually caused Long to be admitted as a tenant of her majesty's demesne, in defiance of her wish to retain the property in her own hands. Katharine gives a lively account of her wrath at this outrage in the following letter to her husband.² She says—

"MY LORD,

"This shall be to advertise you, that my lord your brother hath this afternoon made me a little warm. It was fortunate we were so much distant, for I suppose else I should have bitten him. What cause have they to fear [she adds playfully] having such a wife? To-morrow, or else upon Saturday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, I will see the king, when I intend to utter all my choler to my lord your brother, if you shall not give me advice to the contrary, for I would be loath to do anything to hinder your matter. I will declare to you how my lord hath used me concerning Fausterne; and after, I shall most humbly desire you to direct mine answer to him in that behalf. It liked him to-day to send my chancellor to me, willing him to declare to me that he had brought master Long's lease, and that he doubted not but I would let him enjoy the same to his commodity, wherein I should do to his succession no small pleasure, nothing considering his honour, which this matter toucheth not a little; forso-much as I at sundry times declared unto him that the only cause of my repair into those parts was for the commodity of the park, which else I would not have done, he, notwithstanding, hath so used the matter with giving master Long such courage, that he refuseth to receive such cattle as are brought here for the provision of my house; and so, in the mean time, I am forced to commit them to farmers. My lord, I beseech you send me word with speed how I shall order myself to my new brother. And thus I take my leave, with my most humble and hearty commendations, wishing you all your godly desires, and so well to do as I would myself, and better. From Chelsea, in great haste.

"By your humble, true, and loving wife in her heart,

"KATERYN THE QUEEN, K.P."³

Whether Katharine enjoyed the satisfaction of telling the protector her mind in the presence of his royal nephew, does not appear, but she was probably frustrated in her intention of obtaining an interview with the young king by the party most interested in keeping them apart. A scene such as that she meditated, would have been recorded if it had ever taken place. Somerset is supposed to have been excited to injurious treatment of the widow of his royal master and benefactor, Henry VIII., by the malice of his duchess, who had always borne envious ill-will against Katharine Parr. Many and various are the accounts given by

¹ State Papers.

² Haynes's State Papers, p. 61.

³ Ibid.

historians of the cause of the fatal animosity borne by these ladies towards each other. Open hostility between them broke out after the marriage of Katharine with the admiral, in consequence of the duchess of Somerset refusing any longer to fulfil her office of bearing up the train of the queen-dowager, alleging, "that it was unsuitable for her to submit to perform that service for the wife of her husband's younger brother."¹ According to Lloyd, "the duchess not only refused to bear up the queen's train, but actually jostled with her for precedence; so that," continues he, quaintly, "what between the train of the queen, and the long gown of the duchess, they raised so much dust at court, as at last to put out the eyes of both their husbands, and caused their executions."

The pretence on which the duchess of Somerset founded her presumptuous dispute for precedency with the queen-dowager in the court of Edward VI. was, that as the wife of the protector and guardian of the realm, she had a right to take place of every lady in England. It is possible that, with the exception of the ladies of the royal family, she might; but the act of Henry VIII., whereby it was provided that Anne of Cleves should take precedence after his queen, and the princesses his daughters of every other lady in the realm, settled the matter of Katharine Parr's precedency beyond contravention; and the arrogant duchess was compelled to yield, but never forgave the mortification. According to Heylin, the duchess of Somerset was accustomed to inveigh, in the bitterest manner, against queen Katharine, and actually expressed herself concerning her in the following coarse and detracting language:—"Did not Henry VIII. marry Katharine Parr in his doting days, when he had brought himself so low by his lust and cruelty that no lady that stood on her honour would venture on him? And shall I now give place to her who in her former estate was but Latimer's widow, and is now fain to cast herself for support on a younger brother? If master admiral teach his wife no better manners, I am she that will."

The tender affection which the young king lavished on the queen-dowager, and his reverence for her talents, virtue, and piety, excited, of course, the jealousy and ill-will, not only of the duchess of Somerset, but of her husband also, and the vulgar insolence of the former was systematically exerted to keep so powerful a rival from the court. The king was certainly far more attached to his uncle Thomas Seymour than to the protector, and Katharine Parr had always been to him in the place of the mother whom he had never known. Edward's practice of coming by the private entrance unattended into queen Katharine's apartments, where no official spies could intrude to witness and report what passed between him and the admiral, caused great uneasiness to the protector

¹ Camden's Elizabeth.

and his party. Edward's best-loved sister Elizabeth, and his accomplished cousin lady Jane Gray, were in the interest of the admiral, both being pupils of queen Katharine, and residing under her roof.

The project of uniting lady Jane Gray with Edward VI. originated with Katharine Parr, who had directed her education in such a manner as to render her a suitable companion for the royal scholar. The marquis of Dorset, her father, was induced by the lord admiral to bring lady Jane to his wardship, and she became an inmate of his house during the life of Katharine Parr.¹

Queen Katharine's cup-bearer, Nicholas Throckmorton, continued to follow her fortunes from the time of king Henry's decease. The Throckmorton MS. furnishes the following details connected with Katharine's fourth marriage:—

" My sovereign lost, the queen I did attend
The time when, widow, mourning she did rest;
And while she married was unto her end,
I willingly obeyed her highness's hest,
Who me esteemed and thought my service good,
Whereas, in truth, to small effect it stood.

Her husband, fourth, was uncle to the king,
Lord Seymour, high by office admiral,
In praise of whom loud peals I ought to ring,
For he was hardy, wise, and liberal;
His climbing high, disdained by his peers,
Was thought the cause he lived not out his years.

Her house was deemed a second court, of right,
Because there flocked still nobility;
He spared no cost his lady to delight,
Or to maintain her princely royalty."

After queen Katharine had been the wife of her beloved Seymour some months, there was a prospect of her becoming a mother. Her raptures at the anticipation of a blessing which had been denied to all her other marriages, carried her beyond the bounds of discretion; her husband was no less transported than herself: the feelings of paternity with them amounted to passion. During a brief separation, while Seymour was at court vainly solieiting of his brother the restoration of queen Katharine's property, among which not only the late king's gifts but those of her mother were unjustly detained, he writes in a very confidential and loving strain to his teeming consort—

" After my humble commendations and thanks for your letter. As I was perplexed heretofore with unkindness, apprehending I should not have justice in all my causes from those that I thought would have been partial to me, even so the receiving of your letter revived my spirits; partly for that I do perceive you be armed with patience, howsoever the matter may fall, but chiefest——"

Here he proceeds to exult in fierce hopes that his expected son, "should

¹ Tytler's *Edward and Mary*, vol. i, p. 136.

"God give him life to live as long as his father,¹ will revenge his wrongs." He adverts to other matters in these words:—

"Now, to put you in some hope again. This day, a little before the receiving your letter, I have spoken to my lord [Somerset], whom I have so well handled that he is somewhat qualified; and although I am in no hopes thereof, yet I am in no despair. I have also broken to him for your mother's gift; he makes answer, 'that at the finishing of the matter you shall either have your own again, or else some recompense as ye shall be content withal.' I spake to him of your going down into the country on Wednesday, who was sorry thereof, trusting that I should be here all to-morrow, to hear what the Frenchmen will do; but on Monday, at dinner, I trust to be with you. As for the Frenchmen, I have no mistrust that they shall be any *let* [hindrance] of my going with you this journey, or any of my continuing there with your highness. Thus, till that time, I bid your highness most heartily well to fare, and thank you for your news, which were right heartily welcome to me."

He expresses his earnest desire that both the queen and his expected progeny, which he insists is to be a boy, may be kept in health "with good diet and walking," and concludes in these words:—

"And so I bid my most dear and well-beloved wife most heartily well to fare. From Westminster, this Saturday, the 9th of June.

"Your highness's most faithful loving husband,

"T. SEYMOUR."

The queen was then at Hanworth, one of the royal manors belonging to her dower, from whence Seymour escorted her to his principal baronial residence, Sudely-castle.

The jealousy with which the duke of Somerset regarded his brother the admiral operated to prevent, as far as he could, the slightest intercourse between him and their royal nephew, the young king. The admiral, however, who was bent on superseding Somerset in the office of protector, contrived to keep up a secret correspondence with Edward, and to supply him with money, of which he was kept almost destitute.² One of the agents of this correspondence was John Fowler, a gentleman of Edward's privy-chamber. The following letter shows how vigilantly the young king was beset, and the jealous care taken by Somerset and his satellites to prevent his writing to that beloved step-mother to whom his heart yearned with not less than filial tenderness:—

"JOHN FOWLER TO MY LORD-ADMIRAL.

"I most humbly thank your lordship for your letter, dated the 15th of this present, which letter I showed to the king's majesty. And whereas, in my last letter to your lordship, I wrote unto you if his grace could get any spare time his grace would write a letter to the queen's grace and to you, his highness desires your lordship to pardon him, for his grace is not *half a quarter of an hour alone*. But in such leisure as his grace had, his majesty hath written (here enclosed) his commendations to the queen's grace, and to your lordship, that he is so much bound to you that he must needs remember you always, and as his grace may have time, you shall well perceive by such *small lines* of recommendations with his own hand."³

There is in the context of Fowler's letter an allusion to queen Katharine's situation, with a friendly wish for the birth of the son, of whom

¹ Tytler's State Papers, entitled "England under Edward VI. and Mary," pp. 104-106.

² Haynes's State Papers. Lingard. Tytler.

³ State Paper MSS.

both parents were so fondly desirous. He says, "My lady of Somerset is brought to bed of a goodly boy, and I trust in Almighty God the queen's grace shall have another." Fowler's letter is dated July 19, from Hampton, where the young king then was. Seymour's great object was to get a letter written by king Edward, complaining of the arbitrary conduct of the protector, and the restraint in which he was kept by him. Edward had actually consented to write the letter, which the admiral was to lay before the parliament; but before this could be done, the plot was betrayed to the protector. The admiral was called before the council to answer for his proceedings. He defied them, but when he was threatened with imprisonment in the Tower, he made submissions to his brother, a hollow reconciliation took place for the present, and 800*l.* per annum was added to his appointments by the protector, in the hope of conciliating him.¹

As long as queen Katharine lived, the admiral was too powerful for his foes; perhaps he did not sufficiently appreciate her value, even in a political and worldly point of view, till it was too late. The residence of the princess Elizabeth under their roof was fatal to the wedded happiness of Seymour and Katharine. The queen, forgetful that a blooming girl in her fifteenth year was no longer a child, had imprudently encouraged the admiral to romp with her royal step-daughter in her presence. Mrs. Ashley, the princess Elizabeth's governess, in her deposition before the privy council, gives a strange picture of the coarse manners of the times in which such proceedings could be tolerated in a palace, and with royal ladies. "At Chelsea, after my lord Thomas Seymour was married to the queen, he would come many mornings into the said lady Elizabeth's chamber before she were ready, and sometimes before she did rise; and if she were up he would bid her good-morrow, and *ax* how she did, and strike her on the back familiarly, and so go forth to his chamber, and sometimes go through to her maidens and play with them. And if the princess were in bed, he would put open the curtains and bid her good-morrow, and she would go further in the bed. And one morning he tried to kiss the princess *in* her bed, and this deponent was there, and bade him go away for shame. At Hanworth, for two mornings, the queen was with him, and they both tickled my lady Elizabeth in her bed. Another time, at Hanworth, he romped with her in the garden, and cut her gown, being black cloth, into a hundred pieces; and when Mrs. Ashley came up and chid lady Elizabeth, she answered, 'She could not strive with all, for the queen held her while the lord admiral cut her dress.' Another time, lady Elizabeth heard the master-key unlock, and knowing my lord admiral would come in, ran out of her bed to the maidens, and then went behind the curtain of her bed; and my lord tarried a long time, in hopes that

¹ Burnet. Lingard. Tytler.

she would come out." When Mrs. Ashley remonstrated with the lord admiral on the improprieties of his behaviour, which had caused the princess to be evil spoken of, he replied, with a profane exclamation, "I will tell my lord protector how I am slandered; and I will not leave off, for I mean no evil."¹

"At Seymour-place, when the queen slept there, he did use awhile to come up every morning in his night-gown and slippers. When he found my lady Elizabeth up, and at her book, then he would look in at the gallery-door, and bid her good-morrow, and so go on his way; and the deponent told my lord it was an unseemly sight to see a man so little dressed in a maiden's chamber, with which he was angry, but left it."

One day her majesty came suddenly upon them when they were alone, he having her in his arms. Queen Katharine was greatly offended with them both, and very sharply reprov'd the princess's governess for her neglect of her duty to her royal pupil, in permitting her to fall into such reprehensible freedom of behaviour. Conjugal jealousy apart, Katharine Parr had great cause for anger and alarm; for the princess was under her especial care, and if aught but good befell her at the tender age of fifteen, great blame would, of course, attach to herself, especially if the admiral, for whose sake she had already outraged popular opinion, were the author of her young royal step-daughter's ruin. It is just possible that the actual guilt incurred by the unhappy queen Katharine Howard, in her girlhood, did not amount to a greater degree of impropriety than the unseemly romping which took place almost every day at Chelsea between the youthful princess Elizabeth and the bold, bad husband of Katharine Parr.

It does not appear that any violent or injurious expressions were used by queen Katharine, but she saw the expediency of separating her household from that of the princess, and acted upon it without delay. There is no reason to believe that she cherished vindictive feelings against Elizabeth, for she continued to correspond with her in a friendly and affectionate manner, as the princess herself testifies, in the playful and somewhat familiar letter which is here subjoined:—

LADY ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN.²

"Although your highness's letters be most joyful to me in absence, yet, considering what pain it is for you to write, your grace being so sickly, your commendations were enough in my lord's letter. I much rejoice at your health, with the well liking of the country, with my humble thanks that your grace wished me with you till I were weary of that country. Your highness were like to be cumbered, if I should not depart till I were weary of being with you; although it were the worst soil in the world, your presence would make it pleasant. I cannot reprove my lord for not doing your commendations in his letter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not complain on him, for he shall be diligent to give me knowledge from time to time how his busy child doth; and if I were at his birth, no doubt I would see him beaten, for the trouble he hath put you to. Master Denny and my lady, with humble thanks, prayeth most entirely for your grace, praying the Almighty God to send you a most lucky

¹ Mrs. Ashley's depositions before king Edward's privy council.—Haynes's State Papers.

² Hearne's Sylloge.

deliverance; and my mistress¹ wisheth no less, giving your highness most humble thanks for her commendations. Written, with very little leisure, this last day of July.

"Your humble daughter,

"ELIZABETH."

This letter, dated within six weeks of the queen's death, affords convincing evidence that she was on amicable terms with her royal step-daughter. She had not only written kindly to Elizabeth, expressing a wish that she were with her at Sudely, but she had even encouraged the admiral to write, when not well enough herself to continue the correspondence,—a proof that Katharine Parr, though she had considered it proper to put a stop to the dangerous familiarity with which her husband had presumed to demean himself towards her royal charge, did not regard it as any thing beyond a passing folly. But even if her heart had been torn with jealousy, she was too amiable to blight the opening flower of Elizabeth's life by betraying feelings injurious to the honour of the youthful princess. The young and early wise lady Jane Gray was the companion of Katharine Parr at Sudely-castle, when she withdrew thither to await the birth of her child, and continued with the queen till her death.

Sudely-castle² was royal property, that had been granted to the admiral by the regency on the death of king Henry. It was suspected that lands thus illegally obtained were held on a doubtful tenure. One day, when queen Katharine was walking in Sudely-park with her husband and Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, she said, "Master Tyrwhitt, you will see the king, when he cometh to full age, will call in his lands again, as fast as they be now given away from him."—"Marry," said master Tyrwhitt, "then will Sudely-castle be gone from my lord admiral."—"Marry," rejoined the queen, "I do assure you he intends to offer to restore them, and give them freely back when that time comes." Queen Katharine had a princely retinue in attendance upon her, in her retirement at Sudely-castle, of ladies in waiting, maids of honour, and gentlewomen in ordinary, besides the appointments for her expected nursery and lying-in chamber, and more than a hundred and twenty gentlemen of her household, and yeomen of the guard. She had several of the most learned men among the lights of the Reformation for her chaplains,³ and she caused divine worship to be performed twice a-day, or oftener, in her house, notwithstanding the distaste of the admiral, who not only refused to attend these devotional exercises himself, but proved a great let and hindrance to all the pious regulations his royal consort strove to establish.⁴ This opposition came with an ill grace from Seymour, who, for political purposes, professed to be a Reformer, and had

¹ Katharine Ashley, her governess.

² Sudely-castle is situate in Gloucestershire, and was, even in the reign of Henry IV., a noble building; and when one of the Botelers, its lord, was arrested on a charge of

high treason, he suspected the king of coveting his castle, and looking back at it, said "Ah, Sudely-castle! thou art the traitor, not I."

³ Strype's Memorials. Latimer's Sermons

⁴ Ibid.

shared largely in the plunder of the old church ;¹ but in his heart he had no more liking for protestant prayers and sermons, than queen Katharine's deceased lord, king Henry.

A few days before her confinement, Katharine received the following friendly letter from the princess Mary :—

"MADAME,

"Although I have troubled your highness lately with sundry letters, yet that, notwithstanding, seeing my lord marquis, who hath taken the pains to come to me at this present, intendeth to see your grace shortly, I could not be satisfied without writing to the same, and especially because I purpose to-morrow (with the help of God) to begin my journey towards Norfolk, where I shall be farther from your grace; which journey I have intended since Whitsuntide, but lack of health hath stayed me all the while, which, altho' it be as yet unstable, nevertheless I am enforced to remove for a time, hoping, with God's grace, to return again about Michaelmas, at which time, or shortly after, I trust to hear good success of your grace's condition; and in the mean time shall desire much to hear of your health, which I pray Almighty God to continue and increase to his pleasure, as much as your own heart can desire. And thus, with my most humble commendations to your highness, I take my leave of the same, desiring your grace to take the pain to make my commendations to my lord admiral.—From Beaulieu, the 9th of August,

"Your highness's humble and assured loving daughter,

"MARYE."²

The lord marquis mentioned by Mary, was queen Katharine's only brother, William Parr, marquis of Northampton. His guilty and unhappy wife, the heiress of Essex, was then at Sudely-castle under some restraint, and in the keeping of her royal sister-in-law. This unpleasant charge must have greatly disquieted the last troubled months of Katharine Parr's life.

Katharine fitted up the apartments which she destined for the reception of her first-born with no less state and magnificence than if she had been still queen-consort of England, and expected to present a royal consort with a prince destined perhaps hereafter to succeed to the regal garland. The outer apartment, or day nursery, was hung with fair tapestry, representing the twelve months, and furnished with a chair of state covered with cloth of gold, cushions of cloth of gold, all the other seats being tabourets with embroidered tops, and a gilded bedstead, with tester curtains, and counterpoint of corresponding richness. The inner chamber was also hung with costly tapestry, specified "as six fair pieces of hangings;" and besides the rich cradle with its three down pillows and quilt, there was a bed with a tester of scarlet and curtains of crimson taffeta, with a counterpoint of silk serge, and a bed for the nurse, with counterpoints of imagery to please the babe. A goodly store of costly plate, both white and parcel-gilt, was also provided for the table service of the anticipated heir. Local tradition still points to a beautiful embowed window, of the most elaborate Tudor-gothic order of architecture, which commands the fairest prospect and the best air, as the nursery-window, *par excellence*;

¹ Queen Katharine had endowed him with the mastership of St. Katharine's hospital, by the Tower, while queen-consort; and her appointment had been confirmed in the first year

of Edward VI. He put an end to the charities of this foundation, and is accused of destroying all the archives and monuments.

² Hearne's Sylloge.

but the inventory of "the plate and stuff as belongeth to the nursery of the queen's child," enumerates carpets for *four* windows, whereof this surviving relic retains, after the lapse of three centuries, the unforgotten name of the nursery-window.

On the 30th of August, 1548, Katharine Parr gave birth, at Sudely-castle, to the infant whose appearance had been so fondly anticipated both by Seymour and herself. It was a girl, and though both parents had confidently expected a boy, no disappointment was expressed. On the contrary, Seymour, in a transport of paternal pride, wrote so eloquent a description of the beauty of the new-born child to his brother the duke of Somerset, that the latter added the following kind postscript to a stern letter of expostulation and reproof, which he had just finished writing to him when he received his joyous communication :—

"After our hearty commendations,

"We are right glad to understand by your letters, that the queen, your bedfellow, hath a happy hour; and, escaping all danger, hath made you the father of so pretty a daughter. And although (if it had pleased God) it would have been both to us, and (we suppose) also to you, more joy and comfort if it had, this the first-born, been a son, yet the escape of the danger, and the prophecy and good hansell of this to a great sort of happy sons, which (as you write) we trust no less than to be true, is no small joy and comfort to us, as we are sure it is to you and to her grace also; to whom you shall make again our hearty commendations, with no less gratulation of such good success.

"Thus we bid you heartily farewell. From Sion, the 1st of Sept., 1548.

"Your loving brother,

"E. SOMERSET."¹

From this letter, it is evident that the admiral had been casting horoscopes and consulting fortune-tellers, who had promised him "long life and a great *sort* of sons."

It is difficult to imagine that the admiral, however faulty his *morale* might be on some points, could cherish evil intentions against her who had just caused his heart to overflow for the first time with the ineffable raptures of paternity. The charge of his having caused the death of queen Katharine by poison can only be regarded as the fabrication of his enemies; neither is there the slightest reason to believe that the unfavourable symptoms, which appeared on the third day after her delivery, were either caused or aggravated by his unkindness. On the contrary, his manner towards her, when she was evidently suffering under the grievous irritability of mind and body incidental to puerperal fever, appears from the deposition of her step-daughter, lady Tyrwhitt,² one of the most faithful and attached of her ladies, to have been soothing and affectionate. Let the reader judge from the subjoined record of that sad scene in the chamber of the departing queen :—"Two days before the death of the queen," says lady Tyrwhitt, "at my coming to her in the morning, she asked me 'where I had been so long?' and said unto me 'that she did

¹ State Paper MSS.

² Lady Tyrwhitt, the daughter of Katharine Parr's first husband, lord Borough of Gainsborough, was one of the three ladies

included by Gardiner and Wriothesley in the bill of indictment they had prepared, with the sanction of king Henry VIII., against the queen.

fear such things in herself, that she was sure she could not live.' I answered as I thought, 'that I saw no likelihood of death in her.' She then, having my lord admiral by the hand, and divers others standing by, spake these words, partly, as I took, *idly*, [meaning in delirium]: 'My lady Tyrwhitt, I am not well handled; for those that be about me care not for me, but stand laughing at my grief, and the more good I will to them, the less good they will to me.' Whereunto my lord admiral answered, 'Why, sweetheart, I would you no hurt.' And she said to him again, aloud, 'No, my lord, I think so;' and immediately she said to him in his ear, 'but, my lord, you have given me many shrewd taunts.' These words I perceived she spake with good memory, and very sharply and earnestly, for her mind was sore disquieted. My lord admiral, perceiving that I heard it, called me aside, and asked me 'What she said?' and I declared it plainly to him. Then he consulted with me 'that he would lie down on the bed by her, to look if he could pacify her unquietness with gentle communication,' whereunto I agreed; and by the time that he had spoken three or four words to her, she answered him roundly and sharply, saying, 'My lord, I would have given a thousand marks to have had my full talk with Hewyke [Dr. Huick] the first day I was delivered, but I durst not for displeasing you.' And I, hearing that, perceived her trouble to be so great, that my heart would serve me to hear no more. Such like communications she had with him the space of an hour, which they did hear that sat by her bedside."¹

It is probable that the alarming change in Katharine had been caused, not by any sinister practices against her life, but by whispers previously circulated among the gossips in her lying-in chamber relating to her husband's passion for her royal step-daughter, and of his intention of aspiring to the hand of the princess in case of her own decease. Her malady was puerperal fever. A sense of intolerable wrong was constantly expressed by her, yet she never explained the cause of her displeasure. She alluded to her delivery, but, strange to say, never mentioned her infant. Wild and gloomy fantasies had superseded the first sweet gushings of maternal love in her troubled bosom, and she appeared unconscious of the existence of the babe she had so fondly anticipated. This symptom, with ladies in her situation, is generally the forerunner of death.

On the very day when the scene occurred, described by lady Tyrwhitt, Katharine Parr dictated her will, which is still extant in the Prerogative-office;² it is dated September 5, 1548, and it is to the following effect:—"That she, then lying on her death-bed, sick of body, but of good mind, and perfect memory and discretion, *being persuaded*, and

¹ Haynes's State Papers, p. 104. ² The public are indebted, for the will of Katharine Parr, to the research of John Courthope, esquire, Somerset Herald, who kindly favoured us with a copy.

perceiving the extremity of death to approach her, gives *all* to her married *espose* and husband, wishing *them* to be a thousand times more in value than they were, or been." There are no legacies; and the witnesses are two well-known historical characters,

ROBERT HUYCK, M.D.,

and

JOHN PARKHURST.

This is a *nuncupative* or verbal will; it was not signed by the dying queen, which we find was often the case with death-bed royal wills of that era. The witnesses were persons of high character and even sacred authority in a sick chamber, being the physician and chaplain; the latter became subsequently a bishop of the reformed church, highly distinguished for his Christian virtues. In after-life, Parkhurst always mentioned Katharine Parr with great regard, as his "most gentle mistress." Was it likely that such a man would perjure himself for the sake of enriching Seymour? Yet the affectionate language of the will is inconsistent with the suspicions and reproaches which lady Tyrwhitt affirmed that the dying queen threw out against her lord on the very day of its date; viz. September 5th, 1548. Both these facts are depositions on oath, made by two most respectable witnesses on the same day. As lady Tyrwhitt declares that she entered the queen's apartments in the morning, when the lord admiral was by the bed-side, with the patient's hand in his, it is likely that she came in just after the will had been made. Let us consider the state of Katharine Parr's mind at this juncture: Dr. Huick had recently revealed to her her danger; her words, "being persuaded of the approach of death," in her will, distinctly intimate this fact; the result was an instant testamentary disposition of her property, in which she at the same time exerted her peculiar privilege, as queen-dowager, of bequeathing her personal effects, though a married woman, and showed her passionate love to her husband, for she left him *all*, "wishing *them* [her goods] a thousand times more than they were." Her words are evidently written as uttered, with all imperfections. *He* was the sole object of her thoughts, her new-born infant was forgotten,—a lapse of memory on the part of its mother which doomed it to beggary before it could speak. All these circumstances certainly occurred in a short space of time, and doubtless occasioned great hurry of spirits. The queen's ladies knew not of her danger: lady Tyrwhitt says she did not. The queen in her will says "she herself had been *persuaded* of it." Then came the revulsion of feeling; the queen, on recollection, was not reconciled to death, and began to question, angrily, whether her death were not caused by carelessness or malice? Lady Tyrwhitt saw she spake deliriously, or, according to her phrase, idly; her mind wandered, and former jealousies and affronts, hitherto successfully concealed, biassed her speech. She thought that

her husband, to whom she had bequeathed her all, was exulting in her removal. She fancied—and that part of the narrative plainly reveals delirium, for such fancies are symptomatic—that he she loved so well, stood deriding her misery. He acted considerately, soothing her as a nurse soothes a sick wayward child; his manner, as described by lady Tyrwhitt, was that of a person in possession of intellect humouring the sad vagaries of a mind diseased.

Katharine Parr expired on the second day after the date of her will, being the eighth after the birth of her child. She was only in the thirty-sixth year of her age,¹ having survived her royal husband, Henry VIII., but one year, six months, and eight days. Her character is thus recorded by a contemporary, quoted by Strype:—

“She was endued with a pregnant wittiness, joined with right wonderful grace of eloquence; studiously diligent in acquiring knowledge, as well of human discipline as also of the holy Scripture; of incomparable chastity, which she kept not only from all spot, but from all suspicion, by avoiding all occasions of idleness, and contemning vain pastimes.”

Fuller also, in his Church History, speaks of her in the highest terms of commendation. The official announcement of queen Katharine Parr's death, together with the programme of her funeral, is copied from a curious contemporary MS. in the College of Arms. Lady Jane Gray, who was with queen Katharine at Sudely-castle at the time of her death, officiated at her funeral solemnity as chief mourner, which is certified in this document.

“*A Breviate of the interment of the lady Katharine Parr, queen-dowager, late wife to king Henry VIII., and after wife to Sir Thomas lord Seymour, of Sudely, and high-admiral of England.*

“*Item, on Wednesday the v² of September, between two and three of the clock in the morning, died the aforesaid lady, late queen-dowager, at the castle of Sudely, in Gloucestershire, 1548, and lieth buried in the chapel of the said castle.*

“*Item, she was cered and chested in lead accordingly, and so remained in her privy-chamber until things were in readiness.*

“The chapel was hung with black cloth, garnished with scutcheons of marriages: viz., king Henry VIII. and her in pale, under the crown; her own in lozenge under the crown; also the arms of the lord admiral and hers in pale, without the crown.

“The rails were covered with black cloth for the mourners to sit within, with stools and cushions accordingly, and two lighted scutcheons stood upon the corpse during the service.

“*The Order in proceeding to the Chapel.*

“First, two conductors in black, with black staves; then gentlemen and esquires; then knights; then officers of the household, with their white staves; then the gentlemen ushers; then Somerset herald, in the tabard coat; then the corpse, borne by six gentlemen in black gowns, with their hoods on their heads; then eleven staff torches, borne on each side by

¹ See her mother lady Parr's correspondence with lord Dacre, which proves that Katharine Parr was four years younger than has generally been supposed.

² This is a mistake twice iterated in the

Archæologia. The Roman numeral being used, the additional *iii* have been omitted or obliterated. The queen was probably buried September 8th.

yeomen round about the corpse, and at each corner a knight for assistarce (four), with their hoods on their heads; then the lady Jane (daughter to the lord marquis Do.set) chief mourner, her train borne up by a young lady; then six other lady mourners, two and two; then all ladies and gentlemen, two and two; then yeomen, three and three in rank; then all other following.

"The manner of the Service in the Church.

"*Item*, when the corpse was set within the rails, and the mourners placed, the whole choir began and sung certain psalms in English, and read three lessons; and after the third lesson, the mourners, according to their degrees and that which is accustomed, offered into the alms-box; and when they had done, all other, as gentlemen or gentlewomen, that would.

"The offering done, doctor Coverdale, the queen's almoner,¹ began his sermon, which was very good and godly; and in one place thereof he took occasion to declare unto the people 'how that they should none there think, say, or spread abroad that the offering which was there done, was done anything to benefit the dead, but for the poor only; and also the lights which were carried and stood about the corpse, were for the honour of the person, and for none other intent nor purpose;' and so went through with his sermon, and made a godly prayer, and the whole church answered and prayed the same with him in the end. The sermon done, the corpse was buried, during which time the choir sung *Te Deum* in English. And this done, the mourners dined, and the rest returned homeward again. All which aforesaid was done in a morning."²

This curious document presents the reader with the form of the first royal funeral solemnized according to Protestant rites. Queen Katharine's epitaph was written in Latin by her chaplain, Dr. Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich. The translation by an anonymous author is elegant:—

"In this new tomb the royal Katharine lies,
Flower of her sex, renowned, great, and wise;
A wife by every nuptial virtue known,
And faithful partner once of Henry's throne.
To Seymour next her plighted hand she yields—
Seymour, who Neptune's trident justly wields,
From him a beauteous daughter bless'd her arms,
An infant copy of her parent's charms;
When now seven days this infant flower had bloom'd,
Heaven in its wrath the mother's soul resumed.

The erudite writer, who has collected many interesting particulars in the *Archæologia* of the life of this queen, says, "She was tormented and broken-hearted with the pride of her sister-in-law and the ill-temper of her husband, whom she adored to the last." No instance of personal incivility or harshness on the part of the lord admiral towards Katharine Parr has ever been recorded, without, indeed, the "shrewd taunts" she mentioned in her delirium were matters of fact. If so, like many other bad-tempered husbands, he was resolved no one should revile his wife but himself; for he was wont to affirm, with his usual terrible oath, that "no one should speak ill of the queen, or if he knew it, he would take his fist to the ears of those who did, from the lowest to the highest." The charge of his having hastened her death, is not only without the slightest proof, but really opposed to the evidences of history.

¹ He was in that office at her death, by this document.

² From a MS. in the college of Arms, London, entitled "A Booke of Buryalls of Trew Notable Persons." No. 1-15, pp. 98, 99.

After the death of Queen Katharine, a deceitful message of condolence was sent to the lord admiral by the duchess of Somerset, who intimated "that if any grudge were borne by her to him, it was all for the late queen's cause; and now she was taken away by death, it would undoubtedly follow (unless the fault were in himself) that she, the duchess, would bear as good will to him as ever she did before." The lord admiral accepted the overture for a time, and paid his brother a visit, but soon after gave pretty evident proof that his enmity to Somerset and his party was far from being diminished by the death of Katharine Parr; indeed it amounted almost to insanity, after he was deprived of the restraining influence of her sound sense and prudent counsels. Queen Katharine's will was proved December 6, 1548;¹ after which the admiral fiercely pursued the suit for the restoration of the jewels and "stuff" which had been detained from his late royal consort by the protector and his council. So thoroughly persuaded was the widower of the justice of the claim, that he appealed to no meaner witness than the princess Mary, requiring her to testify whether the disputed jewels and furniture were a *bonâ fide* gift made by the deceased king her father to Katharine Parr, or only a loan.

This application was made a little before Christmas. The princess Mary was too prudent to allow herself to be involved in the dispute, and merely in her reply, bore testimony "to the great love and affection that her late lord and father did bear unto her grace queen Katharine"—a testimony of some importance to the biographers of Katharine Parr, but not what Seymour required to establish his right to the contested articles.

Wightman, one of the admiral's servants, subsequently deposed that he was employed by him in copying letters to the keeper of St. James's-palace, and others, requiring them to bear witness as to the fact whether the jewels were given to queen Katharine by king Henry, or only lent for the honour of the crown while she presided at the fêtes that were given at Hampton-court to the French ambassador, Claude d'Annebaut, who concluded the peace between England and France in 1546, as before related. Seymour made great search among queen Katharine's papers at her late royal residence at Hanworth, in the hope of finding some record affording decisive evidence of the gift. It is to be feared, that among "the great sort of old papers belonging to the late queen Katharine," of which he spake to his servant Wightman, he recklessly destroyed, as useless, and perhaps dangerous, many a precious letter and record, not only of her queenly, but her early life, and of her first and second marriages.²

It is not unworthy of observation, that the marquis of Northampton,

¹ See the will extant in the Prerogative court.

² It is supposed that many of queen Katharine Parr's letters to her brother the marquis of Northampton, and her sister the countess of Pembroke, perished in the great fire at Wilton

of Northampton, and her sister the countess of Pembroke, perished in the great fire at Wilton

Katharine Parr's brother ; her brother-in-law, Herbert earl of Pembroke ; and her cousin, Nicholas Throckmorton, all remained the fast friends of the lord admiral after her death, which they would scarcely have done had they suspected him of unkindness to her, much less of hastening her death. The Throckmorton MS. thus mentions him :—

"But when my queen lay buried in her grave,
To Musselborough field I mourning went :
The gladsome victory to us God gave,
Home with those tidings I in haste was sent.

The admiral, my spokesman, was at home,
Who staid his nephew's safety to regard ;
He was at all essays my perfect friend,
And patron too, unto his dying day.

When men surmised that he would mount too high,
And seek the *second time aloft to match*,
Ambitious hearts did steer something too nigh,
Off went his head, they made a quick despatch.

The limits of this work will not admit of detailing the particulars of the intrigues which led to the fall of the lord admiral. Suffice it to say, that he had aspired to the hand of the princess Elizabeth, and he had organized measures for supplanting his elder brother, the duke of Somerset, in the office of guardian to king Edward.

It is more than probable that the charge of poisoning queen Katharine Parr was devised in order to induce the king, by whom she had been so fondly beloved, to sign the warrant for the execution of her unhappy husband. Seymour was far from submitting to death, like his contemporaries, with an approbative speech setting forth the justice of his sentence ; he knew he had been doomed lawlessly, and he loudly proclaimed the fact on the scaffold. Before he laid his head on the block, he told an attendant of the lieutenant of the Tower to "bid his man speed the thing he wot of." This speech was overheard, and Seymour's servant was arrested, and threatened till he confessed "that his master had obtained some ink in the Tower, and had plucked off an aglet from his dress, with the point of which he had written a letter to each of the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, which he had hidden within the sole of a velvet shoe.¹ The shoe was opened and the letters found, which were, as was natural, full of bitter complaints against his brother, and all who had caused his destruction.

Lord Seymour was beheaded on Tower-hill, March 20, 1549. There was only an interval of two years one month and three weeks between the death of Katharine's third husband, king Henry VIII., and the execution of her fourth, who survived her just six months and fourteen days. Latimer preached a very uncharitable funeral sermon for Sey-

¹ Tytler's State Papers. Lingard. Strype.

mour, in which he said "it was evident God had clean forsaken him. Whether he be saved or not I leave it to God, but surely he was a wicked man, and the realm is well rid of him."¹ Latimer also affirmed, that "when queen Katharine, his wife, had daily prayer morning and afternoon in his house, Seymour would get him out of the way, and was a conternner of the Common-Prayer." He made no religious profession on the scaffold, and, according to the account given in his funeral sermon, he died "irksomely, dangerously, and horribly." These accusations against the unfortunate husband of Katharine Parr are somewhat softened by the religious and philosophic verses he was known to write the week before his death:²—

"Forgetting God to love a king
Hath beep my rod, or else nothing
In this frail life, being a blast
Of care and strife till it be past ;
Yet God did call me in my pride,
Lest I should fall and from him slide,
For whom he loves he must correct,
That they may be of his elect :
Then, Death, haste thee ! thou shalt me gain.
Imortally with God to reign.
Lord send the king in years as Noë,
In governing this realm in joy ;
And after this frail life such grace,
That in thy bliss he may find place."

The only child of queen Katharine and lord Seymour was named Mary. As the sole representative of both parents, the young lady Mary Seymour ought to have been the heiress of great wealth ; and even if the act of attainder which had been passed on her father operated to deprive her of the broad lands of Sudely and the rest of his possessions, she was fully entitled to inherit the large fortune of the queen-dowager, her mother, if she had had friends to assert her rights. "This high-born infant lady," says Strype, "destitute already both of her mother, queen Katharine, and her lately executed father, remained a little while at her uncle Somerset's house at Sion ; and then, according to her father's dying request, was conveyed to Grimsthorp in Lincolnshire, where Katharine dowager-duchess of Suffolk lived. There she was brought, with her governess Mrs. Aglionby, her nurse, two maids, and other servants, consonant to the high quality to which, for their own misery, her unfortunate parents had been advanced. Her uncle, the duke of Somerset, upon her leaving Sion, promised that a certain pension should be settled upon her for her maintenance, and that a portion of her nursery plate and furniture brought to Sion-house was to be sent after her when she went to Grimsthorpe." So the duchess of Somerset

¹ Latimer's Sermons ; first edition.

² *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 328.

promised Mr. Bertie, a gentleman in the service of the duchess of Suffolk, whom that lady subsequently married, but these promises in behalf of the poor orphan were never fulfilled.¹

Katharine duchess of Suffolk had been honoured with the friendship of the deceased queen, and through her favour and protecting influence had been preserved from the fiery persecution which had marked the closing years of Henry VIII.'s reign, when she was in more imminent peril than any one in the realm, since she had, by her cutting raillery, provoked the personal enmity of both Bonner and Gardiner. She held the same religious tenets as the late queen, whom she professed to regard as a saint, and it might have been expected that she would have cherished the orphan babe of her royal friend with not less than maternal tenderness. The impatience, however, with which she regarded the encumbrance and expense of the hapless little one who had become the unwelcome recipient of her charity is sufficiently apparent in the letters written by her to Cecil, of which the following may serve as a specimen:²—

"The queen's child hath lain, and yet doth lie, at my house, with her company about her, wholly at my charges. I have written to my lady Somerset at large, which was the letter I wrote (note this) with mine own hand unto you; and among other things for the child, that there may be some pension allotted unto her, according to my lord's grace's promise. Now, good Cecil, help at a pinch all that you may help. My lady also sent me word at Whitsuntide last, by *Bartue*,³ that my lord's grace,⁴ at her suit, had granted certain nursery plate should be delivered with the child; and lest there might be stay for lack of a present bill [list] of such plate and stuff as was there in the nursery, I send you here enclosed of all parcels as were appointed out for the child's only use. And that ye may the better understand that I cry not before I am pricked, I send you mistress Eglonby's [governess] letter unto me, who, with the maids, *nourice*, and others daily call on me for their wages, whose voices mine ears may hardly beare, but my coffers much worse."

This curious letter is indorsed thus:—

"To my loving friend, Mr. Cecil, attendant upon my lord protector's grace."

"From my lady of Suffolk's grace to my Mr. —, concerning the queen's child nursed at her house at Grimesthorpe, with a bill of plate belonging to the nursery. Anno 2 Ed. VI."

From the terms of the letter, it appears that even the paltry modicum in the list subjoined of the "good and stately gear," which of right belonged to the neglected infant of queen Katharine Parr, was withheld by her rapacious uncle Somerset and his pitiless wife.

"A Bill of all such Plate and other stuff as belongeth to the Nursery of the queen's child.

"First, 2 pots of silver, all white. *Item*, 3 goblets, silver, all white. One salt, silver, parcel-gilt. A *maser* [wooden cup] with a band of silver, parcel-gilt. 11 spoons, silver, all white. *Item*, a quilt for the cradle, 3 pillows, and 1 pair fustians, 3 feather beds, 3 quilts, 3 pair fustians. *Item*, a tester of scarlet, embroidered with a *counterpoint* [counterpane] of silk serge belonging to the same, and curtains of crimson taffeta. *Item*, 2 counterpoints of im-

¹ Stype, vol. ii. p. 201.

² *Landsdowne MSS.*, No. ii., art. 16, edited by J. O. Halliwell, esq., in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*

³ This messenger was afterwards her husband, Richard Bertie.

⁴ Somerset.

gery for the nurse's bed. *Item*, 6 pair of sheets of little worth. 6 fair pieces of hangings within the inner chamber. 4 carpets for windows. 10 pieces of hangings of the *twelve months*,¹ within the outer chamber. *Item*, 2 cushions cloth-of-gold, and a chair of cloth of gold, 2 wrought stools and a bedstead gilt, with a tester and counterpoint, with curtains belonging to the same."

The fair hangings, and the embroidered scarlet tester and counterpane, were doubtless wrought by the skilful hands of the royal mother and her ladies in waiting, to adorn the apartments and the cradle of the fondly expected babe, whose birth cost her her life. How little did poor Katharine anticipate, that before that child had completed its first year of life it was to be deprived of both parents, plundered of its princely inheritance—and even of the small remnant of plate and tapestry belonging to its nursery appointments, and thrown a helpless burden on the sufferance of a forgetful friend! In the list of the little Mary Seymour's effects is the following item:—

"2 milch beasts, which were belonging to the nursery, the which it may please your grace [Somerset] to *wite* [know] may be bestowed upon the two maids towards their marriages, which shall be shortly. *Item*, one lute."²

Eleven months after the date of this application, the persevering duchess writes again to her friend Cecil, assuring him that she had wearied herself with her letters to the protector and his lady on the same subject, and that she must again trouble him to press her suit to them both. "In these my letters to my lady," she says, "I do put her in remembrance for the performance of her promise touching some small pension for my kindness to the late queen's child, for it is, with a dozen servants living altogether at my charge, the continuance of which will not bring me out of debt this year. My lord marquis of Northampton, to whom I should deliver her, hath as bad a back for such a burden as I have. He would receive her, but not willingly if he must receive her train."³ The conduct of the marquis of Northampton was even more heartless than that of the duchess of Suffolk towards his sister's orphan daughter, since he was the person who was by nature bound to cherish and protect her person, and to vindicate her right to inherit the possessions of her deceased parents; but he, having obtained for himself a grant of a portion of his infant niece's patrimony,⁴ was unwilling to give her and her attendants a home. The brother of Katharine Parr and the duchess of Suffolk zealously united in editing and publishing the devotional writings of that queen, though they grudged a shelter and food to her only child.

¹ Tapestry, with the rural occupations of the twelve months depicted on it.

² Lansdowne MS.

³ Unpublished MS., State-Paper office, Edward VI., dated July 24, 1549.

⁴ On the attainder of Thomas Seymour lord Sudely, the manor of Sudely was granted to William marquis of Northampton, and

on his attainder by queen Mary, to lord Chandos; from thence, by a marriage and heirship, down to lord Rivers of Strathfield-saye; and the circumference of the castle was bought, about A.D. 1826, by the duke of Buckingham and Chandos. It is now the property of Mr. Dent.

The destitution of the unoffending infant of queen Katharine was completed by an act of parliament, entitled, "An act for disinheriting Mary Seymour, daughter and heir of the late lord Sudely, admiral of England, and the late queen."¹ Another act, *for the restitution* of Mary Seymour, passed January 21, 1549, 3 Edward VI.;² yet we find her uncle retained possession of Sudely. The historical records connected with queen Katharine's only child close with this act. Her aunt, the learned Anne countess of Pembroke,³ the only sister of Katharine Parr, died in the year 1551, at Baynard's-castle, so that the little lady Mary Seymour could not have found a home with her; and whether she were actually transferred to her unwilling uncle the marquis of Northampton, or remained, which is more probable, under the care of the duchess of Suffolk, is not known. Strype says she died young. Lodge affirms, but on what authority he does not state, "that the only child of the admiral lord Thomas Seymour by queen Katharine Parr died in her thirteenth year." There is, however, reason to believe that she lived to be a wife and mother. The statements of the late Johnson Lawson, Esq., of Grove-villa, Clevedon, and his brother, the late Henry Lawson, Esq., of Lansdowne-crescent, Bath, the sons of the very reverend Johnson Lawson, dean of Battle, in Sussex, vicar of Throwley and rector of Cranbrook, in Kent, afford, at any rate, presumptive evidence that they derived their descent from this lady. The authentic records of this fact appear to have been destroyed among a mass of interesting genealogical papers that were in the possession of a clergyman of the Lawson family, and on his death were consigned to the flames by his widow, "as she had no children to give them to," she said. One precious MS. fragment of the pedigree had, however, fortunately escaped the notice of this destructive dame, who would certainly have been branded by Anthony à-Wood with the epithet of "a clownish woman," and it contains a family record of the marriage and posterity of the daughter of Katharine Parr.

Copy of MS. fragment, entitled "A good account of my Pedigree, given me by my Grandmother, July 26, 1749."

"Paul Johnson, a gentleman of good family and estate, residing at his mansion at Fordwich in the county of Kent, also having another named Nethercourt in the Isle of Thanet, married Margaret Heyman (of the baronet's family of Kent and Norfolk).

"Their son, *Sylas Johnson*, married the daughter of Sir Edward Bushel,⁴ who had married the only daughter of the duke of Somerset's younger brother, lord Seymour, which daughter the lord Seymour had by queen Katharine Parr, whom he married after the death of Harry

¹ Drake's Parliamentary History. Burnet.

² Journals of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 15.

³ Her portrait, and that of her lord, painted on glass, is, or was lately, extant in the chapel of Wilton. The present earl of Pembroke is her descendant.

⁴ The Bushels were a very ancient and honourable family, and Sir Edward Bushel, probably the same person referred to in the Lawson pedigree, was a gentleman of the household to Anne of Denmark, the queen of James I., and, with nine other knights, assisted in bearing her body to the grave.

the Eighth, whose queen she was. The above Sir Edward Bushel's daughter was a great fortune to Silas Johnson; and their daughter, *Mary Johnson*, married the Rev. Francis Drayton, of Little-chart in Kent, where he and his wife lie buried."—From that marriage the records of the pedigree, down to Lawson, are very clear and certain, and need not lengthen this statement.

Silas Johnson, by his marriage with Mary, the daughter of Sir Edward Bushel and lady Mary Seymour, obtained various relics of Katharine Parr's personal property, which continued in the Lawson family, their descendants, for nearly two centuries: ¹—"A fine damask napkin, which was evidently made for, and brought from Spain, by Katharine of Arragon, the first queen of Henry VIII. The beautiful pattern therein exhibits the spread eagle, with the motto *PLUS OULTRE* four times; and on the dresses of four men blowing trumpets, attired in the Spanish garb as matadors, are the letters K.I.P. [probably intended for the initials of Katharine Infanta Princess]; and this napkin, in the palace of Henry VIII., must have passed through the hands of *six queens*, including Katharine Parr. The second relic is an original portrait on panel of Henry VIII.; and the third is a medallion in bronze of the royal arms of England and France, countercharged; having a leopard and a dragon for supporters. This Mr. Lawson recollected being cut out of the centre of a large pewter dish: the table service, in those times, was usually pewter."

In the absence of those *bonâ fide* vouchers of the marriage of the young lady Mary Seymour, which have been destroyed by time, by accident, or wanton ignorance, it may be conjectured that the duchess of Suffolk, after her marriage with Richard Bertie, on her subsequent flight from the Marian persecution, provided for her youthful *protégée* by an honourable marriage with Sir Edward Bushel, though certainly much beneath the alliances which would have courted her acceptance had she not been wrongfully deprived of the great wealth she ought to have inherited as the only child of queen Katharine Parr.

Queen Katharine Parr was originally interred on the north side of the altar of the then splendid chapel of Sudely, and an alabaster effigy was placed on her tomb. The chapel and tomb were desecrated and left in ruins by Cromwell and his Ironsides, and remained in utter desolation for nearly two centuries. Some ladies, who happened to be at Sudely-castle in May, 1782, determined to examine the ruined chapel. Observing a large block of alabaster fixed in the north wall of the chapel, they imagined that it might be the back of a monument that had once been fixed there. Led by this hint, they had the ground opened not far from there, and about a foot from the surface they found a leaden envelope, which they opened in two places—on the face and breast—and found it

¹ Till the death of the last of the line, Henry Johnson, Esq., of Lansdowne-crescent, Bath, by whom they were bequeathed to me, Agnes Strickland, and remain in my possession.

to contain a human body wrapped in cerecloth. Upon removing the portion that covered the face, they discovered the features, particularly the eyes, in the most perfect state of preservation. Alarmed with this sight, and with the smell which came from the cerecloth, they ordered the earth to be thrown in immediately, without closing over the cerecloth and lead that covered the face, only observing enough of the inscription to convince them it was the body of queen Katharine.¹ In the same summer, Mr. John Lucas, the person who rented the land on which the ruins of the chapel stood, removed the earth from the leaden coffin, which lay at the depth of two feet, or little more, below the surface. On the lid appeared an inscription, of which the following is a true copy :—

K. P.
Here lyeth Quene
Katharine vrth wife to Kyng
Henry the viijth And
after the wif of Thomas
lord of Sudeley high
Admyrall of England
And vncke to Kyng
Edward the vj.
She died
September
MCCCC
XLVIJ.

Mr. Lucas had the curiosity to rip up the top of the coffin, and found the whole body, wrapped in six or seven linen cerecloths, entire and uncorrupted, although it had been buried upwards of two centuries and a half. He made an incision through the cerecloths which covered one of the arms of the corpse, the flesh of which at that time was white and moist.² The perfect state in which the body of queen Katharine Parr was found, affords a convincing evidence that her death was not occasioned by poison; for in that case almost immediate decomposition would have taken place, rendering the process of embalming ineffectual, if not impracticable. The repose of the buried queen was again rudely violated by ruffian hands in the spring of 1784, when the royal remains were taken out of the coffin and irreverently thrown on a heap of rubbish and exposed to public view. An ancient woman, who was present on that occasion, assured my friend Miss Jane Porter, some years afterwards, “that the remains of costly burial clothes were on the body—not a shroud, but a dress, as if in life; shoes were on the feet, which were very small, and all her proportions extremely delicate, and she particularly noticed that traces of beauty were still perceptible in the countenance, of which the features were at that time perfect, but by exposure to the air, and other injurious treatment, the process of decay rapidly commenced.

¹ Archæologia.

² Rudde's Hist. of Gloucestershire. Archæologia.

Through the interference of the vicar the body was re-interred." When next the coffin was opened, it was discovered that a wreath of ivy had entwined itself round the temples of the royal dead; a berry having fallen there, and taken root, at the time of her previous exhumation, the ivy had silently woven itself into this green sepulchral coronal. A lock of her hair was most courteously presented to me in a handsome locket, by the late Thomas Turner, Esq., the antiquarian banker, of Gloucester. The hair is of the most exquisite colour and quality, resembling threads of burnished gold, though it had lain for nearly three centuries in the dust and darkness of the grave. In 1786, October 14, the Rev. Tredway Nash, F.A.S., having obtained leave of lord Rivers, the then possessor of Sudely-castle, with the Hon. J. Somers Cocks, proceeded to examine the chapel. Upon opening the ground, and tearing up the lead, the face was found totally decayed; the teeth, which were sound, had fallen. The body was perfect, but, out of delicacy, it was not uncovered. Her hands and nails were entire, of a brownish colour. The queen must have been of low stature, as the lead that enclosed her corpse was just five feet four inches long. The cerecloth consisted of many folds of linen, dipped in wax, tar, and gums, and the lead fitted exactly to the shape of the body. "I could heartily wish," observes Mr. Nash, "more respect were paid to the remains of this amiable queen, and would willingly, with proper leave, have them wrapped in another sheet of lead and coffin, and decently interred in another place, that at least her body might rest in peace; whereas, the chapel where she now lies is used for the keeping of rabbits, which make holes, and scratch very irreverently about the royal corpse."¹

After the above indignant recapitulation of the outrages and subsequent neglect to which the remains of our first Protestant queen were subjected in the apathetic eighteenth century, it is pleasant to be able to record the restoration, both of Sudely chapel and the monument of Katharine Parr, by the present munificent possessor of Sudely-castle, John Coucher Dent, Esq. Since the publication of the previous editions of the "*Lives of the Queens of England*," the ruinous desecrated chapel has been rendered one of the most exquisite gems of ecclesiastical architecture—paved with tessellated polished marble, decorated with painted windows, and finished in a style of magnificence such as would have astonished its ancient founders. The relics of queen Katharine have been collected with pious care, enclosed in a handsome new coffin, and deposited in a spacious vault on the left of the chancel window—a stately tomb, copied from her original monument, of which a woodcut

¹ In vol. ix. of *Archæologia*, 1787, being the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries, with a plate of the exterior of the beautiful

chapel when perfect, and of the encased body with a fac-simile of the inscription on the lead.

was preserved in that curious old work "The Seven Lamps of Virginity." Her recumbent effigy, of life-like size, exquisitely sculptured in white marble, reposes under a fair canopy, surrounded with all the insignia of royalty. The portrait of queen Katharine Parr, regally robed, appears in one of the painted windows of the chapel, with pictorial memorials of her four husbands, and their escutcheons.

A considerable portion of Sudely-castle has also been restored and furnished, not only in the Tudor style, but with veritable Tudor tapestry, paintings, and carvings. Several of the most interesting of the Strawberry-hill relics of that era, Holbein portraits, miniatures, and needle-work, have been, as if by magic, assembled within those walls, where the memory of queen Katharine has become a household word.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN-REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

MARY, our first queen-regnant, was the only child that reached maturity born of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon ; she first saw the light on the banks of the Thames at Greenwich-palace, on Monday, at four in the morning, February 18, 1515-6. As she was a healthy babe, her birth consoled her parents for the loss of the two heirs-male who had preceded her, nor in her childhood was her father ever heard to regret her sex. The queen confided her to the care of her beloved friend the countess of Salisbury (Margaret Plantagenet), and the royal infant's first nourishment was supplied by one of that lady's family. Katharine, the wife of Leonard Pole, was Mary's wet-nurse. The princess was, according to custom, baptized the third day after her birth. The silver font, in which the children of Elizabeth of York and Henry VII. had been christened, once more travelled from Christ-church, Canterbury, to the Grey Friars, adjacent to Greenwich-palace. Carpets were spread for the royal babe's procession from the palace to the font, which was placed in the Grey Friars' church, guarded by knights-banneret. The godmothers were the princess Katharine Plantagenet and the duchess of Norfolk. The infant was carried by the countess of Salisbury ;¹ the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, both uncles to the princess by marriage, walked on each side of her. Cardinal Wolsey was godfather. She was named Mary, after the favourite sister of Henry VIII. When the baptism was finished, the countess of Salisbury knelt at the altar with her infant charge in her arms, who received the rite of confirmation, or bishoping ; the countess was her sponsor at that ceremony. Various rich presents were bestowed on the princess Mary. The princess Katharine gave a gold spoon ; and the duchess of Norfolk presented a primer, richly illuminated, a book of Catholic offices of devotion. Cardinal

¹ Herald's Journal, Harleian MSS.

Wolsey gave a gold cup; her aunt, Mary Tudor, gave her niece and name-child a pomander of gold.¹

Mary was reared, till she was weaned, in the apartments of the queen, her mother,² and the first rudiments of her education were commenced by that tender parent as soon as she could speak. Both Henry and Katharine were in the habit of dandling Mary, and holding her in their arms after dinner. Sebastian Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador, records in his despatches, that "Henry VIII. came to his palace called Windsor, about twenty miles from London, and dined there. The king then took from the arms of the serene queen Katharine his little daughter, at that time about two years old, and carried her to cardinal Wolsey, and to our ambassador, who kissed her hand."³

The nursery establishment of the princess was occasionally stationed at Ditton-park, in Buckinghamshire. The royal infant was often ferried over the Thames to Windsor-castle, when her parents sojourned there. Her education must have commenced at a very tender age, if her early attainments in music may be taken in evidence. After the first months of her infancy, the care of her person was consigned to lady Margaret Bryan, the wife of Sir Thomas Bryan, who was called the lady mistress. This lady superintended the temperate meals of the royal infant, which consisted of one dish of meat, with bread. The countess of Salisbury was state-governess and head of the household, the annual expenses of which amounted to 1100*l.*;⁴ Sir Weston Browne was chamberlain, Richard Sydour treasurer and accountant; Alice Baker, gentlewoman of the bedchamber, at a salary of 10*l.*; and Alice Wood, laundress, had 33*s.* half-yearly. Sir Henry Rowte, priest, was chaplain and clerk of the closet, at an allowance of sixpence per day.

Ditton-park and Hanworth were the earliest residences of the princess's childhood, but while her parents were absent in France, 1520, at the celebrated "Field of Cloth of Gold," she seems to have kept court in royal state at their palace of Richmond. Here the privy council frequently visited her, and sent daily details of her health and behaviour to her absent parents, or to cardinal Wolsey. Some foreign strangers were introduced by the order of the king to the royal child, who, though little more than four years old, had to sit up in state, greet them courteously, and rationally, and, finally, to amuse them by playing on the virginals. She must have been a musical prodigy if, at that tender age, she could play a tune correctly on a musical instrument. The visit of three Frenchmen of rank to the princess is thus described by the privy coun-

¹ The pomander of gold was a hollow ball, which opened to admit a ball of paste formed of rich perfumes, the pomander being perforated to diffuse the scent. It was hung at the girdle, and sometimes carried in the hand. It was not unfit for a baby's plaything,

though an article of jewellery used by the belles of those days.

² William Forrest, chaplain to queen Mary

³ Martin Sanuto.

⁴ Household-book of the Princess Mary.

cil :¹—“After they had been shown everything notable in London, they were conveyed in a barge by the lord Berners and the lord Darcy to Richmond, when they repaired to the princess, and found her right honourably accompanied with noble personages, as well spiritual as temporal, and her house and chambers furnished with a proper number of goodly gentlemen and tall yeomen. Her presence-chamber was attended, besides the lady governess and her gentlewomen, by the duchess of Norfolk and her three daughters, the lady Margaret, wife to the lord Herbert, the lady Gray and lady Neville. And when the gentlemen of France came into the presence-chamber to the princess, her grace in such wise showed herself unto them, in welcoming and entertaining them with most goodly countenance, and pleasant pastime in playing on the virginals, that they greatly marvelled and rejoiced at the same, her tender age considered.” The infant royal performer must have been exceedingly docile and well trained, not only to receive and speak properly to foreign strangers, but to play her tunes when required. General history is not silent regarding Mary’s infantine musical attainments. In the Italian history of Pollino it is asserted that Mary played on the *arpicordo*, which is the same name as the *harpsichord*. “This she used to play on,” he adds, “when a very little child; and she had so far mastered the difficulties as to have a light touch, with much grace and velocity.”

When her royal parents returned to England, Mary went back to her nursery at Ditton-park, but she made a long visit to the king and queen the succeeding Christmas. She was a very lovely infant, her complexion rosy, and eyes brown, and “right merry and joyous.” It is not probable that the king, who was passionately fond of children, could part from an attractive prattler of that age; accordingly she remained at Greenwich till after her fifth birth-day. The Christmas gifts made to the princess this year were numerous, and some of them very costly. There was, however, but one article calculated to please a little child; this was a rosemary-bush hung with spangles of gold, brought for her by a poor woman of Greenwich: it was, perhaps, like the Christmas tree, which gives such delight to German children. Cardinal Wolsey sent her a gold cup, the princess Katharine Plantagenet two small silver flagons, queen Mary Tudor another golden pomander; her nurse, lady Margaret Bryan, a crimson purse, tinselled; and the duke of Norfolk a pair of silver snuffers. The princess was amused by the performance of a company of children, who acted plays for her diversion; and in her accounts 6s. 8d. is given to a man who managed the little actors, as a reward. This man, it appears, was Heywood, the dramatic author.

The princess made her Candlemas offering at Hanworth, and thence proceeded to Richmond, where her mother, the queen, sent her barge to

¹ Letter from the council to Wolsey.

convey her to Greenwich. The same month she stood godmother to the infant daughter of Sir William Compton, to whom she gave the name of Mary; at the baptism the lady mistress, Margaret Bryan, distributed 33s. to the attendants. This office of standing godmother made a pleasing impression on the memory of the princess of five years old, since it was often reiterated: she must have stood godmother to at least a hundred children.

More than one negotiation had been in agitation for the marriage of the young princess with the dauphin, heir to Francis I., while she was yet in her cradle; but neither Henry VIII. nor Francis I. appears to have been sincere in their intentions. In the summer of 1522 she was brought to Greenwich, where the queen, her mother, holding her by the hand at the hall-door of the palace, there introduced her to the emperor Charles V., on his landing with Henry from his barge at the water-stairs. It was the desire of queen Katharine's heart that this great emperor, her nephew, might become her son-in-law, and all the political arrangements between him and her husband seemed to favour that wish. The emperor, who was then a young man in his twenty-third year, came expressly to England for betrothal to his cousin Mary, a child of six years old. As he passed five weeks in England, the little princess became well acquainted with him, and learned, young as she was, to consider herself as his empress. By a solemn matrimonial treaty, signed at Windsor, the emperor engaged to marry the princess Mary when she attained her twelfth year: he was in the meantime exceedingly desirous that she should be sent to Spain, that she might be educated as his wife, but the doting affection of her parents could not endure the separation.

The care of Mary's excellent mother was now sedulously directed to give her child an education that would render her a fitting companion to the greatest sovereign of modern history, not only in regard to extent of dominions, but in character and attainments. To Dr. Linacre, the learned physician, who had formerly been one of prince Arthur's tutors,¹ was entrusted the care of the princess Mary's health, and some part of her instruction in Latin—the queen her mother (as appears by her own written testimony) often examining her translations, and reading with her. Linacre died when the princess was but eight years of age, having first written a Latin grammar for her use. It was dedicated to her, and he speaks with praise of her docility and love of learning at that tender age.

Queen Katharine requested Ludovicus Vives, a Spaniard of deep learning, who was called by his contemporaries the second Quintilian, to draw up a code of instructions for the education of Mary. He thus addresses Katharine of Arragon:—"Govern by these my monitions Maria thy daughter, and she will be formed by them; she will resemble

¹ *Biographia Britannica.*

thy domestic example of probity and wisdom, and except all human expectations fail, holy and good will she be by necessity." Vives points out with exultation the daughters of Sir Thomas More, as glorious examples of the effects of a learned and virtuous female education. His rules are rigid: he implores that the young princess may read no idle books of chivalry and romance. He defies and renounces such compositions, in Spanish, as *Amadis de Gaul*, *Tirante the White*, and others burnt by the curate in *Don Quixote*. He abjures the French romancer *Lancelot du Lac*, *Paris et Vienne*, *Pierre Provençal*, and *Margalone* and the Fairy *Melusina*. In Flemish literature he denounces *Florice and Blanche*, and *Pyramus and Thisbe*. All these, and such as these, he classes as *libri pestiferi*,¹ corrupting to the morals of females. In their places he desires that the young princess Mary may read the Gospels, night and morning, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, selected portions of the Old Testament, and the works of Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose; likewise Plato, Cicero, Seneca's Maxims, Plutarch, the Paraphrase of Erasmus, and the Utopia of Sir Thomas More. Among the works of classic poets he admitted the *Pharsalia* of Lucan, the tragedies of Seneca, with selected portions of Horace. He deemed cards, dice, and splendid dress as pestiferous as romances. He gave rules for her pronunciation of Greek and Latin, and advised that lessons from these languages should be committed to memory every day, and read over two or three times before the pupil went to bed. He recommended that the princess should render English into Latin frequently, and likewise that she should converse with her preceptor in that language: her Latin dictionary was to be either Perotti or Colepin. He permitted some stories for her recreation, but they were all to be purely historical, sacred, or classical: he instanced the narrative of Joseph and his brethren in the Scriptures, that of Papyrus in Aulus Gellius, and Lucretia in Livy. The well-known tale of *Griselda* is the only exception to his general exclusion of fiction, and that perhaps he took for fact. It is a curious coincidence, that *Griselda* was afterwards considered in England as the prototype of queen Katharine.

The young princess was certainly educated according to the rigorous direction of Vives, and she is an historical example of the noxious effect that over-education has at a very tender age. Her precocious studies probably laid the foundation for her melancholy temperament and delicate health.

The emperor Charles continued extremely desirous that the princess should be sent to Spain for education; a wish which Henry VIII. parried, by declaring that she should, while in England, be brought up and entirely trained as a Spanish lady; and that she should be even accustomed to wear the national dress of the country whose queen she was expected to be. For this purpose he sent envoys to consult Margaret

¹ Sir Frederick Madden's *Privy-purse Expenses of Princess Mary*.

regent of Flanders regarding materials and patterns proper for Spanish costume. "As to the education of the princess Mary," said Henry VIII., "if the emperor should search all Christendom for a mistress to bring her up and frame her after the manner of Spain, he could not find one more meet than the queen's grace, her mother, who cometh of the royal house of Spain, and who, for the affection she beareth to the emperor, will nurture her, and bring her up to his satisfaction. But the noble person of the young princess is not meet, as yet, to bear the pains of the sea, nor strong enough to be transported into the air of another country."¹

In the course of the summer of 1525, the emperor was privately engaged to Isabel of Portugal. This was the first sorrow experienced by Mary, who was observed to grow pale with jealousy, when the change of the emperor's intentions was discussed. She had been persuaded by her maids that she was in love with Charles V., for about this time she sent a pretty message to him. Cardinal Wolsey thus communicated it, in a letter addressed to the ambassador there, dated April 7, 1525:—"Herewith is an emerald, which my lady princess Mary sendeth to the emperor, with her most cordial and humble commendations to him. You, at the delivery of the same, shall say, 'that her grace hath devised this token for a better knowledge to be had (when God shall send them grace to be together) whether his majesty doth keep constant to her, as with God's grace she will to him.' Whereby you may add, that her assured love towards his majesty hath already raised such passion in her that it is confirmed by jealousy, which is one of the greatest signs and tokens of love."² The emerald, whose colour was the symbol of constancy, sent by young Mary, would, it was imagined, fade and pale its brilliant green if the heart of the betrothed swerved from the affianced lady. Thus, in that time of transition from the chivalric to the political era, did the fond ideality of the minstrel—with which the heads of the maids and pages of honour who waited around the little heiress were teeming—find its way into the despatches of the statesman; ay, and would have had influence, too, had the betrothed princess been taller and older. As it was, the emperor stuck the emerald ring on his little finger as far as it would go, and bade the English ambassadors say "he would wear it for the sake of the princess," asking many questions regarding her health, learning, and appearance.

Even at this very time Charles V. was burning with indignation at private intelligence which had reached him, that Henry VIII. meditated a divorce from queen Katharine, and the consequent disinheriting of her daughter. In the course of the same year Charles wedded the beautiful Isabel of Portugal. It appears he justified his conduct by a letter full of reproaches to Henry VIII., for his sinister intentions in respect to

¹ Hall.² Wolsey's correspondence.

Mary's mother. Henry took great pains to show him in what a different light he ostensibly regarded his only child; for Mary, if not actually declared princess of Wales, as some authors have affirmed, assuredly received honours and distinctions which have never, either before or since, been offered to any one but the heir-apparent of England. A court was formed for her at Ludlow-castle, on a grander scale than those established either for her uncle Arthur or Edward of York, both acknowledged princes of Wales and heirs-apparent of England.¹ Sir John Dudley—whose ambition afterwards made him so prominent a character as earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland in the next reign—was appointed chamberlain to the princess Mary at her new court. Thomas Audley, afterwards lord chancellor, and John Russell were members of her council. The countess of Salisbury resided with her, as she had done from her birth, as state-governess, an office always filled by a lady of the blood-royal. The princess had besides no less than thirteen ladies of honour and a crowd of lower functionaries.

Mary took leave of her parents at the palace of Langley, in Hertfordshire, in September, 1525, previously to her departure for Ludlow-castle. Fresh instructions were given to her council regarding her tuition when she parted from her royal parents; they emanated from the maternal tenderness and good sense of queen Katharine, whose earnest wish was evidently to render her daughter healthy and cheertul, as well as learned and accomplished.

“First, above all other things, the countess of Salisbury, being lady governess, shall, according to the singular confidence that the king's highness hath in her, give most tender regard to all that concerns the person of said princess, her honourable education and training in virtuous demeanour; that is to say, to serve God, from whom all grace and goodness proceedeth. Likewise, at seasons convenient, to use moderate exercise, taking open air in gardens, sweet and wholesome places and walks (which may conduce unto her health, solace, and comfort), as by the said lady governess shall be thought most convenient. And likewise to pass her time, most seasons, at her virginals or other musical instruments, so that the same be not *too much*, and, without *fatigacion* or weariness, to attend to her learning of Latin tongue and French; at other seasons to dance, and among the rest to have good respect to her diet, which is *meet* [proper] to be pure, well-prepared, dressed, and served with comfortable, joyous, and merry communication, in all honourable and virtuous manner. Likewise, the cleanliness and well-wearing of her garments and apparel, both of her chamber and person, so that everything about her be pure, sweet, clean, and wholesome, as to so great a princess doth appertain: all corruptions, evil airs, and things noisome and unpleasant, to be eschewed.”² With these instructions the princess

¹ Burnet.

² MS. Cotton.

Mary and her court departed for Ludlow. The castle was previously the grand feudal seat of her ancestors the Mortimers, lords of the marches. As a great concourse of people was expected at Ludlow-castle during the Christmas festivities, for the purpose of paying respect to the princess, her council thought it requisite that she should keep Christmas with princely cheer; they therefore wrote to the cardinal, intimating the articles requisite for the use of their young mistress's household. A silver ship, or *nef* (which was to hold the table-napkin for the princess), an *alms-dish*, and silver spice-plates, were among these requests. They wanted trumpets and a rebeck, and hinted a wish for the appointment of a lord of misrule, and some provision for interludes, disguisings, and plays at the feast of Twelfth-night. The residence of Mary at Ludlow lasted about eighteen months, varied with occasional visits to Tickenhill, and to the magnificent unfinished palace of the unfortunate duke of Buckingham at Thornbury, lately seized by the king. Her education, meantime, proceeded rapidly and successfully. Lord Morley, one of the literary nobles of that day, alludes to Mary's attainments in a preface to his translation of the New-year's Angelical Salutation, one of his works presented to her some years afterwards, when her changed fortune had wholly silenced the voice of flattery. "I do well remember," says lord Morley, addressing the princess, "that scant had ye come to twelve years of age but ye were so rife in the Latin tongue, that *rathe* [rarely] doth happen to the women-sex; that your grace not only could properly read, write, and construe Latin, but furthermore translate any hard thing of the Latin into our English tongue. And among other your virtuous occupations, I have seen one prayer of your doing of St. Thomas Aquine, that I do assure your grace is so well done, so near to the Latin, that when I look upon it (as I have one the exemplar of it) I have not only marvel at the doing of it, but further, for the *well*-doing of it. I have *set it* [copied it] in my own books, as also in my poor wife's and my children, to give them occasion to remember to pray for your grace."¹ In her missal, the young princess has added to the translation thus commended by lord Morley: "I have read, That nobody liveth as he should do, but he that followeth virtue; and I, reckoning you to be one of them, I pray you to remember me in your devotions.—*MARYE, child of K. . . .*" The princess finished with these words, "child of king Henry and queen Katharine." The whole of this sentence, but the words in italics, has been subsequently obliterated.

While the princess still resided at Ludlow-castle, Henry VIII. made a desperate attempt to marry her to Francis I., with the intention of revenging himself on the emperor Charles, and, perhaps, of removing his

¹ Sir F. Madden's Privy-purse Expenses of Mary.

daughter out of his way before he dismissed her mother. The king of France was under engagements to marry the emperor's sister, Eleanora of Austria, widow of Emanuel the Great, king of Portugal. Wolsey, who liked not this close alliance between France and Spain, prevailed on his royal master to send Dr. Clerke to Louise duchess of Savoy, the mother of Francis, for the purpose of proposing a marriage between him and Mary,¹ the then acknowledged heiress of England—an unsuitable marriage, for the princess was, in 1526, but eleven years of age. While the matter was uncertain, Dr. Clerke beset the duchess Louise with panegyrics on the young Mary's beauty and docility. "Howbeit," he says in his despatch, "I observed that madame Eleanora was now of the age of thirty; and, peradventure, there should not be found in her so much good-nature and humility as in my lady princess [Mary], whom now, at her age, and after her education, she might bring up, fashion, forge, and make of her whatever she would, assuring her that my said lady princess would be as loving, lowly and humble to her, as to her own father. The lady-duchess then held up her hands, and with tears declared "that I said truth;" adding, "that if it should be my lady princess's chance to be queen of France, she would be as loving again to her as to her own son Francis I."

Louise of Savoy made the more rational proposal of a union between her second grandson, Henry duke of Orleans, and the young English princess; but this did not answer Wolsey's purpose, which was to break a family league between Francis and the emperor. The negotiator then sought Francis I. himself, to whom he descanted, in terms of great hyperbole, on the girlish beauties of Mary, calling her "the pearl of the world, and the jewel her father esteemed more than anything on earth." King Francis affirmed that he had wished to espouse her before his campaign. "Sir," responded the diplomatist, "whereat stick ye, then? for she is of that beauty and virtue——" Here Francis interrupted him, impatient at hearing all this incongruous flattery regarding a small child. "I pray you," said the king, "repeat unto me none of these matters. I know well her education, her form and her fashion, her beauty and her virtue, and what father and mother she cometh of. I have as great a mind to marry her as ever I had to any woman;" adding that "he had promised Eleanora, and was not free, unless she refused first." This negotiation ended with the king's mother informing the English ambassador "that news had arrived of queen Eleanora having laid aside her widow's weeds, and therefore it was evident she looked upon herself as the future queen of France." Francis I., though by no means anxious to espouse a bride of eleven years old, seemed really desirous of receiving Mary as his daughter-in-law, and, at various periods of his life, endeavoured to

¹ MS. Cott.

match her with his son Henry duke of Orleans. It was in the course of one of these negotiations, which took place in the succeeding spring of 1527, that doubts of the legitimacy of Mary were first started.¹

The precise time of the withdrawal of the princess Mary from her court at Ludlow-castle is not defined; it was probably to receive the French ambassadors, who had arrived for the purpose of negotiating her marriage with the second son of France. Many notices exist of her participation in the revelry of her father's court; among others, occur the following curious verses, quoted here, not for any poetical merit they possess, but for their historical allusions.² They were evidently penned by some courtly adulator, who had been present at a ball at which Mary danced with her royal father, and strange must have been the contrast presented between his colossal figure and her *petite* and fragile form:—

“Ravished I was, that well was me,
O Lord! to me so *fain* [willing],
To see that sight that I did see
I long full sore again.
I saw a king and a princess
Dancing before my face,
Most like a god and a goddess,
(I pray Christ save their grace!)
This king to see whom we have sung,
His virtues be right much,
But this princess, being so young,
There can be found none such.
So *faund* fair she is to see,
Like to her is none of her age;
Withouten grace it cannot be
So young to be so sage.
This king to see with his fair flower,
The *mother*³ standing by,
It doth me good yet at this hour,
On them when that think I.
pray Christ save father and mother,
And this young lady fair,
And send her shortly a brother,
To be England's *right* heir.”

The tenor of these lines plainly indicates that they were composed at a period when Katharine of Arragon was still the undoubted queen, presiding at the regal festival; but that the lamentations of Henry for a son, “to be England's right heir,” on which he founded his grand plea for the divorce, were beginning to be re-echoed by his flatterers.

But the princess appeared soon after, not only as the partner of her royal sire in the stately pavon (or minuet of that era), but as a dancer

¹ See biography of Katharine of Arragon, in this volume.
³ Katharine of Arragon.

² From MS. Ashmole.

in court ballets, and a performer in comedies—no slight infringement of the rigid rules prescribed for her education by Ludovicus Vives. She seems, nevertheless, to have passed through the trials of this early introduction to display and dissipation without incurring the least blame for levity of conduct; on the contrary, all parties joined in praising the simplicity and purity of her manners. Among these commendations is one, according to the bias of the times, which will appear no particular excellency in modern estimation; for instance, she is praised for dressing on the Easter festival, according to the old usages of England, in the very best apparel she had, in order that she might show her gladness at receiving the sacrament. This is a curious illustration of the national custom still existing among the lower classes, who scrupulously wear their best clothes on Easter-day, and, if possible, new apparel.

The practice of royal personages exhibiting themselves in the costume of stage-players had been hitherto unexampled, excepting by Henry VIII., Charles VI. of France, and the most profligate of the Roman emperors. Nor was Henry satisfied without the females of his family following his example. His beautiful sister Mary, when she first appeared in one of these pantomimic ballets, wore a black crape mask as an Ethiopian princess. She soon became emboldened, and freely took her part as a dancer in the court balls and pageants. Still it was strange that the king should wish a girl, young as his daughter, thus to challenge the gaze of strangers. She appeared before the French ambassadors, at Greenwich-palace, in the spring of 1527, with five of her ladies disguised in Icelandic dresses, and, with six lords in the costume of the same country, “daunced lustily about the hall.” At another banquet and masque, before the same ambassadors, in May, the princess Mary issued out of a cave with her seven ladies, all apparelled, after the Roman fashion, in rich cloth of gold and crimson tinsel, *bendy*; that is, the dresses were striped in a slanting direction—a Roman fashion that may vainly be sought in classic remains—their hair was wrapped in cauls of gold, with bonnets of crimson velvet on their heads, set full of pearls and precious stones. Mary and her seven ladies then danced a ballet with eight lords. Some scenic effect was evidently attempted in this performance. The princess is said, likewise, to have acted a part in one of Terence’s comedies, in the original Latin, for the entertainment of the French ambassadors at Hampton-court. Mary was but in her twelfth year at this epoch, from which the commencement of her misfortunes may be dated. A few weeks afterwards her mother’s divorce became matter of public discussion. Just at this time, May 21, 1527, was born at Valladolid, Philip, afterwards the second of Spain, son of the emperor Charles V. and Isabel of Portugal, who subsequently became the husband of the princess Mary.

Henry VIII., during the protracted discussion of the divorce, was at times extremely embarrassed by his affection for Mary, and her claims on his paternity. Sometimes he bestowed profuse caresses on her in public: at the first movement of the divorce, he gave out that the inquiry was made only to settle her claims permanently to the succession. The princess, meantime, remained near her parents, in possession of the same state and distinction she had enjoyed since her birth. Henry thus mentions his daughter, in one of his speeches regarding the divorce before her mother. "Although," says he, "we have had the lady Mary, singular both in beauty and shape, by the most noble lady Katharine, yet that marriage cannot be legitimate which gives us such pain and torment of conscience." The jealous disposition of Henry was probably soon inflamed into rancour when he found, in the course of the dispute, that his daughter took part with her mother, and was, moreover, the idol of his people, who, declared on all occasions, according to the testimony of Hall, the contemporary recorder of London, "that king Henry might marry whom he would, yet they would acknowledge no successor to the crown but the husband of the lady Mary." Wolsey was hated furiously throughout England, because he was supposed to be the originator of the divorce; and one of the popular rhymes of the day thus sets forth public indignation at the wrongs of the people's darling:—

"Yea, a princess whom to describe
It were hard for an orator;
She is but a child in age,
And yet she is both wise and sage,
And beautiful in favour.
Perfectly doth she represent
The singular graces excellent
Both of her father and mother
Howbeit, this disregarding,
The carter of York¹ is meddling
For to divorce them asunder."

It has been asserted by contemporaries, that queen Katharine, at one time of her life, cherished an ardent desire that her daughter Mary should be united in marriage with Reginald Pole, son of the countess of Salisbury, the noble kinswoman who had constantly resided with the young princess. All the biographers of Reginald Pole declare that Mary manifested the greatest partiality to him from her earliest childhood. This might have been; yet the difference of their ages, for Reginald was born in 1500, was too great for any partiality to have subsisted between them in early life as lovers. While there was hope of her daughter becoming the wife of the emperor, it was not probable that queen Katharine, who loved her nephew exceedingly, could have wished her to marry Reginald Pole. But when Reginald returned to England at

¹ Wolsey was archbishop of York.

the same time that the imperial match was broken off, and appeared in her court in his twenty-fifth year, possessing the highest cultivation of mind, the noblest person, and features of that perfect mould of beauty which revived the memory of the heroic Plantagenets—for he resembled the portraits of Edward I. and Edward III., his ancestors (Michael Angelo has drawn his likeness in the grand picture of the Raising of Lazarus, now in the National Gallery)—it is possible that the wise queen, weighing the disadvantages of wedlock with a foreign monarch, might wish her Mary united to such a protector. The match would have been highly popular among the English, as the love for the memory of the Plantagenet kings was only equalled by the intense national jealousy of foreign alliances; besides which, the personal qualities of Reginald rendered him the pride of his country. He had, however, a mistrust of the atmosphere of the English court, as portentous of storm and change; he reminded his royal relatives that he had been educated for the church, and withdrew himself into the seclusion of the Carthusian convent of Sion. Here Reginald abstracted himself from the world by sedulous attention to books, but it was observed that he neither took priest's orders nor monastic vows.

While the perplexities of the divorce engrossed public attention, few notices occur of the princess Mary, excepting that the queen was occasionally threatened with separation from her child—a proof that their intercourse continued. Both the queen and princess were with the king at Tittenhanger during the prevalence of the plague, called “the sweating sickness.” At the ensuing Christmas, the king gave his daughter “20*l.* to disport her with.” At Ampthill, one of her servants “received for her use 10*l.* to make pastime withal.” The young princess spent the year 1530 with her mother, for Hall occasionally mentions her at Greenwich, particularly at the close of the year, when he says, speaking of Henry's disappointment at finding himself still remaining the husband of Katharine of Arragon, “The king sore lamented his chance; he made no mirth or pastime, as he was wont to do, yet he dined with and resorted to the queen as accustomed; he *minished* nothing of her estate, and much loved and cherished their daughter, the lady Mary.” These words afford proof that the establishment and royal routine of the mother and daughter continued the same as formerly. Lady Salisbury, likewise, retained her office, and Reginald Pole, her son, who had, with a single exception of an honourable mission to Paris, been resident in England for five years, had frequent opportunities of seeing the princess, on account of his mother's residence with her, and her near relationship to the royal family. Mary was now a blooming girl, in her fifteenth year; she manifested the greatest partiality to her noble and accomplished kinsman—whether as friend or lover it is scarcely possible to say.

Henry VIII. was very anxious to gain the sanction of the noble-minded Reginald to his pending divorce. When greatly urged to give his opinion on that head, and to accept of the archbishopric of York, rendered vacant by the death of Wolsey, Reginald, by letter, firmly and respectfully declined this great advancement, adding many arguments against the divorce of Katharine and the degradation of her daughter. This letter was the first of the celebrated series of controversial letters and essays written by Reginald Pole, and often quoted by historians. It was, of course, different in tone to those written after his aged mother had been hacked to pieces on the scaffold, his brother put to death on slight pretext, and his whole house desolated. Henry was nevertheless incensed; he called the disinterested advocate before him in the stately gallery of Whitehall-palace, to account for this opposition. Reginald, who at that time loved the king ardently, could not speak for emotion, and his words, so celebrated for their impassioned eloquence, were stifled in a gush of tears; yet his broken sentences proved that he was firm in his principles, and manly in his defence of the helpless queen and her daughter. Henry frowned, and his hand often sought the hilt of his dagger; but if his kinsman did not yield to affection or interest, there was little chance of a scion of the Plantagenets bending to fear. Henry left Reginald weeping, and vented his temper in threats to his brother, lord Montague—threats which afterwards were fatally verified. Reginald's brothers loaded him with reproaches, yet he appears to have convinced them he was right; for Montague, his elder brother, undertook a message of explanation to the king, who had rather taken the contents of the letter which had displeased him from the report of the duke of Norfolk than from his own perusal. Meantime, Henry had conquered his passion, for he was as yet a novice in injustice and cruelty. He examined the letter, and after walking up and down thoughtfully for some time, turned to his kinsman, lord Montague, and said, "Your brother Reginald has rightly guessed my disposition; he has given me such good reasons for his conduct that I am under the necessity of taking all he has said in good part, and could he but gain on himself to approve my divorce from the queen, no one would be dearer to me." At this period no separation had taken place of the English church from Rome, and the divorce cause remained wholly undecided, therefore no religious prejudices were at issue in the bosom of Reginald Pole. It was as yet a simple matter of right or wrong between a husband, wife, and child; and when his opinion was demanded, and not till then, Reginald, the near kinsman of the husband and child, honestly declared what he thought of the justice of the case. If his defence of the oppressed made a powerful impression on the oppressor, what must it have done on the minds of those whose cause he pleaded?

The queen, from the commencement of her troubles, had often recurred

to the unjust sentence on Reginald Pole's uncle, the last of the Plantagenets. She said, "that she saw the judgment of God in her afflictions, for a marriage founded in murder was not likely to prosper." She knew that her father, king Ferdinand, had refused the English alliance till Warwick was executed.¹ The conscientious queen had endeavoured to make reparation by the friendship she ever showed to Warwick's sister, the countess of Salisbury, and by the affection she cultivated between her daughter Mary and the children of the countess. At one period of her life (and this may naturally be deemed the time) Katharine was heard to express a wish that Mary might marry a son of lady Salisbury, in order to atone for the wrong done to the earl of Warwick, whose property was taken as well as his life.² Reginald Pole used no surreptitious means to realize a wish so flattering to ambition. When the young princess was sixteen (about 1531) he withdrew from England, finding that his principles could not accord with the measures of the king. Yet it was long supposed that his reluctance to take priest's orders arose from a lingering hope that the wishes of queen Katharine might one day be fulfilled.

An utter silence is maintained, alike in public history and state documents, regarding that agonizing moment when the princess Mary was reft from the arms of her unfortunate mother, to behold her no more. No witness has told the parting, no pen has described it; but sad and dolorous it certainly was to the hapless girl, even to the destruction of health. In the same month that Henry VIII. and queen Katharine finally parted, Mary had been ill, for a payment is made by her father to Dr. Bartelot of 20*l.*, in reward for giving her his attendance. Another long sickness afflicted the princess the succeeding March, when the king again gave a large sum to the physician for restoring his daughter. Mary's sorrow had thus cast an early blight on her constitution, which she never wholly recovered. But her troubles had not yet reached their climax; for lady Salisbury, the friend next her mother dear to her heart, still resided with her. This fact is evident from the letter written by queen Katharine, in which the recent illness of Mary is mentioned, and at the conclusion a kind message is sent to lady Salisbury. In this letter, Katharine endeavoured, with great sweetness, to reconcile the princess Mary to the loss of the Latin lessons she used to give her, by commendations of the superior ability of her tutor Dr. Featherstone (who, it is evident, still retained his post): at the same time she requested occasionally to inspect her daughter's Latin exercises. The queen's letter concluded with expressions of tender regret at her separation from the king and her daughter, but without a word of angry complaint at the cause, which she wisely knew would irritate and agonize the mind of her child. Woburn is the place of date, which marks the

¹ Hall. Life of Cardinal Pole.

² State Papers, Lodge's Illustrations.

time as during the queen's residence at the palace of Ampthill, near that abbey.

The succeeding year brought many trials to the unfortunate mother and daughter, who were still cruelly kept from the society of each other. The king proclaimed his marriage with Anne Boleyn. Cranmer pronounced the marriage of queen Katharine invalid, and the coronation of the rival queen took place. Another letter, written by Katharine of Arragon to her daughter, occurs without date of time or place, supposed to have been written at Bugden, 1533, about the middle of August:—

“ DAUGHTER,

“I heard such tidings this day, that I do perceive (if it be true) the time is very near when Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very glad of it; for I trust that he doth handle you with a good love. I beseech you agree to his pleasure with a merry [cheerful] heart, and be you sure that, without fail, *he* will not suffer you to perish if you be *aware to offend him*.¹ I pray God that you, good daughter, offer yourself to him. If any pangs come over you, shrive yourself; first make you clean, take heed of his commandments, and keep them as near as he will give you grace to do, for there are you sure armed. And if *this lady* do come to you, as it is spoken; if *she* do bring you a letter from the king, I am sure in the selfsame letter you will be commanded what to do. Answer with very few words, obeying the king your father in everything—save only that you will not offend God, and lose your soul, and go no further with learning and disputation in the matter. And wheresoever, and in whatsoever company, you shall come, obey the king's commandments, speak few words, and meddle nothing. I will send you two books in Latin; one shall be *De Vita Christi*, with the declarations of the gospels; and the other, the epistles of St. Jerome, that he did write to Paula and Eustochium, and in them, I trust, you will see good things. Sometimes, for your recreation, use your virginals or lute, if you have any. But one thing specially I desire you, for the love you owe to God and unto me—to keep your heart with a chaste mind, and your person from all ill and wanton company, not thinking or desiring of any husband, for Christ's passion; neither determine yourself to any manner of living, until this troublesome time be past. For I do make you sure you shall see a very good end, and better than you can desire. I would God, good daughter, that you did know with how good a heart I write this letter unto you. I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well that God loveth you. I beseech him, of his goodness, to continue it. I think it best *you keep your keys yourself*, for whosoever it is [that is, ‘whosoever keeps her keys’] shall be done as shall please them. And

¹ *Careful of offending him.*

now you shall begin, and by likelihood I shall follow. I set not a rush by it, for when they have done the utmost they can, then I am sure of amendment. I pray you recommend me unto my good lady of Salisbury, and pray her to have a good heart, for we never come to the kingdom of heaven but by troubles. Daughter, *wheresoever you come*, take no pain to send to me, for if I may, I will send to you.

“By your loving mother,

“KATHARINE THE QUEENE.”

Mary had been summoned by her father about this time to be present at the expected accouchement of Anne Boleyn, at Greenwich-palace,¹ a summons which was expected to precede her own degradation from royal rank, queen Katharine's letter was to prepare her daughter's mind for her trial of patience. Queen Katharine has evidently written under the pressure of conflicting feelings, but with the excitement of recently awakened hope of better days. She had privately heard of some great, but undeclared, benefit to her daughter, which she hints at to cheer her. Meantime, she expects that a lady is to summon Mary by a letter from the king, and that she is shortly to be introduced into trying scenes, where the divorce will be discussed and her opinion demanded. On these points she disinterestedly and generously exhorts her not to controvert her father's will. The queen expects her daughter to be surrounded by dissipated company, where temptations will sedulously be brought to assail her, against which she guards her. She likewise anticipates that enemies will be near her, and warns her to keep her own keys herself, dreading the surreptitious introduction of dangerous papers into her escritoire. Lady Salisbury is still Mary's protectress; but that venerable lady is in trouble, and looking darkly forward to the future.

Until some days subsequent to the birth of Elizabeth, Henry did not disinherit his eldest daughter, lest, if anything fatal had happened to queen Anne and her infant, he might have been left without legitimate offspring of any kind. It is very likely that the laws of England required then, as now, that the presumptive heir of the kingdom should be present at the expected birth of an heir-apparent to the crown. If Katharine of Arragon's letter be read with this light cast on it, the sense is clearly manifest. The good mother endeavoured to fortify her daughter's mind for the difficult situation in which she would find herself in the chamber of Anne Boleyn, at the birth of the rival heir. Then the beneficial change in Mary's prospects, hinted at by her mother, has reference to the recent decree of the pope (soon after made public), who, in July, 1533, had annulled the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne

¹ Pollino, *Istoria dell' Ecclesia*, p. 7, printed 1594.

Boleyn, and forbade them to live together under pain of excommunication—a sentence which likewise illegitimated their offspring, and confirmed Mary in her royal station. This sentence was published in September, as near as possible to the birth of Elizabeth, and secret intelligence of this measure had evidently been given to Katharine of Arragon when she wrote to Mary. She knew that the decision of Rome had previously settled all such controversies, and it was natural enough that she should expect the same result would take place.

It is very clearly to be gathered, from the continued narrative of our Italian authority, that Mary did not adhere to the temperate line of conduct her wise mother had prescribed for her. “She was present,” says Pollino, “assisting, with the relatives and friends of Anne Boleyn in the lying-in chamber when *Lisabetta* [Elizabeth] was born; and there she heard, among the ladies and persons of the court, such scandals relative to the conduct of the mother, as made her declare that ‘she was sure the infant was not her sister.’”

Mary, with the natural incautiousness of youth, had probably listened to some of the evil reports which queen Anne’s enemies were busily whispering on this occasion; and some among these malignant busy-bodies were only too happy to report to her inimical step-mother and the king any imprudent expression the unfortunate daughter of queen Katharine might have uttered in the excitement of the moment when the birth of the rival princess was announced, or even what she was suspected of feeling, though she had not given utterance to that most natural thought. Too often, indeed, the propensity to foment discord may be observed not only in courts, but in private life.

The situation of Mary, when called to court at such a crisis, must have been trying in the extreme, nor could the most sedulous caution have guided her through the difficulties which beset her path without incurring blame from one party or the other. There is, however, whatever the court gossips might say, the witness of her own letter that she never denied the name of sister to the new-born infant; for when she was required to give up the title of princess, and call Elizabeth by no other appellation, “Sister,” she said, “she would call the babe, but nothing more.” Her father threatened her: his threats were useless, and he proceeded to aggravate the case by declaring Mary’s new-born rival his heiress (in default of male issue), a dignity till then enjoyed by Mary. But neither threats nor deprivations had the least effect in bending the resolution of Mary. That her resistance did not spring from an exclusive devotion to her own interest, her subsequent concessions proved; but her love for her injured mother was an absorbing feeling, paramount to every other consideration while Katharine of Arragon lived. At leaving Greenwich, which she probably did with diminution

of dignity, as already disinherited, an extraordinary *emeute* took place, raised by mobs of women, and by no means of the lowest class. Merchants' wives, and those of other London citizens, surrounded her conveyance; vast crowds went before her and filled up the way; they were supposed to be instigated by their husbands. And they wept, and cried aloud now and then, calling to her, saying she was "Princess for all that!"¹

Before the end of September, the privy council sent orders to Mary, who had then returned to Beaulieu, that she was immediately to lay aside the name and dignity of princess; and, moreover, enjoined her to forbid her servants to address her as such, and to withdraw directly to Hertford-castle, where the nursery of her infant sister was about to be established. The king did not take any ostensible part in this message—conduct, however singular it may appear, which was perfectly consistent with the excessive love of approbation apparent in his character, even when he was performing acts of the utmost enormity. The important message, the effect of which was to deprive the eldest child of the English crown of her exalted situation, was delivered by her chamberlain Hussey;² it purported to be "the king's commandment." The princess was scarcely seventeen when this hard reverse of fortune befell her. She told Hussey "that she was not a little marvelled at his undertaking, in his single person, unauthorized by commission of council signed by the king, or by his majesty's private letters to her, such matter of high emprise as *minishing* from her state and dignity—she not doubting withal, that she was the king's true daughter, born in lawful matrimony; and unless she were advertised by letter, from the king's own hand, that his grace was so minded to diminish her state, name, and dignity (which she trusted he would never do), she should never believe the same."

Hussey withdrew to indite a narrative of the scene to his employers of the privy council. The only remarkable feature in his despatch is, that he invariably applied the titles of "grace" and "princess" to Mary, though addressing the very persons who had just deputed him to deprive her of those distinctions. Mary likewise forwarded a letter to the privy council, in which she sustained the high tone of a royal lady whose rights of succession were invaded illegally:—

"My lords, as touching my removal, I will obey his grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his grace may appoint me; but I protest before you, and all others present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take *any other* than myself for princess, or for the king's daughter born in lawful matrimony; and that I will never wittingly or willingly say or do aught, whereby any person might take occasion to

¹ French Ambassadors.

² Strype's Mems.

think that I agree to the contrary. Nor say I this out of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my judge.”¹

The controversy was followed by the king’s order, that Mary should remove instantly to Hertford-castle. In this exigence Mary wrote thus to her father:—

THE LADY MARY TO THE KING.

“In most humble wise I beseech your grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth the same to be advertised, that this morning my chamberlain came and showed me that he had received a letter from Sir William Paulet, comptroller of your household; the effect whereof was, that I should, with all diligence, remove to the castle of Hertford. Whereupon I desired him to see that letter, which he showed me, wherein was written that ‘the lady Mary, the king’s daughter, should remove to the place aforesaid’—leaving out in the same the name of princess. Which, when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily that your grace was not privy to the same letter, as concerning the leaving out of the name of princess, forasmuch as I doubt not that your grace doth take me for your lawful daughter, born in true matrimony. Wherefore, if I were to say to the contrary, I should in my conscience run into the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly that your grace would not that I should do.

“And in all other things your grace shall have me, always, as humble and obedient daughter and handmaid as ever was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to, as knoweth our Lord, who have your grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour and long life to his pleasure. —From your manor of Beaulieu, October 2.

“By your most humble daughter,

“MARY, *Princess.*”

The king took decided measures to dissolve the household of his daughter at Beaulieu, by sending the duke of Norfolk, assisted by Lord Marney, the earl of Oxford, and his almoner, bishop Fox, “to deal with her,” while the duke of Suffolk and others of the council were breaking up her mother’s establishment at Bugden. In the midst of these troubles, Mary’s cousin-german, James V., solicited her hand; but his suit was refused peremptorily, lest such marriage should interfere with the title of Anne Boleyn’s issue. The degradation of the princess Mary was rendered legal in the beginning of 1534, when the houses of parliament passed an act, settling the crown on the king’s heirs by queen Anne, whether male or female. Mary’s household at Beaulieu—a princely establishment, consisting of no less than one hundred and sixty individuals—was finally dismissed and dispersed. The unfortunate princess

¹ Heylin.

was severed from those, to whose society she had been accustomed during her childhood; worst of all, she was torn from her venerable relative, Margaret countess of Salisbury, by whose arms she had been encircled in the first days of her existence. When separated from this maternal friend, she was transferred not to Hertford but Hunsdon, where the infant Elizabeth was established, with a magnificent household befitting the rank of which Mary had just been deprived. In this residence Mary was located, more like a bondmaiden than a sister of the acknowledged heiress of the realm.

To Hunsdon, the former seat of the Boleyns, had Anne sent her infant with royal pomp: nor was she satisfied unless the fallen princess drew hourly comparisons between her lot, and that of the sister who had supplanted her. A fearful thing it was thus to tempt the heart of a fellow-creature, by aggravating grief into passionate anger through the infliction of gratuitous injury. But the heart of Mary was as yet unscathed by the corrosion of hatred; every object of her strong affections was not then destroyed, though they were removed, and ample proof remains that, instead of detesting or injuring her rival sister, she amused her sorrows with the playful wiles of the infant. This result probably originated in the fact, that queen Anne Boleyn, choosing that—as far as she could command—the former attendants of Mary should wait on Elizabeth, had appointed lady Margaret Bryan as her governess: whatever others might do, it is certain that excellent lady did all in her power to soothe the wounded mind of her former charge, and promote her kindly feelings to her infant sister. The insults heaped by Anne Boleyn, at this crisis, on the unfortunate Mary, weighed heavily on her conscience when she was making up her accounts with eternity. What these repented malefactions were, rests between God and herself, for no specific detail of them exists.

In a mutilated letter¹ from Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the king's household, to Cromwell, is an account of a search made in the coffers of Mary at Hunsdon, which were sealed up; various papers were seized, put into a bag, and sent to Cromwell, together with a purse of purple velvet containing some writing—perhaps the very letter from her mother quoted above. Several persons were at the same time committed to the Tower on the charge of holding private intercourse with the lady Mary, and styling her “princess,” after the prohibition issued against it: among these was lady Hussey, to whom interrogations were put, as “How often she had repaired to the lady Mary since she had lost the name of princess? Whether she was sent for, and on what occasion she went? Whether she knew that the lady Mary was justly declared by law to be no princess, and yet had so called her? What moved her so to do?”

¹ Sir Frederick Madden's *Privy-purse Expenses of Mary*.

Whether she had received any tokens or messages from the lady Mary; and what persons, at that time, visited her at Hunsdon?" The replies are short and unequivocal—the language of one who felt she had done nothing wrong, yet was sensible of the danger incurred. She stated, "She had visited the lady Mary only once since the king had discharged her from Beaulieu, and that was when lord Hussey came up to parliament at the last Whitsuntide, and the visit then was altogether accidental." She owned "she had inadvertently called the lady Mary twice by the title of princess, not from any wish to disobey the law, but simply from her having been so long accustomed to it." She confessed having received a trifling present from the lady Mary. Among the persons who visited the disinherited princess at Hunsdon, she deposed, was lord Morley. He was the literary friend whose testimony to Mary's early attainments has been already quoted, and who, to the honour of literature, did not forsake the unfortunate, notwithstanding. He was grandson by legitimate descent from Edward IV.'s sister Anne, and was second cousin to the king. Lady Morley, Mr. Shakerley and his wife, and Sir Edward Baynton, were likewise among Mary's visitors. "The poor princess," says Heylin, "had at Hunsdon no comfort but in her books;" she was assisted in her studies by Dr. Voisie, whom Henry VIII. rewarded, for the pains he took, with the bishopric of Exeter. This passage leads to the supposition that Dr. Featherstone (who had been employed in Mary's education since her infancy) had been dismissed. A recent historian is shocked at her "voracity," because her breakfast and suppers, with *meat*, had to be allowed for in the young Elizabeth's compotus, at the enormous sum of 25*l.* per annum. But Mary, although not heiress of the realm, did not make her own beds, or her own gowns, or wash her linen. She still had to feed a few maids and a groom, and a tailor or two, all *carnivora*. Her gentle sire's *bouche* of court, as we have shown, specifies even for the maids of honour that the chine and ale allowed for these delicate damsels' breakfast were to go in reversion to their maids and men, and to their lap-dogs. Meat for breakfast! yea, surely our worthy contemporary does not suppose she ought to have gone without until tea and toast were provided?

If Mary when at Hunsdon was allowed to read, she certainly was not permitted to write, as afterwards she apologizes for "her evil writing because she had not written a letter for two years." Her father muttered murderous threats against her, and his words were eagerly caught and re-echoed by those members of his council whose whole study it was to flatter his wilful wishes, however wicked they might be. If the expressions of king Henry had not been appalling to the last degree, would Fitzwilliam have dared to use the revolting terms he did regarding his master's once-idolized daughter? "If she will not be obedient to his grace, I would," quoth he, "that her head was from her shoulders,

that I might toss it here with my foot," and "so put his foot forward, spurning the rushes,"¹ a graphic exemplification, added by two witnesses of this horrible speech, which it seems was not resented, but received as a dutiful compliment by the father of the young female, whose head was thus kicked as a football in the lively imagination of the obedient satellite!

Dark indeed were the anticipations throughout Europe regarding the future destiny, not only of the unfortunate daughter, but of the queen her mother, during the year 1535. The king's envoys wrote home, that all men viewed them, as Englishmen, with either pity or horror. Mason, who was resident in Spain, declared "that the people expected to hear every day of the execution of queen Katharine, and that the princess Mary was expected soon to follow her."² These rumours are vaguely stated in general history; only one author, and he a foreigner, attempts to relate the particular circumstances which instigated Henry VIII. to meditate the astounding crime of filicide. Gregorio Leti affirms that some fortune-teller had predicted the accession of the princess Mary to the crown after the death of her father. This report was quickly brought to queen Anne Boleyn, and threw her into great agitation. She flew to the king, and with tears and sobs told him "how much afflicted she was at the thought that their child should be excluded from the throne for the sake of Mary, who was the offspring of a marriage solemnly pronounced illegal." Henry embraced her with all the tenderness possible, and, to assuage her tears, "promised not only to disinheret Mary, but even to kill her, rather than such a result should happen." Historians declare that Cranmer prevented the king from immolating his daughter; if so, this must have been the crisis. To the princess, the matter of her life or death was perhaps of little moment, for grief had reduced her to the most dolorous state of illness. Her mother was on her death-bed, desiring with a yearning heart, but with words of saintly meekness, to be permitted, if not to see her, merely to breathe the same air with her afflicted daughter. She promises, solemnly, "that if Mary may be resident near her, she will not attempt to see her, if forbidden." She adds, that such measure was "impossible, since she lacked provision *therefor*;" meaning, she had neither horse nor carriage to go out. Yet she begs the king may be always told, that the thing she most desires is the company of her daughter, "for a little comfort and mirth she would take with me, should undoubtedly be a half health unto her."³ Doleful would have been the mirth, and heart-rending the comfort, had such interview been permitted between the sick daughter and the dying mother; but it formed no item in the list of Henry's tender mercies.

¹ State Papers, edited by Sir Frederick Madden.

² Ellis's Letters.

³ Hearne's Sylloge, p. 107.

The emperor Charles V. remonstrated sternly on the treatment of his aunt and young kinswoman, and the whole ingenuity of the privy council was exerted to hammer out words in reply. "Our daughter, the lady Mary, we do order and entertain as we think expedient. We think it not meet that any person should prescribe unto us how we should order our *own* daughter, we being her natural father." The rumour at the imperial court is indignantly denied "that it was the king's intention to marry Mary to some person of base blood."

The death of Mary's tender and devoted mother opened the next year with a dismal aggravation of her bitter lot. The sad satisfaction of a last adieu between the dying queen and her only child was cruelly forbidden. Mary was informed of the tidings of her mother's expected dissolution, and with agonizing tears and plaints implored permission to receive her last blessing;¹ but in vain, for Katharine of Arragon expired without seeing her daughter. Again the continent rang with reprobation of such proceedings. The English resident at Venice wrote to Thomas Starkey, a learned divine at Henry's court, February 5, 1536, "that queen Katharine's death had been divulged there, and was received with lamentations, for she was incredibly dear to all men for her good fame, which is in great glory among all *exterior* nations." He concludes, in Latin, "Great obloquy has her death occasioned; all dread lest the royal girl should briefly follow her mother. I assure you, men speaketh here *tragice* of these matters, which are not to be touched by letters."

Happy would it have been for Mary, happy for her country, if her troublous pilgrimage had closed, even tragically, before she had been made the ostensible instrument of wrong and cruelty unutterable to conscientious Protestants!

CHAPTER II.

At the very time when all Europe anticipated the destruction of the princess Mary, a change took place in the current of events. Her father's male heir by Anne Boleyn was still-born, and indications were soon perceptible that Anne herself had lost Henry's capricious favour; her fall and condemnation followed with rapidity.

The wrongs inflicted on Mary proved to be the chief weight on the conscience of Anne Boleyn; for, the day before her tragical death, after placing lady Kingston in the royal seat as the representative of Mary, she fell on her knees before her, and implored her to go to Hunsdoun, and in the same attitude to ask, in her name, pardon of the princess for all

¹ Cardinal Pole's Letters.

the wrongs she had heaped upon her while in possession of a step-dame's authority. Lady Kingston had been in the service of Katharine, and she was afterwards in that of the princess. Anne Boleyn evidently spoke to her as one of Mary's best friends.

Although the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, in her passionate repentance took upon herself the blame of the ill-treatment her step-daughter had experienced, yet it is an evident truth that she was not the sole instrument in the persecution, since, two months after she had lost all power, the cruel system of restraint and deprivation continued to afflict Mary at Hunsdon. But this was artfully relaxed directly Anne Boleyn was put to death, in order that the princess might lay the whole blame of her sufferings on the unhappy queen. Meantime, some kind of friendly acquaintance had previously subsisted between the princess Mary and the new queen, Jane Seymour, but when this originated is one of the obscure passages in the lives of both, which no ray has as yet illuminated. Be that as it may, Mary was encouraged to commence the following correspondence, in the hopes that her new mother-in-law was favourably disposed to her reconciliation with her father. The event proved that, notwithstanding all fair seeming, there was no restoration to Henry's good graces but by her utter abandonment of her place in the succession—a result which Mary had, even while Anne Boleyn held the ascendant, hitherto successfully avoided. The first letter of this series¹ was addressed to Cromwell, at the very time when lady Kingston had arrived at Hunsdon to deliver the dying confession of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Mary, according to her own words at the conclusion, took advantage of lady Kingston's presence to obtain writing materials, of which she had been long deprived. The letter is dated only one week after the execution of Anne Boleyn.

LADY MARY TO CROMWELL.

“MASTER SECRETARY,

“I would have been a suitor to you before this time, to have been a means for me to the king's grace, my father, to have obtained his grace's blessing and favour, but I perceived that nobody durst speak for me as *long as that woman lived* which is now gone (whom I pray God of his mercy to forgive). Wherefore, now she *is* gone, I am bolder to write to you, as one which taketh you for one of my chief friends. And therefore I desire you for the love of God to be a suitor to me of the king's grace, to have his blessing and licence [leave] to write unto his grace, which shall be of great comfort to me, as God knoweth, who have you evermore in his holy keeping. Moreover, I must desire you to accept mine evil writing, *for I have not done so much for this two years or more,*

¹ Hearne's Sylloge.

nor could have had the means to do it at this time, but my lady Kingston's being here.—At Hunsdon, 26th of May.

“By your loving friend,

“MARY.”

An intimation followed this epistle, that the king permitted his daughter to write to him ; and she accordingly penned a letter, chiefly compounded of supplicating sentences. Mary soon after wrote a second, in which she ventured to congratulate him and Jane Seymour on their marriage :—

“In the lowest manner that I can, I beseech your grace to accept me your humble daughter, who doth not a little rejoice to hear the comfortable tidings (not only to me, but to all your grace's realm) concerning the marriage which is between your grace and the queen [Jane Seymour], now being your grace's wife and my mother-in-law. The hearing thereof caused nature to constrain me to be an humble suitor to your grace, to be so good and gracious lord and father to me as to give me leave to wait upon the queen, and to do her grace such service as shall please her to command me, which my heart shall be as ready and obedient to fulfil (next unto your grace) as the most humble servant that she hath. Trusting to your grace's mercy to come into your presence, which ever hath and ever shall be the greatest comfort that I can have within this world, having also a full hope in your grace's natural pity, which you have always used as much, or more, than any prince christened, that your grace will show the same upon me, your most humble and obedient daughter, which daily prayeth to God to have your grace in his holy keeping, with long life and as much honour as ever had king ; and to send your grace shortly a prince, whereof no creature living shall more rejoice or heartilier pray for continually than I, as my duty bindeth me. —From Hunsdon, the 1st day of June (1536).

“By your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and handmaid,

“MARY.”

Another letter to Cromwell, dated the 30th of May, thanks him for having obtained leave of writing to her father, and praying him “to continue his good offices till it may please his grace to permit her approach to his presence, but this favour was not granted till after a compliance was extorted from the princess to sign the cruel articles which stigmatised her own birth and her mother's marriage with as many opprobrious terms as Henry and his satellites chose to dictate.

LADY MARY TO KING HENRY VIII.

“In as humble and lowly a manner as is possible for me, I beseech your most gracious highness of your daily blessing ; and albeit I have

already, as I trust in God, upon mine humble suit and submission, requiring mercy and forgiveness for mine offences to your majesty, obtained the same with licence to write unto you, whereby I have also conceived great hope and confidence that your grace of your inestimable goodness will likewise forgive me my said offences, and withdraw your displeasure conceived upon the same; yet shall my joy never return perfectly to me, *ne* my hope be satisfied, until such time as it may please your grace sensibly to express your gracious forgiveness to me, or such towardness thereof, and of the reconciliation of your favour by your most gracious letters, or some token or message as I may conceive a perfect trust that I shall not only receive my most hearty and fervent desire therein, but for a confirmation thereof *penetrate an access to your presence*, which shall, of all worldly things, be to me most joyous and comfortable, for that in the same I shall have the fruition of your most noble presence most heartily (as my duty requireth) desired.

"I do most heartily beseech your grace to pardon me, though I presume thus to molest your gracious ears with my suits and rude writing, for nature hath had its operation in the same. Eftsoons, therefore, most humbly prostrate before your noble feet, your most obedient subject and humble child, that hath not only repented her offences hitherto, but also desired simply from henceforth and wholly (next to Almighty God) to put my state, continuance, and living in your gracious mercy; and likewise to accept the condition thereof at your disposition and appointment, whatsoever it shall be, desiring your majesty to have pity on me in the granting of mine humble suits and desires, who shall continually pray to Almighty God (as I am most bounden) to preserve your grace, with the queen, and shortly to send you a prince, which shall be gladder tidings to me than I can express in writing.—From Hunsdon, the 10th of June.

"Your majesty's most humble and obedient servant, daughter, and handmaid,

"MARY."

Her third letter to her father, written June 10, remaining unanswered, Mary wrote another to Cromwell, containing this remarkable sentence, "that she took him for her chief friend next to God and the *queen*." So few days had elapsed since Jane Seymour had become queen, that this expression assuredly implies that some friendly communication must have passed between the princess Mary and her previously to the death of Anne Boleyn. The poor princess, ill in body and harassed in mind, wrote thus to Cromwell three days afterwards on his urging lower submission:—

"Nevertheless, because you have exhorted me to write to his grace again, and I cannot devise what I should write more but your own *last*

copy, without adding or *minishing*, therefore do I send you, by my servant, the same word for word; and it is unsealed, because I cannot endure to write another copy, for the pain in my head and my teeth hath troubled me so sore this two or three days, and doth yet so continue, that I have very small rest day or night."

Mary was at this time in deep mourning for her beloved mother. The imperial ambassador visited her during the month of June, 1536, and expressed surprise at the heaviness of her apparel; his errand was to advise her to obey her father unconditionally. She thanked him for his good counsel, and told him she had written to her father.¹ Eustachio, who had attended her mother's death-bed, probably delivered some message from the dying queen relative to the expediency of Mary's submission, but she had still a struggle before she could bring herself to compliance. The ambassador, alluding to her letters in Latin or Spanish, expressed his surprise at her learning, and asked her if she was unaided in the composition, which the princess acknowledged was the case. The observation of the Spanish ambassador on her dress was followed by an official visit from the brother of the new queen Jane, Edward Seymour, lately created lord Beauchamp, and appointed lord chamberlain for life. He required her to send in a list of the clothing she needed; and added the welcome present of a riding-horse, which benefits Mary thus acknowledged:—

"I have made no list, for the king's highness's favour is so good clothing unto me, that I can desire no more. And so I have written to his grace, resting wholly in him, and willing to wear whatever his grace shall appoint me. My lord, I do thank you with all my heart for the horse that you sent me with this bearer, wherein you have done me a great pleasure, for I had never a one to ride upon sometimes for my health; and besides that, my servant sheweth me that he is such a one, that I may, of good right, accept not only the mind of the giver, but also the gift. And thus I commit you to God, to whom I do and shall daily pray to be with you in all your business, and to reward you for so exceeding great pains and labours that you take in my suits.—From Hunsdon, the 1st day of July."

Notwithstanding these signs of restoration to his paternal favour, the king had not condescended to notice the letters of the princess till July 8, when she *copied* from Cromwell's composition the following submission:—

LADY MARY TO THE KING.

"My bounden duty most humbly remembered, with like desire of your daily blessing, and semblable thanks upon my knees to your

¹ MS. Cottonian, edited by Sir F. Madden

majesty, both for your great mercy lately extended unto me, and for the certain arguments of a perfect reconciliation, which of your most abundant goodness I have since perceived. Whereas, upon mine inward and hearty suit and desire that it would please your highness to grant me licence some time to send my servant to know your grace's health and prosperity (which I beseech our Lord long to preserve, being the thing that is in this world my only comfort), to my great joy and satisfaction I obtained the same. I have now (to use the benefit of that especial grace) sent this bearer, mine old servant Randal Dod, in lieu of a token, to present unto your majesty these my rude letters (written with the hand of her whom your highness shall ever find true, faithful, and obedient to you and yours, as far as your majesty and your laws have and shall limit me, without alteration until the hour of my death), and so to bring me again relation of your prosperous estate. Most humbly beseeching your highness, in case I be over hasty in sending so soon, to pardon me, and to think that I would a thousand-fold more gladly be there in the room of a poor chamberer, to have the fruition of your presence, than in the course of nature planted in this your most noble realm."

If this last sentence has any meaning, it is that Mary would rather be a domestic servant near her father during his life, than heiress to his realm after his death; she concludes—

"And thus I beseech our Lord to preserve your grace in health, with my very natural mother the queen [Jane], and to send you shortly issue, which I shall as gladly and willingly serve with my hands under their feet, as ever did poor subject their most gracious sovereign.—From Hunsdon, the 8th of July (1536).

"Your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and bondmaiden,
"MARY."

Henry VIII. knew that his daughter Mary was regarded in secret with deep affection by a great majority of his subjects, who acknowledged in their hearts (notwithstanding all acts of parliament) that she was, in her present position, heiress to the crown, and he remained in a furious state of irritation till he had obtained an acknowledgment under her own hand of her illegitimacy. Since the death of Anne Boleyn, an act of parliament had passed which not only illegitimated the infant Elizabeth equally with Mary, but changed the constitution of the succession to more than eastern despotism, by enabling the king, in default of heirs by queen Jane Seymour, to leave his dominions, like personal property, money, plate, or furniture, to whomsoever he chose to bequeath them. It has been surmised that the king, by placing his daughters on the same footing with his natural son, Henry duke of Richmond, meant to use this privilege in his behalf. Fortunately for

himself and the kingdom, this youth was removed by death within a little time after passing this iniquitous act. Richmond died at Collewiston, the seat of Margaret Beaufort, which his father had given him.

Mary promised unconditional submission to all the king required, consistent with what she considered the laws of God. The king sent down a deputation of his privy council to apply the cruel test of her obedience, the principal articles of which were, the acknowledgment that her mother's marriage was incestuous and illegal, her own birth illegitimate, and the king's supremacy over the church absolute. It will scarcely excite wonder that Mary demurred at signing these bitter requisitions. She did not think them consistent with her principles, and the council departed without their errand. As soon as they had departed, Mary wrote to Cromwell a letter expressive of uneasiness of mind, which drew from him an insolent reply:—

“MADAM,

“I have received your letter, whereby it appeareth you be in great discomfort, and do desire that I should find the means to speak with you. How great soever your discomfort is, it can be no greater than mine, who hath, upon [the receipt] of your letters, spoken so much of your repentance for your wilful obstinacy against the king's highness, and of your humble submission in all things, without exception or qualification, to obey his pleasure and laws, and knowing how *diversly* [differently] *and contrarily* you proceeded at the late being of his majesty's council with you, I am as much ashamed of what I have said, as afraid of what I have done, insomuch as what the sequel thereof shall be, God knoweth.

“Thus with your folly you undo yourself, and all who have wished you good; and I will say unto you, as I have said elsewhere, that it were a great pity ye be not made an example in punishment, if ye will make yourself an example of contempt of God, your natural father, and his laws by your own only fantasy, contrary to the judgments and determination of all men, that ye must confess to know and love God as much as you do, except ye will show yourself altogether presumptuous. Wherefore, madam, to be plain with you, as God is my witness, I think you the most obstinate and obdurate woman, all things considered, that ever was, and one that is so persevering deserveth the extremity of mischief.

“I dare not open my lips to name you, unless I may have some ground that it may appear you were *mis-taken* [meaning, evidently, misunderstood], or at least repentant for your ingratitude and miserable unkindness and ready to do all things that ye be bound unto by your duty and allegiance (if nature were excluded from you) in degree with every other common subject. And therefore I have sent you a certain

book of articles, whereunto if you will set your hand and subscribe your name you shall undoubtedly please God, the same being conformable to his truth, as you must conceive in your heart if you do not dissemble. Upon the receipt whereof again from you, with a letter declaring that you think in heart what you have subscribed with hand, I shall eftsoons venture to speak for your reconciliation. But if you will not with speed leave off all your sinister counsels, which have brought you to the point of utter undoing without remedy, I take my leave of you for ever, and desire that you will never write or make means to me hereafter, for I shall never think otherwise of you than as the most ungrateful person to your *dear and benign father*."

The overbearing style of this epistle effected the end for which Cromwell had laboured so long, and terrified Mary into signing the articles she had previously rejected. The young princess has been universally accused of meanness because she yielded to these threats and reproaches, and signed the articles mentioned in this letter; but those who blame her can scarcely have dispassionately examined the whole circumstances of the case. While her mother lived, she was utterly inflexible; neither bribes nor the deadliest menaces could shake her firmness into the slightest admission which could compromise that beloved mother's honour. As to her own individual interest, it either remained the same as in her mother's lifetime, or approximated nearer to the crown since the death of Anne Boleyn's son, and the degradation of her sister Elizabeth; therefore it is vain to attribute her renunciation of her rights to any cause, except a yearning desire to be once more enfolded in a parental embrace. *She* was gone whose noble mind would have been pained by her daughter's voluntary degradation, and Mary had no one left but herself who could be injured by her compliance. Henry had been used to caress his daughter fondly when domesticated with her; there is no testimony that he ever used, personally, an angry word to her; she loved him tenderly, and, with natural self-deception, attributed all the evil wrought against her mother and herself to the machinations of Anne Boleyn. She probably thought, if she were restored to the society of the king, instead of lingering her life away in the nursery prison at Hunsdon, she should regain her former interest in his heart—and she signed the prescribed articles, excepting that which stigmatized her own birth as incestuous.¹

Wriothesley was the person who brought the rejected articles for Mary's reconsideration; he had authority to promise, in case of compliance, that her household should be re-established, with every consideration to her comfort. He likewise brought express orders that Mary should no longer call Elizabeth princess, but sister; an injunction

¹ Heylin. Collier.

which Mary, in her next letter, alluded to with some reference to past disputes concerning the title of princess, but, at the same time, with sisterly kindness to the motherless infant.

LADY MARY TO CROMWELL.

“Good Mr. Secretary, how much am I bound to you, which have not only travailed, when I was almost drowned in folly, to recover me before I sunk and was utterly past recovery, and so to present me to the face of grace and mercy, but desisteth not since with your good and wholesome counsels so to arm me from any relapse, that I cannot, unless I were too wilful and obstinate (whereof there is now no spark in me), fall again into any danger. But leaving the recital of your goodness apart—which I cannot recount—I answer the particulars of your credence sent by my friend Mr. Wriothesley. First, concerning the *princess* (Elizabeth), so I think I must call her yet, for I would be loath to offend, I offered, at her entry to that name and honour, to call her sister; but it was refused, unless I would add the other title unto it, which I denied then, not more obstinately than I am sorry for it now, for that I did therein offend my most gracious father and his just laws. And, now you think it meet, *I shall never call her by any other name than sister.*

“Mr. Secretary, what men or women soever the king’s highness shall appoint to wait upon me, without exception shall be to me right heartily welcome. Albeit, to express my mind to you, whom I think worthy to be accepted for their faithful service done to the king’s majesty and to me since they have come into my company, I promise you, on my faith, Margaret Baynton and Susanna Clarencieux have, in every condition, used themselves as faithfully, painfully and diligently as ever did women in such a case; as sorry when I was not so conformable as became me, and as glad when I inclined to duty as could be devised. One other there is that was some time my maid, whom for her virtue I love and could be glad to have in my company, that is Mary Brown, and here be all that I will recommend; and yet my estimation of this shall be measured at the king’s highness my most merciful father’s pleasure and appointment, as reason is.

“For mine opinion touching pilgrimages, purgatory, relics, and such like, I assure you I have none at all but such as I shall receive from him who hath mine whole heart in his keeping, that is, the king’s most gracious highness, my most benign father, who shall imprint in the same, touching these matters and all other, what his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning shall think convenient and limit unto me. To whose presence, I pray God I may come once ere I die, for every day is a year till I have a fruition of it. Beseeching you, good Mr. Secretary, to continue mine humble suit for the same, and for all

other things, whatsoever they be, to repute my heart so firmly knit to his pleasure, that I can by no means vary from the direction and appointment of the same. And thus most heartily fare you well.—From Hunsdon, this Friday, at ten o'clock of the night.

“Your assured loving friend,

“MARY.”

The continued discussions as to the right of the daughters of Henry VIII. to the title of princess, lead to the conviction that, at this era, that distinction was only bestowed on the heiress-presumptive to the crown of England, or, at the very utmost, to the eldest daughter of the sovereign, though it is doubtful whether she ever possessed it during the existence of brothers.

At the same time that Mary wrote the above remarkable letter, she addressed the following to her father:—

LADY MARY TO THE KING.

“My bounden duty most humbly remembered to your most excellent majesty. Whereas I am unable and insufficient to render and express to your highness those most hearty and humble thanks for your gracious mercy and fatherly pity (surmounting mine offences at this time) extended towards me, I shall lie prostrate at your noble feet humbly, and with the very bottom of my heart beseech your grace to repute that in me (which in my poor heart, remaining in your most noble hand, I have conceived and professed towards your grace) whiles the breath shall remain in my body. That is, that as I am in such merciful sort recovered, being almost lost in mine own folly, that your majesty may as well accept me, justly your bounden slave by redemption, as your most humble and obedient child and subject.

“My sister Elizabeth is in good health (thanks to our Lord), and such a child toward, as I doubt not but your highness shall have cause to rejoice of in time coming (as knoweth Almighty God), who send your grace, with the queen my good mother, health, with the accomplishment of your desires.—From Hunsdon, the 21st day of July.

“Your highness’s most humble daughter and faithful subject,

“MARY.”

The opening phrases are couched in the species of formula prescribed to Mary from the commencement of the correspondence, in which the most servile terms of verbal prostration are studied. But the letter ends in a manner that will startle many a preconceived idea of the disposition of Mary, in the minds of readers who are willing to be guided by facts, not invective. Thus did Mary answer the agonized cry for forgiveness from the dying Anne Boleyn, by venturing a word in season

in behalf of her forlorn little one. Even this generous trait has been inveighed against, as an act of mean flattery¹ to the parental pride of Henry, and had it happened during the prosperity of Elizabeth, so it might have been considered. But far from feeling any pride as the father of Elizabeth, Henry had just disowned her as a princess of his line, and horrid doubts had been murmured that she was the child of Lord Rochford, her mother's brother, and was not worthy even to be ranked as the king's illegitimate daughter. A bold step of sisterly affection it was on the part of Mary to mention the early promise of the little Elizabeth, as she does in this letter, in terms calculated to awaken paternal interest in the bosom of her father.

Nothing now prevented the settlement of Mary's household. It was effected on a scale of the lowest parsimony, when compared to the extravagant outlay of her annual expenditure as an infant, and when she kept her court at Ludlow-castle; yet she expressed herself cheerfully and gratefully to Wriothesley in a letter, she premising that he was the fourth man to whom she had ever written. It was to commend to his kindness Anthony Roke, as her deceased mother's faithful servant:—

“MR. WRIOTHESLEY.

“I have received your letters by this bearer, which compel me to do that thing that I never did to any man, except the king's highness, my lord privy-seal, and once to my lord *Bechame* [Beauchamp, Edward Seymour]; that is to say, write to you, to give you thanks for your great goodness and gentleness, besides all other times, now showed to me, as well as sending this messenger for my quietness as in entertaining my servant, Randal Dod. Furthermore, there is another, who, as I hear say, also is much beholden to you, that is Anthony Roke, for although he be not my servant, *he was my mother's*, and is an honest man, as I think; I do love him well, and would do him good. Sir, besides all these things, I think myself much beholden to you for remembering my cook, whom (I think plainly) I have obtained much sooner by your good means, for as I take you to be my second *suitor*,² as God knoweth, who help you in all your business.—From Hunsdon, this Thursday, at nine of the clock (morning).

“Your friend to my power, during my life,

“MARY.”

Mary, at the conclusion of these painful trials, was settled in some degree of peace and comfort with her little sister Elizabeth, at Hunsdon. The persons nominated to attend her at this time continued in her service the principal part of her life; these were, four gentlewomen,

¹ Mary, Encyclopædia Britannica.

² This expression may be mistaken by those who are not familiar with ancient phrase-

ology: it *merely* means that she *takes him* to be her friendly advocate with the king, next in influence to Cromwell or queen Jane.

four gentlemen, two chamberers, a physician, a chaplain, five yeomen, four grooms of the chamber, one footman, four grooms of the stable, a laundress, and a wood-hewer. Her mother, queen Katharine, had, at the hour of her death, but three maids, as appears by her last letter to her husband : two of these were anxious to enter Mary's service—one of them, Elizabeth Harvey, applied to the council for permission, but was refused by the king ; the other, Elizabeth Darell, to whom queen Katharine had left 300 marks, had said "she saw no hope of lady Mary yielding to the king's requisitions, and therefore petitioned for a situation in the service of queen Jane Seymour."

In the midst of all her degradations Mary was regarded with the utmost sympathy by her country ; poets offered her their homage, and celebrated the beauty of her person at a time when no possible benefit could accrue to any one by flattering her. John Heywood, one of the earliest dramatists of England, wrote the following stanzas in her praise, occurring in a poem of considerable length, entitled *A Description of a most noble Lady, ad-viewed by John Heywood* :—

"Give place, ye ladies ! all begone—
 Give place in bower and hall ;
 For why ?—behold here cometh one
 Who doth surpass ye all.
 The virtue of her looks
 Excels the precious stones ;
 Ye need none other books
 To read or look upon.
 If the world were sought full far,
 Who could find such a wight ?
 Her beauty shineth like a star
 Within the frosty night.
 Her colour comes and goes
 With such a goodly grace,
 More ruddy than the rose
 Within her lovely face.
 Nature hath lost the mould
 Whence she her form did take,
 Or else I doubt that nature could
 So fair a creature make.
 In life a Dian chaste,
 In truth Penelope,
 In word and deed steadfast—
 What need I more to say ?"

Mary was her own mistress, and had the command of her own time after the establishment of her household, though, doubtless, she looked up to the excellent lady Margaret Bryan as her guide and protectress, who continued in the office of governess to her little sister, Elizabeth, with whom she kept house jointly for three years to a certainty. The manner in which Mary passed her time there, and her course of daily studies, nearly coincided with the rules laid down for her by Vives, her

mother's learned friend. She commenced the day with the perusal of the Scriptures; she then spent some hours in the study of languages, and devoted a third portion to the acquirement of knowledge of an extraordinary kind, considering her sex and station. Crispin, lord of Milherve, who was resident in England in the year 1536, and was author of a chronicle, has declared therein that the princess Mary studied astronomy, geography, natural philosophy, and the mathematics; and read the orators, the historians, and the poets of Greece and Rome in their native languages. She used to read over with her chaplain the daily service; she finished the day by working with her needle, and playing on the lute, the virginals, or the regals—three instruments on which she excelled. Latin she wrote and spoke with ease; it was the medium of communication with all the learned of that day, not only on scientific subjects, but as a universal language, in which the ecclesiastics and the leading characters of all nations were able to confer. She likewise spoke and wrote in French and Spanish; she was well acquainted with Italian, but did not venture to converse in it. In music she particularly excelled for the rapidity of her touch on the manichord and lute.¹ Mr. Paston was paid as her teacher on the virginals, and Philip Van Wilder, of the king's privy-chamber, as her instructor on the lute: the expense of such instruction appears to have been as high as 40s. per month. In the autumn, notwithstanding the disinheriting statutes lately passed, overtures were renewed for the marriage of Mary with Henry duke of Orleans. She had, perhaps, a pre-occupied heart; for one of the letters of Beccatelli to his friend, Reginald Pole, December, 1536, speaks of the reports current from England, "that it was the general opinion that the princess Mary would one day marry him, because of the love she had borne him from her infancy." Lord Morley, the near kinsman of both, dedicated one of his translations from Erasmus to her; and, speaking of the change which had recently taken place in her station, he exclaims—"O noble and virtuous king's daughter! how is it that those of our time be so blinded? I can think no other but that the end of the world hasteth apace." He beseeches her to help correct his work, where he has by any means erred in the translation.

Notwithstanding the concessions made by the princess, no trace can be found of her admission to her father's presence before the Christmas of 1536. From this time the diary of her privy-purse expensæ commences, forming a species of journal of her life, in most instances to her credit, excepting items of high play at cards and a general propensity to betting and gambling, which will excite surprise. In this examination of the private life of a princess now so exceedingly detested by her country, a vigilant scrutiny has been kept in quest of the evil traits with which even the private character of the unfortunate Mary has been

¹ Michele, Italian MS., Lansdowne Collection.

branded. These records speak only of affection to her little sister, kindness to her dependants, feminine accomplishments, delicate health, generosity to her godchildren (many of whom were orphans dependent on her alms), fondness for birds; very little hunting or hawking is mentioned, and no bear-baiting. Her time seems, indeed, to have passed most blamelessly, if the gaming propensities above mentioned may be considered rather faults of the court when she visited it, than faults of hers. It is certain Henry VIII. was one of the most inveterate gamblers that ever wore a crown. No doubt the royal example was followed by his courtiers, for very high play at the Christmas festival must have taken place at the court of queen Jane Seymour, if the losings of the princess Mary are calculated according to the relative value of money.

The visit of the princess Mary at the royal palace of Richmond commenced December 9, 1536.¹ How the long-estranged father and daughter met no pen has chronicled, but it is evident she regained, when once admitted to his presence, a large share of his former affections, tokens of which were shown by presents and New-year's gifts. The king presented her with a bordering for a dress, of goldsmiths' work, perhaps some rich ornament belonging to her mother: it was not new, for she paid to a goldsmith 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* for lengthening the borders, adding, in her own hand, "that the king's grace had given it to her." Likewise she noted payment to the goldsmith, "for coming to Greenwich to take her orders." The court moved from Richmond to Greenwich before Christmas-day. Mary lost at cards six angels, or 2*l.* 5*s.*, directly she arrived at Richmond; in six days, another supply of six angels was needed; soon after, a third of 20*s.*, besides 30*s.* lent her by lady Carew, when her pocket was again emptied "at the cards." "The woman who keepeth Mary Price, my lady Mary's god-daughter, was paid 1*l.* 3*s.*;" and 15*s.* in alms, and 3*s.* 9*d.* "to a poor woman of her grace living at Hatfield," and 7*s.* 6*d.* to John of Hatfield. So closed the astonishing year 1536.

Cromwell presented the princess with a New-year's gift of some value, for the present given to his servant who brought it amounted to three angels; he likewise sent her a "gift of sweet waters and *fumes*," for which his servant was given a gratuity of 7*s.* 6*d.* Among the other characters of historical interest who sent their offerings to Mary, on her return to court, occur the names of lady Rochford (then one of queen Jane Seymour's bedchamber ladies), of her father lord Morley (Mary's old literary friend), of lord Beauchamp (the queen's brother) and his wife; likewise lady Salisbury. To queen Jane's maids the princess presented each a ducat, amounting altogether to 40*s.* The queen's page had 45*s.* for bringing the New-year's gift of his royal mistress; who,

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, edited by Sir F. Madden.

besides other presents, gave her step-daughter 50*l*. Mary made many minor gifts at the new year to those to whom etiquette would not permit the offering of money. For instance, she bought of the lady mayoress of London six bonnets, for New-year's gifts, at 1*l*. each, and likewise paid her 10*s*. for two frontlets—a plain proof that the lady mayoress in 1537 kept a haberdasher's or milliner's shop. The lord mayor that year was Sir Richard Gresham, a near relative of the Boleyns, a circumstance which makes this little mercantile transaction between the princess Mary and her sister's industrious kinswoman a curious incident. Yet ample proof is afforded, by the privy-purse accounts, that the princess Mary, though formerly forbidden to do so by Wriothesley and Cromwell, persisted in giving to her little sister Elizabeth the title of grace. This was, perhaps, owing to the tenacity of her disposition, which could not endure the alteration of anything to which she had accustomed herself. To an item of 1*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*., given "to Mr. Bingham," the princess has added, in her own hand, the explanation, "chaplain to my lady Elizabeth's grace," thus disobeying, wilfully and deliberately, the orders of council which degraded her young sister from royal rank. Afterwards, wherever the name of Elizabeth occurs in her sister's account-journal, she is always mentioned with this distinction. The princess Mary paid 5*s*. for mending a clock given her by lady Rochford, and 20*d*. to Heywood's servant for bringing her regals (a sort of portable finger-organ) from London to Greenwich. She had still further dealings with lady Gresham, the lady mayoress; "for divers and sundry things of her had," 42*s*. were paid in January. Among other incidental expenses, attempts were made to charge the princess with various pottles of sack, charges which she pertinaciously resisted, and the intrusive pottles are carefully scored out by her own hand.¹

The princess seems to have taken a progress after the festival of the New-year, to visit her former mansion of Beaulieu, or Newhall, in Essex, probably to take repossession of this favourite residence; she, however, returned to the court at Greenwich, and remained there the rest of January and part of February. She paid in that month 5*s*. for making a window in her bedchamber there, and 10*s*. for the hire of a room to keep her robes in. The end of February she removed to the palace of Westminster, and the French gardener there presented her with apples. She gave generous donations to the poor prisoners in various prisons in London, a favourite charity of hers, and greatly needed, for the horrors and privations in prisons of all kinds placed such beneficence high on the class of good works.

The situation in which Mary was placed at court, on these occasional visits, was rather trying. She was a young woman, whose person was much admired, surrounded by parties hostile to her, both on religious

¹ Privy-purse Expenses, edited by Sir F. Madden.

and political accounts, and she was wholly bereft of female protection. Her tender mother, and her venerable relative (lady Salisbury), had both been torn from her, and who could supply their places in her esteem and veneration? A perplexed and thorny path lay before her; yet, at a time of life when temptation most abounds, she trod it free from the reproach of her most inveterate political adversaries. The writings of her contemporaries abound with her praises. "She was," says the Italian history of Pollino, "distinguished, when a young virgin, for the purity of her life and her spotless manners; when she came to her father's court, she gave surprise to all those who composed it, so completely was decorum out of fashion there. As to the king he affected to disbelieve in the reality of female virtue, and therefore laid a plot to prove his daughter. This scheme he carried into effect, but remained astonished at the strength and stability of her principles."¹ Such an assertion is very hard to credit: it may be possible to find husbands willing to be as cruel as Henry if they had the power, but, thanks be to God, who has planted so holy and blessed a love as that of a father for his daughter in the heart of man, it is not possible to find an historical parallel in the annals of the present or the past. If a father could be capable of contriving a snare for the honour of his daughter, it ought to be remembered that family honour is especially compromised by the misconduct of the females who belong to it, and Henry VIII. has never been represented as deficient in pride.

The princess was resident at the palace of St. James in the month of March, and gave a reward to the king's watermen for rowing her from the court to lady Beauchamp's house² and back again: she had recently stood godmother to one of that lady's children. The fondness of the princess for standing godmother was excessive. She was sponsor to fifteen children during the year 1537, in all grades of life, from the heir of England down to the children of cottagers. Her godchildren were often brought to pay their duty, and she frequently made them presents. She stood godmother to a child of lord William Howard, and to a daughter of lord Dudley (who was afterwards the duke of Northumberland, put to death by her sentence); the godchild was probably lady Sidney, her namesake. The princess Mary, as before said, was sponsor to one of Edward Seymour's numerous daughters, three of whom were afterwards her maids of honour, and the most learned ladies in the realm.

While the princess Mary abode at court, the yeomen of the king's guard presented her with a leek on St. David's-day, and were rewarded with 15s. In the succeeding summer she was afflicted with one of her chronic fits of illness, and the king's physicians attended her in June and July. She sent queen Jane, from Beaulieu, presents of quails and

¹ Pollino, *Istoria dell' Eccles.*

² Privy-purse.

cucumbers. Mary often imported curious plants from Spain, and these "*cucumbs*" were perhaps among the number. She had returned to her home at Hunsdon, in the month of September. Her sister Elizabeth was domesticated with her, as notations occur in her expenses to that effect.

Mary stood sponsor to a poor infant, "the child of one Welshe, beside Hunsdon, on the 7th of October." She gave a benefaction to this little one, and bountiful alms to her poor pensioners (apparently as farewell gifts) the same day, and came to Hampton-court to be present at the accouchement of her royal friend queen Jane; she brought her little sister Elizabeth with her, since both were present at the christening of prince Edward, to whom the princess Mary stood sponsor. She was dressed on this occasion in a kirtle of cloth of silver, ornamented with pearls. She gave to the queen's nurse and midwife the large sum of 30*l.*, and to poor people in alms, the day the prince was born, 40*s.* She presented a gold cup, as a christening gift, to her brother; but, as it is not charged in her expenses, it was probably one of those which had been bestowed on her in her infancy. At the conclusion of the baptismal ceremony, Mary took possession of her little sister Elizabeth, and led her by the hand from Hampton-court chapel to her lodgings in the palace.

Ten days after, the calamitous death of queen Jane turned all the courtly festivals for the birth of the heir-apparent into mourning. The king retired to Windsor, and left his daughter to bear the principal part in the funereal ceremonials about the corpse of the deceased queen. These were performed with all the magnificence of the Roman catholic church. Whilst the deceased queen lay in state in Hampton-court chapel, the princess Mary appeared as chief mourner at dirges and masses, accompanied by her ladies and those of the royal household. She knelt at the head of the coffin, habited in black; a white handkerchief was tied over her head, and hung down. All the ladies, similarly habited, knelt about the queen's coffin in "lamentable wise." The princess caught cold at these lugubrious vigils, performed in November nights; the king sent his surgeon, Nicholas Simpson, to draw one of her teeth, for which service she paid him the enormous fee of six angels.¹

On the day of the funeral, the corpse of Jane Seymour was removed from Hampton-court to Windsor, in stately procession. Very fatiguing must have been that day to the princess Mary, since she followed the car on which the body was placed, mounted on horseback. Her steed was covered with black velvet trappings; she was attended, on her right hand, by her kinsman, lord Montague (who was so soon to fall a victim to her father's cruelty), and on the left by lord Clifford. Behind her followed her favourite cousin, lady Margaret Douglas, who is called by

¹ Mary's Privy-purse Expenses.

the herald lady Margaret Howard, as widow of lord Thomas Howard, who was just then dead in the Tower. Lady Frances Brandon, daughter of Mary Tudor and Suffolk, likewise had her place near her cousin the princess Mary. They were followed by the countesses of Rutland and Oxford, both ladies of royal descent, and by the countesses of Sussex, Bath, and Southampton. As the funeral passed on the road between Hampton and Windsor, the princess Mary distributed 30s. in alms to poor persons begging by the way-side.¹ She officiated in St. George's chapel, Windsor, the day after, as chief mourner at the interment of queen Jane; and she paid for thirteen masses for the repose of her soul. She gave a sovereign a-piece to the women of the deceased queen's chamber, and many gifts to the officers of her household.

Mary remained at Windsor-castle with her father till Christmas. King Henry was supposed to be bemoaning the death of queen Jane; he was really deeply occupied in matrimonial negotiations for himself, but ostensibly for his daughter. Meantime Mary stood godmother to two more infants, one the child of her apothecary, the other that of her physician, according to an entry in her accounts. "*Item*, given to John, potticarry, at the christening of his child, my lady's grace being godmother, 40s. *Item*, given at the christening of Dr. Michael's child, a salt, silver gilt, my lady's grace being godmother to the same, price [of the salt] 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" She usually added her own name to that of the godchildren, as, Edward Maria,² or Anne Maria.

Christmas was kept at Richmond-palace.³ A payment was made by the princess Mary, in December, of 5*s.* to a waterman called "Perkin of Richmond," for the *ferriage* on the Thames of herself and servants coming there from Windsor. Mary amused herself this winter by embroidering a cushion as a New-year's gift to Wriothesley, and a box wrought with needle-work in silver for her sister, "my lady Elizabeth's grace," as she is designated in the diary of expenses. Mary likewise prepared a cap, which cost 2*l.* 5*s.*, for her infant brother and godson; and, withal, made his nurse, mother Jackson, a present of a bonnet and frontlet, which cost 20*s.* The princess remained at Richmond till February, and during this time lost money at cards to lady Hertford and lady Margaret Gray. She gave considerable sums in alms, and honestly paid William Allen, of Richmond, the value of two of his sheep killed by her greyhounds. She paid for the board and teaching of her poor godchildren, and several items are charged for necessaries provided for "Jane the Fool," a functionary who is first named in the autumn accounts of 1537. Jane the Fool was sometimes exalted on horseback, as her mistress paid for the food of a horse kept for her use. Payments for shoes and stockings, linen, damask gowns, and charges for shaving "Jane Fool's head" frequently occur in the diary of expenses. Among

¹ Privy-purse Expenses, p. 42. ² Fuller's Church History. ³ Privy-purse Expenses, *ibid.*

many other odd gifts, she was presented with orange-pies by my lady Derby. Oranges seem to have been in general domestic use since the reign of Edward I.; at this time they were bought for the use of the princess at the rate of 10*d.* per hundred. Lady Hertford's servant brought the princess quince-pies; she was sent cockles and oysters, and received presents of strawberries as early as April and May, 1538—a proof that the art of forcing fruit by artificial means was practised in England at that early period;¹ the gift was from a friar. Many items occur of bottles of rose-water, a preparation in that century considered as an acceptable gift to royalty. The princess concluded her long visit at Richmond-palace after Candlemas-day, when she went to Hanworth, about three miles from Hampton-court. She was forced to employ persons for making the road passable thither; she paid these pioneers 7*s.*, and gave besides 4*s.* 4*d.* alms on the road to Hanworth. At Easter, Mary wished to change the mourning she had worn for queen Jane Seymour, and made application to her father to know what colour she should wear at that festival. Lady Kingston made interest to Wriothesley, to learn by Cromwell whether the king chose that his daughter should wear “her white taffeta edged with velvet, which used to be his own liking whensoever he saw her grace, and suiteth for this joyful feast of our Lord's rising.”² Permission was given for the princess Mary to wear whatsoever she pleased.

Mary paid, this summer, repeated visits to her infant brother at Hampton-court; gifts to his nurse, servants, and minstrels form heavy articles in her expenses. She watched over his infancy with the care of a mother. During the childhood of her brother and sister, few notices exist of Mary unless mentioned as in their company. At Hampton-court, lady Lisle visited the royal family, and found them as usual together. “His grace the prince,” writes that lady to her husband, “is the goodliest babe that ever I set mine eyen upon. I pray God make him an old man, for I think I should never weary of looking on him. Whereas I saw also my lady Mary and my lady Elizabeth; my lady Mary's grace asking heartily how you did, and even desired to be commended to you. I would not but have been there, for it was the king's pleasure I should be so; howbeit, it was costly unto me, for there is none cometh here but must give great rewards in fees to the rapacious servants.”

Lady Margaret Douglas was in attendance on the princess at this time, for she was repaid 20*s.* for purchases. The same year the princess received into her household and protection the lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, a beautiful girl, who has excited no small interest in the literary world as “the fair Geraldine,” celebrated by the accomplished earl of Surrey. She was the near kinswoman of the princess, since her mother,

the lady Elizabeth Gray, was daughter of Thomas marquis of Dorset, eldest son of queen Elizabeth Woodville. Her father, the earl of Kildare, with five gallant Geraldines his uncles, had all perished in the preceding year by the hands of the executioner. Lady Kildare was left a widow, dependent on the alms of her tyrant kinsman. Whether it was the princess Mary's desire to receive her destitute young cousin, or whether she was sent to her at Hunsdon by the king's pleasure, is not precisely defined; but it is certain that a firm friendship ever after existed between the princess Mary and the impoverished orphan of the Geraldines.¹

More than one treaty of marriage had been negotiated by Henry for his daughter, since the disinheriting act of parliament had passed; he always setting forth that, by the same act, it remained in his power to restore her to her place in the succession, if agreeable to his will. He had been so long used to amuse himself with these negotiations, that they evidently formed part of his pastime; yet Mary's early desire of leading a single life was seldom threatened with contradiction, by any prospect of these marriage-treaties being brought to a successful conclusion. Thus passed away the suit of the prince of Portugal, made the same year, which was one of great trouble and convulsion in England; for the insurrection of the Roman catholics, called "the Pilgrimage of Grace," occasionally agitating the north since the change of religion, was renewed nearer the court. The most dreadful executions took place; lady Bulmer was burnt alive for high treason and sorcery, and her husband was butchered under the same pretence in Smithfield. The land reeked with judicial bloodshed, and the representatives of some of the most noble families in England perished on the scaffold. Among the requisitions of the northern insurgents there was always a clause for the restoration of the princess Mary to her royal rank—a circumstance replete with the greatest danger to herself; and very warily must she have guided her course, to have passed through the awful year of 1538 without exciting greater jealousy than she did from her father and his government. Her establishment was for a time certainly broken up, for a chasm of more than a year appears in the book of her privy-purse expenses. She had in the preceding autumn excited the anger of her father and Cromwell, by affording hospitality to some desolate strangers—probably some of the dispossessed *religieuses* from the overthrown nunneries, many of whom wandered about in the most piteous state of destitution. The princess promised Cromwell, by letter, not to offend in this way again, and adds, "she fears the worst has been made of the matter to the king."²

The duke of Saxony (the head of the Protestant League in Germany) proposed the union of the strictly Roman catholic Mary with the young duke of Cleves, his brother-in-law. Burgartius, the vice-chamberlain of

¹ Nott's Life of Surrey.

² Hearne's Sylloge.

Saxony, applied for a portrait of Mary, but was answered by Cromwell "that no instance can be quoted of a king's daughter of such a high degree having her picture sent abroad for approval; but Burgartius, *whoseself* having seen the lady Mary, can testify of her proportion, countenance, and beauty. And although," he adds, "she be the king's natural daughter only, yet, nevertheless, she is endowed and adorned (as all the world knoweth) as well of such grace, and beauty, and excellent proportion of person, as of most excellent learning, honourable behaviour, and of all honest virtues and good qualities, that it is not to be doubted (when all the rest, as portion, &c., should be agreed) that no man would stick or stay concerning her beauty and goodness; as he [vice-chamberlain Burgartius] knoweth well, who saw her visage."¹ Thus Cromwell continued to insist that the face and accomplishments of Mary quite counterbalanced the defects of her title and fortune; but this marriage-treaty proved as futile as the preceding ones, and only served to introduce the unfortunate wedlock of Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII.

The beloved friends of Mary's youth, the countess of Salisbury and her family, were, in the commencement of 1539, attainted without trial, and overwhelmed in one sweeping ruin. In the spring of the same year, lord Montague (the elder brother of Reginald Pole) was beheaded on slight pretences; and the son of Katherine Plantagenet, the handsome marquis of Exeter, Henry VIII.'s first cousin and former favourite, shared Montague's doom. The countess of Salisbury was immured in the Tower, and at the same time bereft of all property, even of the power of purchasing herself a warm garment to cover her aged limbs. Mary's other friend, the wretched widow, Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, involved in her husband's sentence, was imprisoned in the Tower, expecting daily execution; her captivity was shared by her little son Edward, the hapless heir of Courtenay, who was too young even to permit the pretence of having offended. As the desolation of these princely families was entirely attributed by their tyrannical oppressor to their relationship and friendship for Reginald Pole, whose chief crime was his firm support of the claims of Katharine of Arragon, it may be easily supposed how much the princess was agonized by their calamities.

Mary was dwelling at Hertford-castle, with her little sister Elizabeth; it appears she had had no establishment of her own since jealousy had occurred respecting the hospitality she had afforded to distressed strangers at her dwelling. A tradition is actually prevalent at Hertford-castle, that a *queen* Mary was captive there for nearly two years, and a little room in one of the turrets is shown as the place where she used to read and study. Mary queen of Scots is the person whom common report

¹ MS. Cott.

has identified with this traditionary imprisonment; but it is scarcely needful to observe that she was never so far south, by many score miles, as Hertford town or castle. Local reports of this kind may usually be traced to some forgotten historical reality, and satisfactorily explained, if rational allowance is made for the confusion occasioned by similar names and station. Thus it may be observed that our biography loses the princess Mary of England at Hertford-castle in 1538, and finds her there again at the end of 1539, under a sort of palace-restraint; and when it is remembered that she was afterwards *queen* Mary, little doubt can exist that her duration has been attributed, by the Hertford traditions, to her fair and popular namesake of Scotland.

The low state of Mary's finances this year obliged her to make the following representation to Cromwell by letter:¹—"It hath pleased the king's majesty, my most gracious father, of his great goodness, to send me every quarter of this year 40*l.*, as you best know who were the means of it, as (I thank you) you be for all my other suits; and seeing this quarter of Christmas must needs be more chargeable than the rest, specially considering *the house I am in*, I would desire you (if your wisdom thought it most convenient) to be a suitor to the king's said highness somewhat to increase the sum." She adds, "she is ashamed to be a beggar, but the occasion is such she cannot choose." The king, in consequence of this application, sent her 100*l.* by Mr. Heneage that month. In a preceding letter to Cromwell, she said:—"Your servant hath brought me the well-favoured horse that you have given me, with a very goodly saddle, for the which I do thank you with all my heart, for he seemeth to be indeed as good as I heard reported of him, which was, that he had all qualities belonging to a good horse. Wherefore I trust, in time to come, the riding on him shall do me very much good concerning my health." She usually wrote in very affectionate terms to Cromwell, and took a rating from him, now and then, without much indignation; she had been used from her infancy, when he was Wolsey's factotum and universal man of business, to receive all her supplies from his hands.

Towards the close of the year 1539, the privy councillor Wriothesley came to Hertford-castle, for the purpose of informing Mary "that it was her father's pleasure she should instantly receive as a suitor duke Philip of Bavaria," who was at that time in England, announcing the approach of his kinswoman Anne of Cleves, the betrothed wife of Henry VIII.² The German wooer had for some time been the guest of lord Lisle, the governor of Calais, and was escorted to England by that nobleman. In the Lisle papers Philip is usually called "the Palsgrave," and some particulars relating to him are there preserved. Lord Lisle wrote, by his desire, for a flagon of walnut-water, which Philip had left at Calais: it was required for the benevolent intention of curing his hostess' sore eyes.

¹ Hearne's Sylloge.

² Ibid.

Lady Lisle obeyed the injunction, and forwarded, with a collection of other miscellaneous articles, a pasty of partridges and a baked crane, to be presented to the Palsgrave. Lady Lisle likewise meditated a delicate attention to the German prince, for the purpose of propitiating him against the time when he became the husband of the princess Mary. "My lord," she writes to her spouse, from Calais, "I send unto you my toothpicker: I thought to have given it to the Palsgrave whilst he was here, but it was not then at my hand. I beseech you present it to him, if it be your pleasure. I send it to him, because when he was here I did see him wear a pin to pick his teeth withal. And I pray you show him that it has been mine these seven years." No great recommendation for a propitiatory toothpick, which it is to be hoped was a silver one; but the lady concludes the subject of her present with self-congratulation on her own sagacity: "I think it will not be lost." She requests to be heartily commended to the Palsgrave in her next despatch, "and is glad to hear that he is merry," and if he were not at the offering of the toothpick, his German gravity was immovable. Wriothesley describes his interview with Mary, when proposing to her the German prince:—"I opened the cause and purpose of my coming, in as good a sort as my poor wit had conceived the same. Whereunto my lady Mary made answer, that, the king's majesty not offended, she would wish and desire never to enter that *kind of religion*, but to continue still a maid during her life." She hastened, however, to write to Cromwell that she submitted herself entirely to her father's will as to this marriage. A few days afterwards Mary removed to Enfield, where she remained till Christmas with her infant brother. Cromwell escorted Philip of Bavaria to pay her a visit there, December 22. Baynard's-castle was destined for her Christmas residence, but she joined the royal festivities at Blackfriars-palace.

The French ambassador Marillac wrote in a news letter, dated December 27, 1539:—"I have heard touching the marriage of the eldest daughter of the king, the lady Mary, with this duke of the house of Bavaria. Three or four days ago, in the most secret manner which could be, he went to salute and visit her in a house of the abbot of Westminster, in the gardens of the abbey, one mile from this city, where the said lady had been brought privately; and after having kissed her, which is considered here as a declaration of marriage, or of near kindred, and considering also, that since the death of the late marquis of Exeter, no lord, however great he may be in this kingdom, has presumed to do so, this seems to imply much, the said duke had a long discourse with her, partly in German, with an interpreter, and partly in Latin, of which she is not ignorant; and, in conclusion, he declared to the king his resolution to take her to wife, provided that his person be agreeable to the said lady."

At Blackfriars Mary became dangerously ill. Her own doctors knew

not what to do for her restoration, and lady Kingston demanded a consultation of physicians, in the following note, which shows that her mistress was hovering between life and death at the beginning of the new year, 1539-40. It is remarkable, that lady Kingston does not, in her letters, deprive the princess of her royal title of "grace," even in the worst of times. She writes :—"To certify you, sir, how my lady's grace doth—she hath been sick ever since Christmas, insomuch upon New-year's day, after she was up in the morning she could neither sit nor stand, but was fain to go to her bed again for faintness. Yesterday, thanked be God, she was somewhat amended; notwithstanding, her physician would be glad to have more counsel before he administer anything unto her. Wherefore, if it would please you to speak to my lord privy-seal, that it will please him to move the king's grace that Mr. doctor Butts may go thither, because he hath been with her in such cases in times past. And thus I commit you to God, praying him to send you many good new years, with much worship.—January 3, at the Blackfriars."¹

The day after Anne of Cleves made her public entry, king Henry invested Mary's German wooer with the order of the Garter, an honour which he well deserved, on account of his gallant defence of Vienna against the Turks in 1529, when he won the cognomen of Bellicosus, or "the warlike."² He was the first Protestant prince invested with the order of the Garter, but neither his renown in arms, nor his eloquent wooing in high Dutch and Latin, could atone, in the eyes of Mary, for his Lutheranism, or for his league against the emperor her relative. Philip had many opportunities of seeing Mary during the festivities which celebrated the ill-omened marriage of Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII. He departed from the court of England, January 27, with the intention of returning and claiming Mary as his bride, to whom he presented at his departure the love-token of a diamond cross. The important preliminaries of *dote* (or portion) and jointure were at that time already settled. Poor, indeed, they were, for the brave Bavarian was but a younger brother, and as an opponent of the Catholics, received Mary, of course, as a person of stigmatized birth. Henry VIII. offered with her a portion of 7000*l.*, and duke Philip could afford her a jointure of but 800*l.* or 900*l.* per annum. The insults and injuries that were inflicted on the unoffending Anne of Cleves by Henry VIII. broke the troth between Mary of England and Philip of Bavaria. By her father's orders, Mary returned the diamond cross to the lord chancellor, who duly transmitted it to her rejected suitor, and Mary perhaps whispered, like Portia—"A gentle riddance." Yet the brave German seems to have been sincerely attached to her, for he remained single, and renewed his suit six years afterwards, and meeting a second refusal, died a bachelor, as became a faithful knight and lover. Well had it been for

¹ State-Paper office.² Marillac's Despatches.

Mary if her hand had been given to the true-hearted German Philip, and not to his cruel Spanish namesake!

The interrupted accounts of the princess commence again with the new year of 1540. Mary received many New-year's gifts, and was very liberal in her distribution of presents,¹ especially to her sister Elizabeth, to whom she gave a yellow satin kirtle, made with five yards of satin at 7s. 6d. the yard. The princess Mary, in her own hand, has marked against the item, "for a kirtle for my lady Elizabeth's grace." Seven yards of yellow damask, at the same price, is presented by Mary to the nurse of her brother Edward for a kirtle. Mrs. Cavendish, the woman of the princess Elizabeth, and Ralf, her chaplain, are given New-year's gifts of 10s. each; and Mary twice supplied her sister's pocket with money to "play withal." The New-year's gift she presented to her brother Edward was a crimson satin coat, embroidered with gold "by the king's broiderers," and further ornamented with pansies formed of pearls, the sleeves of tinsel, with four gold aglets, or hooks and eyes. An inconvenient garment, stiff and cumbersome, it must have been for an infant little more than two years old.

The princess spent some weeks at her father's court, and many items of high play, and even wagers lost by her, mark the manner in which she passed her time. She lost a frontlet in a wager with her cousin, lady Margaret Douglas, for which she paid 4l. These frontlets were the ornamented edges of coifs or caps, similar to, or modifications of, the costume familiar to the eye in the head-dress of Anne Boleyn; some were edged with gold lace—and this, by the price, appears to have been of that class—and others with pearls and diamonds. The princess Mary not only pledged caps, but lost breakfasts at bowls, which were among the games played by ladies on the greensward, nearly similar to the present prevalent game of croquet. To counterbalance these vanities, she paid for the education of a poor child and the expense of binding him apprentice.

In the summer of 1540, all memoranda of Mary's privy-purse expenses suddenly ceased, and she was again suffering from severe illness, this time at her brother's residence at Tittenhanger. The last items recorded are her payments to the king's surgeon of one sovereign, for coming from London to bleed her, and 15s. to her old apothecary, John, for *stuff*; likewise alms to the poor of 40s., and a gift of pocket-money to her sister Elizabeth. The diary of her expenses ceased a few weeks before the marriage of her father with Katharine Howard, and was not resumed for more than two years. The disturbed state of England at this period, gives reason to suppose that Mary's household was broken up, and that she, though passive and unoffending, was placed where her person could be in more security than in her own dwellings. Among other indica-

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary.

tions of change in her establishment, her young favourite, the fair Geraldine, was taken from her service, and transferred to that of the newly-married queen at Hampton-court. It was here that Surrey first admired her, as may be ascertained by his interesting biographical sonnet, which traces, with singular clearness, her origin, and the events of her young life:—

“ From Tuscany came my lady’s worthy race,¹
 Fair Florence was sometimes *her* [their] ancient seat;
 The western isle,² whose pleasant shore doth face
 Wild Cumber’s cliffs, did give her lively heat,
 Fostered she was with milk of Irish breast.
 Her sire an earl,³ her dame of princes’ blood,⁴
 From tender years in Britain she did rest
 With king’s child,⁵ where she tasted costly food.
 Hunsdon did first present her to mine eye,
 Bright is her hue, and Geraldine she hight;
 Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine,
 Windsor, alas! doth chase me from her sight.
 Her beauty of *kind*, her virtue from above,
 Happy is he that can obtain her love!”

Dreadful events took place in England in the year 1541—events which must have produced a fearful effect in the mind of the princess Mary, and prepared the way for most of the vengeful persecutions which disgraced her reign. This woful epoch saw the destruction of all her early friends. Her old schoolmaster, Dr. Featherstone, suffered the horrid death of treason, in company with Abell, her mother’s chaplain, and another zealous Catholic. They were dragged to Smithfield, with fiendish impartiality, on the same hurdles that conveyed the pious Protestant martyr, Dr. Barnes, and two of his fellow-sufferers, to the flaming pile. Scarcely could the princess have recovered the shock of this butchery, when the frightful execution of her beloved friend and venerable relative, the countess of Salisbury, took place. She was hacked to pieces on a scaffold in a manner that must have curdled Mary’s blood with horror, and stiffened her heart to stone. The connection of these victims with Mary has never been clearly pointed out, nor the consequent effect of their horrid deaths on her mind properly defined, nor her feelings analyzed, which were naturally excited against those who were in power at the time of their destruction. Her murdered friends were persons of unblemished lives and unswerving integrity, against whom no crime was imputed excepting their fidelity to the cause of her mother, and their disapproval of Henry VIII.’s spiritual supremacy.

When the explosion regarding the conduct of Katharine Howard took place, it will be found, by the State Papers, that Mary was resident at Sion with her cousin, Margaret Douglas, and the young duchess of

¹ The Fitzgeralds trace their origin from the Gerald of Florence.
² Ireland.

³ Earl of Kildare.

⁴ Her mother was lady Elizabeth Gray, grand-daughter to queen Elizabeth Woodville.
⁵ With the princess Mary.

Richmond, widow of Henry VIII.'s natural son. The princess and her companions were removed from Sion to make way for the wretched queen and her guards. They were escorted to the nursery palace of prince Edward by Sir John Dudley, and some of Katharine Howard's servants were appointed to attend on them. The derelictions of Henry VIII.'s young queen gave hopes to Mary's partisans that she would remain second in the succession, for so she was usually regarded, notwithstanding the acts of parliament still in force against her title. This improved prospect brought on an earnest negotiation for her hand, which was demanded by Francis I. for his second son, Charles duke of Orleans. This treaty was conducted at Chabliz, in Burgundy, and the most important despatches regarding it are dated April 22, 1542.¹ The privy councillor Paget, a man of low origin, but deep in all the intrigues of Henry VIII.'s cabinet, was the envoy. His despatches are a diplomatic comedy; he gives dialogues with the high-admiral of France, respecting the princess and the duke of Orleans, in a droll, quaint style, calling the princess "our daughter," as daughter of England; while Bonnivet calls the duke of Orleans "our son."

On the matter of *dote*, or dowry, these two worthies were by no means likely to come to terms. Henry VIII. only offered 200,000 crowns with Mary, while Francis I. required a million. "The French admiral," said Paget, "heaved twenty sighs, and cast up his eyes as many times, besides crossing himself (for I marked him when he was not aware of it); then, sending forth one great sigh, he spoke his mind pathetically on the smallness of the lady Mary's *dote*." Paget declared "It was a fair offer, since the duke of Orleans was but a second son. Had king Louis XII. any more than 300,000 crowns with the princess Mary, her aunt, though a sovereign prince? And as for the king of Scots, he got only 100,000 with Margaret." Next day, the duke of Longueville, governor to the French prince, took Paget by the hand and led him to the apartments of his royal charge, where he was treated with an exceeding great feast and good cheer. About two o'clock (this was certainly after dinner), the admiral sent for Paget, and every man *avoided* out of the chamber. "Monsieur l'ambassador," quoth he, "let us devise some means of joining the lady Mary and our prince together. We ask your daughter," quoth he; "for her you shall have our son, a *genty* prince, set him out to sale." "We ask you a *dote* with her, and after the sum you will give, she shall have an assignment [of jointure] in our country. By my faith," continued he, "the *dote* you have offered is as nothing; and if the duke of Orleans were independent as Louis XII. and the king of Scots, he would rather take the lady Mary in her kirtle, than with the mean portion of 200,000 crowns." The treaty ended abortively, like all the preceding ones. It had the effect, how-

¹ Burnet's Reformation. State Papers.

ever, of paving the way for a recognition (though an imperfect one) in parliament of Mary's rights in the succession.

A letter at the State-paper office, written throughout in Mary's hand, shows that she was made the medium of pacification between her father and the emperor Charles V., when she was residing with her brother Edward and her sister Elizabeth at Havering-bower, or its neighbouring palace of Pergo. She says:—"After my most hearty commendations to you, these shall be to advertise you, that this day, before dinner, the emperor's ambassadors came to Havering, where . . . [Here a provoking hiatus occurs from injury to the paper, but the lost words have reference to the little prince her brother, and she goes on to say—] . . . And after they had done their duty to him, they came to my sister and me, and showed me how they had taken their leave of the king's highness, my father, and by his licence came for the same purpose, declaring unto me 'what great amity they trusted should increase between the king and the emperor, and how glad he would be to do me good.' Upon occasion whereof, as much as I could, I spoke unto them the whole effect of your last letter, whereunto they answered, 'that they were sorry to enter into such communications with me, seeing they came but to take leave of me; and that the one of them, now going to the emperor's court, might, instead of thanks, tell complaints, and that it grieved them the more considering my modesty in so long time I had showed. . . . They took it to be great wisdom in me that, seeing the matter of so long success, and the jeopardy that slowness causeth in such business, I would help myself, for they said 'that the help of God was won as well with diligence as with prayer.' Moreover, desiring me to give them leave to speak, they said, 'that if they had time to understand the least part of the goodwill that the emperor hath showed and beareth to the king's grace, my father, and to me also, because I am the daughter unto [Here the words are gone, and whether the ambassadors mean Henry VIII. or Katharine of Arragon, is uncertain.] to whom he owed the love and obedience of a son.' The very guarded language Mary continues to use in this letter injures its perspicuity, but its object is evidently to impress cautiously on the minds of her father and his ministers the importance of her position as a bond of union between the English government and her kinsman, the emperor Charles V. This curious epistle affords the first instance of a daughter of the royal family of England taking any part as a diplomatist.

Mary came at Christmas, 1542, direct from young Edward's residence to her father at Westminster, as may be gathered from the recommencement of her privy-purse journal. To the care of mistress Finch were given her funds, and likewise her jewels. The New-year's gifts sent to

¹ State-Paper MS. inedited.

the princess are noticed in the renewed accounts : some of them possess biographical interest, others mark improvements in inventions, and in the state of female costume and occupations, at that era. The princess Elizabeth sent her sister a little chain, and a pair of hose made of silk and gold ; the lady Margaret Douglas, a gown of carnation satin, of the Venice fashion ; the duchess of Suffolk (Katharine Willoughby), a pair of worked sleeves for an Italian gown ; lady Calthorp, two pair of sleeves, whereof one pair was worked with silver, and the other with gold and *parchment lace* ; this article occurs more than once, and was the first indication of Brussels lace. Three Venetians sent the princess a fair *steel glass* : if this had been a mirror of polished steel, they would not have called it glass ; but as Venice was the birth-place of looking-glasses, the accountant has supposed the quicksilver was polished steel put under glass. Another article occurs of the same kind directly after : "My young lady of Norfolk, two pair of worked sleeves, half-a-dozen handkerchiefs, and a *steel glass*." Lady Anne Gray presented two artificial flowers ; and her aunt, lady Kildare, mother of the fair Geraldine, a comb-case set with pearls. The fair Geraldine herself, under the designation of lady Browne, of London, sent a New-year's gift to her patroness : its nature this year is not mentioned, but the following year it was a fuming-box, of silver. Sir Anthony Browne, the ancient bridegroom of this young lady, drew the princess for his Valentine, and received from her a gift of a brooch, set with four rock rubies round an agate enamelled black, with the story of Abraham. There is a previous instance of the princess being drawn as a Valentine by George Mountjoy, one of the gentlemen of her household, who received, in consequence, a present of money. The high collars with little ruffs, often seen in the portraits of this time, are described as set on capes, and are called "partlets," because they are parted in front, or closed at pleasure. Partlets were often presented as New-year's gifts. Likewise worked chemises, probably similar to the modern chemisette, are sent to the princess from many of her female friends ; they are, however, registered by an old English word, which looks homely enough everywhere excepting in Shakespeare's enchanting spring lyric—but who objects to "ladies' smocks all silvery white" ? Boxley, a yeoman of the king's chamber, was given by the princess 15s. for bringing her a present of a little spaniel. Sir Bryan Tuke likewise sent her "a couple of little fair hounds : " these are certainly white Italian greyhounds, frequently introduced in Mary's portraits, and in those of her contemporaries. A woman of London had 5s. for bringing her a "*brid* [bird] in a cage ;" and the woodman of Hampton-court took charge of a white lark the princess had left there, and he received 3*d.* for bringing it to her at Westminster, in April, 1543.

Mary was present at her father's marriage with Katharine Parr. She accompanied her father and his bride on a summer progress to Wood-

stock, Grafton, and Dunstable. She was seized with a violent return of her chronic illness, and carried in the queen's litter to her mother's former abiding place, the Honour of Ampthill. From thence, after several removes, she was finally taken to Ashridge, where her brother and sister were sojourning, and with them she spent the autumn. Many of her attendants were at this time suffering under the influence of a sickly season, and were as ill their mistress: for her slender income was taxed for lodging, nursing, and medicine for them, at a distance from the bustle of the royal residence. Her faithful old servant Randal Dod was very sick, and one of her women, called Bess Cressy, was long chargeable during illness. Jane the Fool was indisposed in health, and on recovery was taken with a fit of industry, since a solitary article appears in the accounts of the princess Mary of 1*l.* expended for needles for "Jane the Fole."

A chair was worked in the autumn by Mary and her maidens, as a New-year's gift for the king; it was of such ample dimensions that the materials cost twenty pounds.¹ When king Henry and his bride returned to Westminster, the princess Mary joined them there at Christmas. She must have been greatly distressed for money, owing to her bounty to her sick servants and the expenses of her own long affliction, for she sold a pair of gilt-silver pots² for 37*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*, and a fur of *budge* for 19*l.* 15*s.* Soon after she received a very seasonable token of her step-mother's kindness, in the substantial form of a gift of 40*l.* The income of Mary was so small and precarious, that every one of her numerous benefactions must have been attended with some degree of self-sacrifice. Her early dignity as the sole offspring of the sovereign, and the great expenses lavished on her household and establishment in her infancy and girlhood, rendered the subsequent privations of a limited and precarious income more embarrassing. Those who sued for her bounty, expected her to bestow as munificently as if she were the eldest princess of England; those who supplied her income, apportioned it according to the law which had ranked her as an illegitimate and cast-off scion of the royal family.

CHAPTER III.

AN auspicious change took place in Mary's fortunes after the sixth marriage of her father. Although her restoration to her natural place in the succession was not complete, yet the crown was entailed on her after prince Edward, and any son or daughter which Henry might have by his wife Katharine Parr or any succeeding wives, by act of parliament,³ passed Feb. 7, 1544.

Mary assisted, ten days afterwards, at the grand court held by the

¹ Privy-purse Expenses.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 179.

queen her step-mother for the reception of the duke de Nejara, a Spanish grandee of the highest rank, whose secretary has preserved minute particulars of the ceremonial. When the noble Spaniard had been presented to the queen, he essayed to perform his homage to the princess Mary by kissing her hand; but she prevented him, and very graciously offered him her lips—a proof that he was her relative, and privileged thus to salute her.¹ Mary danced at a court ball given on the same occasion: her dress was extremely splendid, being a kirtle, or close-fitting under-gown, made of cloth of gold, over which was worn an open robe of three-piled violet velvet; a coronal of large precious stones completed this brilliant costume. Her magnificence of attire and her public appearance at the reception of a grandee who was the accredited agent of Charles V., may be considered as the effects of her restoration to royal rank. The secretary of the duke de Nejara wrote, that Mary was pleasing in person, and so popular in England as to be almost adored. “Among other praises that I heard of her,” adds he, “is, that she knows how to conceal her acquirements, and surely this is no small proof of wisdom.”

Either the religious prejudices of Mary were not so invincible as have been supposed, or the influence of Katharine Parr was indeed extraordinary; for, by the entreaty of that queen, she undertook the translation of the Latin paraphrase of St. John, by Erasmus. The original, which comprehended all the gospels, was a work very precious to those who wished for reformation in the Christian church, founded on a more intimate knowledge of Scripture; but, like Scripture itself, the luminous paraphrases by Erasmus were locked in a learned language from the approach of general readers. It was the erudition and industry of the princess Mary that rendered into English the whole of the important paraphrase of St. John. She meant to have laboured further in the good work, when a recurrence of her chronic illness laid her once more on a bed of sickness, and her chaplain, Dr. Francis Mallet, revised and prepared for the press the manuscript she had completed. It was comprised in the same volume with the other paraphrases of Erasmus, which were rendered into English by several celebrated Reformers. Those who mistake Henry VIII. for a patron of the Reformation, instead of what he really was (and still continues to be), its impediment, its shame, and its sorrow, have supposed that Mary undertook this task to propitiate her father. But that such a course was not the way to his good graces, is apparent from the anger which was excited in his mind against Katharine Parr, on account of the theological works patronised by her—anger which had nearly been fatal to that queen soon after the publication of these paraphrases. Her translation, therefore, must have been undertaken wholly to please Katharine Parr, who, in a letter from Hanworth

¹ Marillac's Despatches, p 372.

September, 1544, entreated her with speed "to send this, her most fair and useful work," to her, that she might, with the rest (*viz.*, the translations of Kay, Cox, Udall, Old, and Allen), commit it to the press, desiring, withal, to know of her whether it should be published in her name or anonymously. Katharine Parr added, on this point, "that in her opinion she would do a wrong to the work, if she should refuse to send it to posterity with the advantage of her name; because, in her accurate translation, she had gone through much pains for the public good, and would have undertaken more had her health permitted;" adding, "I see not why you should reject the praise which all deservedly would give you; yet I leave all to your own prudence, and will approve of that which seems best to you."¹ In conclusion of the same letter, she thanks Mary for a purse which she had made and sent her.

Mary did not append her name to her translation, but she permitted Dr. Udall to say what he pleased concerning her labours in his preface, which was to the following effect:—"England," he said, "can never be able to render thanks sufficient; so it will never be able (as her deserts require) enough to praise the most noble, the most virtuous, and the most studious lady Mary's grace, for taking such pains and travail in translating this Paraphrase of Erasmus on the gospel of St. John." Dr. Mallet, who superintended the progress of this work through the press, could not have been long in the service of the princess Mary, having been chaplain to the late unfortunate queen Katharine Howard. He was highly esteemed by queen Katharine Parr for his deep learning: his principles appear to have been mild and liberal, if he may be judged by his co-operation with some of the fathers of the Reformation in a work of general Christian utility. The persecution and severe imprisonment he met with in the succeeding reign, did not, perhaps, encourage him in this happy frame of mind, since his name occurs in Foxe's list of persecutors—a solitary instance among the personal friends of Mary, who are almost all excluded from that black catalogue.

The manuscript which has been preserved of the princess Mary's privy-purse expenditure closes with the year 1544; it has afforded a curious insight into her real manner of spending her time, her tastes, and pursuits. Among other remarkable points, it shows how small a portion of her means was bestowed on any of the prevalent devotional observances of the times. If she had been inclined to spend her income on attentions to the dead, instead of active charity to the living, she might have done so with impunity, as the masses for the soul of her friend, queen Jane Seymour, indubitably prove that such rites were among the observances of the then established church. But no other expenditure

¹ See preceding biography of queen Katharine Parr. The further particulars quoted here are drawn from Udall's preface to the Paraphrases, and Strype's Memorials.

of the kind occurs, and, with the exception of a yearly trifle offered at Candlemas, the expenses of Mary might have passed for those of a Protestant princess.

Many items occur in the course of Mary's diary which show her love of flowers; she was a horticulturist and an importer of foreign plants, rare seeds, and roots, for her father gave 10*l.* in reward to a person, because he had brought safely to England many trees from Spain, commissioned by "his daughter the lady Mary's grace."¹ She had a decided taste for clocks, like her illustrious relative Charles V.,² for they form a prominent article in her yearly expenditure: sometimes she had as many as four repaired and regulated at once; sometimes she gave and received presents of clocks. Gloves were sent her from Spain, as presents; she gave a gentleman in the suite of the lord admiral 30*s.* for bringing her, from a duchess in Spain, a coffer containing twelve pair of Spanish gloves. Gloves of this kind bore a great price as late as the middle of the last century, and were probably some of the relics of Moorish industry; they were made of exquisite leather, and embroidered with silk, gold, silver, and even with gems, and highly perfumed. The wicked suspicions of that age of crime often supposed that the perfumes of Spanish gloves were poisoned.

Painting was not one of the arts encouraged by Mary while princess, owing to her slender finances; but she paid John Hayes handsomely for drawing her work-patterns, and gave "one John 4*l.*, who drew her likeness"³ on a table; that is, it was a portrait painted on wood. Mary had the dark hair, as well the dark eyes, of her Spanish ancestors. But most of the portraits of that era are embellished with red or sandy hair: it is supposed that, out of compliment to the rufus complexion of Henry VIII., the locks of his dutiful courtiers were sprinkled with gold dust or red powder, in order that those who had not been gifted by nature with the warm hue fashionable at court, might at least have the appearance of possessing that enviable tint. Holbein's genuine works have a very deceptive quality, leading the beholder into much false criticism on his stiffness and hardness. The laborious finish of the flesh and draperies induces those who look at his pictures to examine them as near as possible, and the closer they are surveyed the flatter they appear but let the spectator walk into the middle of the room, and the pictures assume a marvellous effect of roundness and *vraisemblance*. Thus it is with the famous group of Henry VIII. and family, which is one of the

¹ Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., edited by Sir Harris Nicolas

² It is well known that he diverted himself with clock-work in his retirement at St. Just, after his abdication, and that there his mighty mind convinced itself of the futility of religious persecution, by observing the difficulty of making two of his clocks strike

simultaneously. He reasoned, "that if unresisting and unthinking matter was too hard to regulate, how could men be tortured into exact unison of thought?" But this noble lesson he learnt too late for the good of mankind.

³ It is possible this John was *Hans*, or John Holbein.

treasures of Hampton-court.¹ On a close inspection it seems as flat as a map, and as highly finished as an enamelled tea-cup; but as the spectator retreats from it, and looks at it from the centre of the room, the pillars move into panoramic perspective, the recess deepens, the glorious roof glows with lozenges of ruby and gold, the canopy juts out, and the royal group beneath assume lifelike semblance. "Mary," according to the Italian of Pollino,² "was small, fragile, and of a singularly beautiful complexion, but of a very different tint from that of her father. When a girl, she was much celebrated for her beauty; but the troubles she underwent in her father's reign faded her charms prematurely, though she was very far from ugly. Her face was short, her forehead very large, her eyes dark and lustrous, and remarkably touching when she fixed them on any one." Such was Mary about the age of thirty-three. This description agrees with her portrait in this family group at Hampton-court.

The tone of the privy-purse journal of the princess altered considerably when Katharine Parr presided over the English court in 1545. All card-playing and betting vanish from the pages of this document; but in the preceding year Mary had lost the sum of 10*l.* in a bet with Dr. Bill. A divine so called was distinguished among the fathers of the Protestant church of England in the reign of Edward VI., but whether he is the same to whom the princess Mary lost the wager is a curious question. Such an incident is as much at variance with all preconceived ideas of the gloom and unbending sternness of Mary's routine of life, as it would have been of the primitive simplicity of that of Dr. Bill. If one could see a grand-inquisitor playing at dice or betting at a horse-race with Calvin or John Knox, the sight would scarcely be more startling and anomalous than the plain item in the account-book of Mary, noting cash thus won and lost.

Strange indeed are the revolutions when a sudden flash of light affords a transitory view into the realities of life, just at the commencement of the great religious warfare which has raged since this period; the mind is tantalized with an earnest wish to know more of the private life and daily mode of conduct of those, who are only known to the world as persecutors on one side, or as martyrs or theological champions on the other. Vain is the wish! the struggles of rival creeds for supremacy take the place of all other information, either personal or statistical; individual character, arts, science, and even the historian's absorbing theme—arms, are alike a blank in the annals of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary; yet all were undergoing changes as striking as those of religion. Many interesting marginal notices, in her own hand, occur in the jewel-book of the princess. The jewels were placed in the

¹ It is said to be a copy by Remi; but, on comparison with other copies of Holbein by that artist, the difference of tone and touch is most striking

² Page 396.

care of Mary Finch, and at the bottom of every page is the signature of the princess; and on each side of it four long scratches, to prevent any more writing being added. Among these jewels was a "book of gold, with the king's face and that of her grace's mother" (Katharine of Arragon). This is retained in Mary's possession; but the next article, a round tablet, black enamelled, with the king's picture and that of queen Jane, was given by Mary as a present to Mrs. Ryder, at her marriage with judge Brown. "A pomander of gold, having a *dial* in it," was given "to the lady Elizabêth's grace." This must have been a watch. Another item occurs of a plain tablet of gold, with a *dial* in it, given to lady Kingston. Among Mary's valuables were miniature paintings, set in brooches and tablets, evidently meant to be worn on the person; their subjects were mostly from Scripture history, but one given to the princess Elizabeth had on it the history of Pyramus and Thisbe. The king presented his daughter with a considerable number of jewels, on his marriage with Katharine Parr; six months before his death (the 20th of July) he presented her with many more. The number and value of his last gifts lead to the supposition that they were her mother's jewels. Among them occurs another miniature of Katharine of Arragon, set with one of the king, opening like a book of gold.¹ Against one gold necklace, set with pearls, Mary has written, "given to my cousin Jane Gray," little thinking, when she gave her young kinswoman a share of her ornaments, that the fair neck would be mangled by her order, round which these pearls were clasped. Many rich presents were distributed by Mary among her female relations; the names of lady Frances (mother to lady Jane Gray), lady Eleanor Clifford, and lady Margaret Douglas (married to Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox), frequently occur, familiarly specified as "my cousin" Frances, Eleanor, or *Marget*.

Mary had been suffering with severe illness in the early part of 1546, and was, in the spring, at the court of her step-mother. A letter is extant from her brother, prince Edward,² dated from Hunsdon, May, 1546, in which he congratulates her affectionately on her recovery, affirming "that God had given her the wisdom of Esther, and that he looked up to her virtues with admiration." He desires her to give his love to lady Tyrwhitt, lady Lane, and to lady Herbert: these were ladies of queen Katharine's household, and the last her sister—circumstances which prove that Mary was then resident at court. The princess, indeed, usually occupied a large portion of her young brother's thoughts, as may be ascertained by his Latin exercises, written in the form of epistles addressed to her, to his father, and to queen Katharine Parr. In one of these last, he takes the pains to entreat his step-mother "to preserve his dear sister Mary from the enchantments of the evil one, by

¹ Many beautiful historical miniatures set in this mode were seen among the Strawberry-hill Collection.

² Quoted in Strype's Memorials.

beseeking her to attend no longer to foreign dances and merriments, which do not become a most Christian princess."¹ The exhortation perhaps really originated from the princely boy's tutor, Richard Cox, who, though a Protestant, was, like many of his contemporary Reformers, imbued with the asceticism of the cloister. Yet the cares of a brother, who had not seen his tenth summer, regarding the superabundant dances of his sister, then turned of thirty, possessing withal the historical reputation for sternness of Mary Tudor, will be considered a curious anomaly in historical incident.

Mary retained her father's favour to the close of his existence, though, just as he was on the verge of the grave, her name was strangely implicated in the mysterious offences for which the accomplished Surrey was hurried to the block. General history repeats, perpetually, that Surrey's principal crime was an intention of aspiring to the hand of the princess Mary; his own family history, however, proves that this was impossible, for his hand was already given to a wife whom he tenderly loved, and who survived him many years.² Henry VIII. in his will confirmed Mary in her reversionary rights of succession, and bequeathed to her the sum of 10,000*l.* towards her marriage portion, if she married with the consent of the council of regency. While she continued unmarried, she was to enjoy an income of 3,000*l.* per annum, which it appears arose from the rents of her manors of Newhall or Beaulieu, Hunsdon, and Kenninghall. This last was part of the illegal plunder of the noble house of Howard, which she restored, on her accession, to its rightful owner.

The silence of all English writers regarding any communication between Henry VIII. and his eldest daughter when he was on his death-bed, obliges us to have recourse to the testimony of continental historians, and to translate the following passage from the Italian of Pollino:—"One day, when the king felt convinced that his death was approaching, he ordered his daughter Mary to be sent for. He addressed her with great tenderness and affection, and said, 'I know well, my daughter, that fortune has been most adverse to you; that I have caused you infinite sorrow, and that I have not given you in marriage, as I desired to do. This was, however, according to the will of God, or to the unhappy state of my affairs, or to your own ill-luck; but I pray you take it all in good part, and promise me to remain as a kind and loving mother to your brother, whom I shall leave a little helpless child.'³ It is very probable that Mary actually made her father such a promise,

¹ Letters of the Kings of England, edited by J. O. Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 8: translated from the Latin original, Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Lib.

² Howard Memorials, by Henry Howard, esq., of Corby-castle.

³ Pollino, p. 191. This writer must have

had access to the muniments of history in those reigns, since we find repeatedly, in his pages, information derived from such sources as Privy-council Journals, State-paper Letters, &c., which were unknown to the contemporary English historians, and have only been recently opened to the public.

because, in the stormy movements of the succeeding reign, though it will be presently shown that snares and temptations were not wanting to induce her to seize the reins of government, she never gave, either secretly or openly, the least encouragement to any rebellion against the successive regents who governed in her brother's name—happy if she could preserve her own home from molestation, which was not always the case. Her brother's first employment, on his accession, was to write her, from the Tower, a Latin letter, dated February 8, 1546-7, of condolence on their father's death, concluding with these affectionate words: "So far as in me lies, I will be to you a dearest brother," and overflowing with all kindness.¹ The mind of the boy-sovereign must have been deeply and tenderly intent on his sister Mary, for a few days afterwards he alluded to an attempt on her life, made in the preceding summer, during the life of their father. Accident had brought the incident to the knowledge of king Edward, and in the warmth of his fraternal love he thus wrote to Sir Edward Browne, an officer in her household:—"It has been represented unto us, that in the course of the last summer you did, at your own imminent peril, and at the peril of your life, protect the house wherein our dearest sister was residing at the time, from being entered in the night by a bloodthirsty and murderous villain, who might, perchance, have done an incredible damage to our said sister, or at least to her attendants. We are desirous of requiting the service, and for that purpose we will and command you to repair without delay to our court at London.—From the Tower, this 13th day of February."² Such was the warmth of affection towards Mary felt by her cherished nursling and brother at the period of his ascending the throne. Small doubt can exist that the sister mentioned by the young monarch was Mary, as Elizabeth was resident with him at Hertford-castle some time before the death of his father; therefore he would have become acquainted with all that had befallen her then. Besides, Elizabeth's position regarding the succession did not provoke the rage of murderous fanatics.

The princess Mary lived in retirement at her country seats in the ensuing spring. The great changes which took place in religion immediately after the decease of Henry VIII. had, as yet, produced no collision between her and the protector Somerset. The following letters bespeak her on terms of familiarity both with him and his wife:—

THE PRINCESS MARY TO MY LADY OF SOMERSET.

"MY GOOD GOSSIP,

(1547, April.)

"After my very hearty commendations to you, with like desire to hear of the amendment and increase of your good health, these shall be

¹ Letters of the Kings of England, edited by J. O. Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 21: Bodleian Library.

² Ibid, p. 27.

to put you in remembrance of mine old suit concerning Richard Wood, who was my mother's servant when *you were one of her grace's maids*. As you know, by his application, he hath sustained great loss, almost to his utter undoing, without any recompense hitherto, which forced me to trouble you with his suit before, whereof (I thank you) I had a very good answer, and desire you now to renew the same to my lord your husband, for I consider it impossible for him to remember such matters, having such a heap of business as he hath. Wherefore I heartily require you to go forward in this suit till you have brought it to an honest end, for the poor man is not able to abide long in the city.

"And thus, my good Nann, I trouble you with myself and all mine; thanking you with all my heart for your earnest gentleness towards me in all my suits hitherto, reckoning myself out of doubt of the continuance of the same. Wherefore, once again I must trouble you with my poor George Brickhouse, who was an officer of my mother's wardrobe and beds, from the time of the king my father's coronation, whose only desire is to be one of the knights of Windsor, if all the rooms be not filled; and if they be, to have the next reversion in obtaining, whereof (in mine opinion) you shall do a charitable deed, as knoweth Almighty God, who send you good health, and us shortly meet, to his pleasure.—From St. John's, this Sunday in the afternoon, being the 24th of April.

"Your loving friend during my life,

"MARY."

Mary's requests for provision for her mother's aged servants were duly remembered by her "good Nann," for, some months later, a letter of thanks in her hand occurs to the protector:—

THE PRINCESS MARY TO THE PROTECTOR.

"MY LORD,

"I heartily thank you for your gentleness showed touching my requests late made unto you, whereof I have been advertised by my comp-troller; and though I shall *leave* [omit] to trouble you at present with the whole number of my said requests, yet I thought it good to signify to you my desire for those persons who have served me a very long time, and have no kind of living certain. Praying you, my lord, according to your gentle promise, that they may have pensions, as my other servants have, during their lives; for their years be so far passed, that I fear they shall not enjoy them long.

"Thus, with my hearty commendations, as well to yourself as to my gossip, your wife, I bid you both farewell, praying Almighty God to send you both as much health and comfort of soul and body as I would wish myself.—From Beaulieu, the 28th December."

In June, lord Thomas Seymour wrote to her requesting her sanction

to his marriage with her friend and step-mother, Katharine Parr : her letter has already been given.¹ It is sensibly written, though somewhat prudishly worded, disowning all knowledge "in wooing matters;" and she evidently insinuates, that a six months' widowhood was rather too short for the widow of a king of England, though perhaps Mary knew as well as the parties themselves that they were already married. The princess stated her letter from Wanstead,² and soon after she notified to Katharine Parr that she was about to try the air of Norfolk for the restoration of her infirm health, and from that time she sojourned frequently at her manor of Kenninghall. She required the attendance of her chamberwoman Jane, during an attack of illness that seized her in the autumn. This damsel had given her hand to William Russell, a servant in the household of her sister, on which occasion Mary received the following familiar letter³ from the princess Elizabeth. It is one of a numerous and affectionate series, which passed between the royal sisters at this period of their lives :—

FROM THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE PRINCESS MARY.

"TO MY WELL-BELOVED SISTER MARY,

"Good sister, as to hear of your sickness is unpleasant to me, so it is nothing fearful, for that I understand it is your old guest, that is wont oft to visit you, whose coming, though it be oft, yet it is never welcome; but, notwithstanding, it is comfortable, for that *jacula praevisa minus feriunt*.

"As I do understand your need of Jane Russell's service, so I am sorry that it is by my man's occasion *letted* [hindered]: which, if I had known afore, I would have caused his will to give place to need of your service, for, as it is her duty to obey his commandment, so it is his part to attend your pleasure; and as I confess it were meeter for him to go to her, since she attends upon you, so indeed he required the same, but for divers of his fellows had business abroad that made his tarrying at home.

"Good sister, though I have good cause to thank you for your oft sending to me, *yet I have more occasion to thank you for your oft gentle writing; and you may well see, by my writing so oft, how pleasant it is to me*. And thus I end to trouble you, desiring God to send you as well to do as you can think or wish, or I desire or pray.—From Ashridge, scribbled this 27th of October.

"Your loving sister,

"ELIZABETH.

The last will and testament of Henry VIII. was as replete with seeds

¹ See Life of Katharine Parr.

² After the attainder of Sir Giles Heron, in the time of Henry VIII., his manor-house at

Wanstead remained royal property. Heron was a son-in-law of Sir Thomas More.

³ Ellis's first Series of English Letters.

of strife for his subjects, as the capricious acts of his life had been. The monarch who had desecrated so many altars, and scattered the funds of mortuary chapels and endowed chantries, in utter disregard of the intentions of the founders, left by his will 600*l.* per annum for masses to be said for his soul! together "with an express command that a convenient altar should be set up and honourably prepared and apparelled with all things requisite and necessary for daily mass, there to be said perpetually while the world shall endure."¹ He had likewise enjoined his executors to bring up his son in the Catholic faith; by this he probably meant the cruel church of the six articles which he had founded. This will was a serious impediment to the reformed church of England, for the establishment of which Somerset and Cranmer took decided steps directly Henry expired. Before the parliament met in November, bishop Gardiner, the chief supporter of Henry's anti-papal Catholic church, was deprived of his see, and imprisoned in the Fleet. Some time in the same autumn a controversy, by letter, took place between the princess Mary and Somerset, which appears to have been commenced by her earnest entreaties for the performance of her father's will, especially that part which related to the education of her brother. Somerset's answer to the princess is alone preserved; it contains assertions regarding the Protestant principles and intentions of Henry VIII. wholly contradicted by facts. Far wiser would it have been for the protector to have boldly founded his opposition on the obvious truth, and argued on the inconsistency of Henry's testimony and his deeds; but Somerset, like most politicians, sacrificed the majesty of truth to expediency, which conduct, as it ever does, involved him in a labyrinth of disputation and self-contradiction.

Meantime the "*Paraphrases of Erasmus*," in which the translation by the princess Mary held a conspicuous place, was reprinted by the founders of our reformed church, and provided in all churches throughout England as a companion to the Bible, for it was considered next in efficacy to the sacred volume itself. Gardiner made an attack on this very work.² Mary's connection with the publication forms a singular incident in the history of this controversy, and, indeed, in her own career, for her opposition to the reformed church of England commenced at the very moment that church was taking for one of its bulwarks the work of her own pen. The princess was invited to court by an affectionate letter from the young king, her brother, who was, before religious controversy occasioned variance, exceedingly fond of her. The royal family passed the Christmas succeeding their father's death in each other's society, on the most affectionate terms. From that time, however, the visits of Mary to court were few; as she could not agree with the tenets of the Protestants, she held herself as much in retirement as possible. The country was, the succeeding summer, in a

¹ Will of king Henry VIII., in the Chapter-house.

² Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 26-35.

state of insurgency from east to west, and from north to south, chiefly on account of the utter misery into which the tyranny of the latter years of Henry VIII.'s government had thrown it. It ought to be noted, that not one of these insurgents implicated Mary's name in their proceedings, though, if she had given them the slightest encouragement, there cannot be a doubt but that they would joyfully have done so. Mary certainly limited her religious zeal, whilst she was a subject, to the narrow circle of her own chapel and household, for which she claimed only toleration; this she was the less likely afterwards to practise, since no example was afforded her that it formed a principle of any creed established in Christendom. None were contented with exemption from persecution; all wanted to have the power to persecute persons of different opinions.

Notwithstanding all Mary's caution, the protector addressed to her a communication, accusing her servants of encouraging the rebels in Devonshire. Mary was at Kenninghall, in Norfolk, from whence she wrote to assure him that her servants were not near the scene of action.

Mary came to London in the autumn of 1548, and paid a visit to her brother at his private residence of St. James's-palace. Here she must have occupied a regular suite of reception-rooms, for she had a great concourse of her friends to visit her, and made especial good cheer for their entertainment. The comforts and luxuries of the table were not, it is evident, forbidden at court, but the sound of musical instruments was wholly banished from the royal residences; nor did the first lady in the realm venture to indulge her favourite taste, by touching virginals, lute, or regals, whilst sojourning under the roof of the young sovereign of England. The widower of Katharine Parr, lord Thomas Seymour, was among the guests of Mary during her residence at St. James's-palace,¹ which is apparent by a letter he addressed to her, in which he returned thanks for her hospitality; and at the same time required her testimony (as related in the preceding biography) respecting the rich jewels her father had given to the late queen Katharine Parr. He alluded to Mary's total deprivation of music while she abode at St. James's, and insinuated that she must wholly have lost her practice. In order to obviate such a misfortune, he offered the services of his man, Walter Earle, to give her lessons, this person being well skilled on her favourite instrument, the virginals. The inquisitors of the Star-chamber, who soon after carefully sifted all the proceedings of the unfortunate Seymour, found that he had had a long consultation with his man, Walter Earle, the night before he set out on his errand to Mary. They shrewdly suspected that Walter was directed to intersperse, with his musical lessons, some words calculated to raise the ambitious widower

¹ Haynes's Burleigh Papers.

in the good graces of the princess. Great jealousy was excited in the mind of the protector, that his brother, if he failed in his matrimonial projects regarding Elizabeth, or lady Jane Gray meant to offer his hand to the princess Mary.

A very few weeks intervened before Thomas Seymour was hurried, without trial, to the block, by the jealousy of his fraternal foe. He employed his last moments in writing to the royal sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, one of whom regarded him with feelings of friendship, the other with those of love.

Mary's health was so very infirm in the succeeding spring, that her death was generally expected: she herself felt convinced that her end was near. Had she died at this time, how deeply venerated would her name have been to all posterity! how fondly would her learning, her charities, her spotless purity of life, her inflexible honesty of word and deed, and her fidelity to her friends have been quoted and remembered by her country! Even her constancy to the ancient church would have been forgiven, as she was as yet innocent of the greatest offence a human being can commit against God and man—persecution for religion's sake. She wrote a meditation on her severe illness in 1549, and sent it to her kinswoman, lady Capel, with these words:—"Good cousin Capel, I pray you, as often as you be disposed to read this writing, to remember me and pray for me—your loving friend, MARIE." The cousin, whose relationship the princess claims so frankly, was daughter to the lady Manners, descended from Anne duchess of Exeter, sister to Edward IV., by her second husband St. Leger, and of course a descendant of the royal line of York.¹

The sickness Mary referred to lay long and heavily on her at Kenninghall, and it seems to have been greatly aggravated by the arduous letters she had almost daily to write to the protector, respecting her required conformity with the recently established church of England. In the course of this correspondence she frequently alluded to her sinking health. The point of contest was, her refusal to deliver up her chaplain, Dr. Hopton; her officer, Sir Francis Inglefield; and her comptroller, Rochester, to the inquisitorial powers of the privy council regarding her domestic worship. In her letter she rather appealed to the former friendship between her and Somerset, than used harsh language:—

"I intend, with God's grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I *think* [expect] to live, in quietness, praying for the king's majesty and all of you. Moreover, your desire seems that I should send my comptroller [Rochester] and Dr. Hopton [chaplain] to you. It is not unknown to you that the chief charge of

¹ Park's Royal Authors, and Strype. The present ducal house of Rutland, and its branches of the name of Manners, derive descent from the legitimate line of York through this source.

my house resteth only on the *travails* of my said comptroller, who hath not been absent from my house three whole days since the setting up of the same, unless it were for my letters-patent; so that if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little *provision* [income] would not have stretched so far. My chaplain, by occasion of sickness, hath been long absent, and is not yet able to ride; therefore, as I cannot *forbear* [spare] my comptroller, and my priest is not able to journey, I desire you, my lord, if you have anything to declare to me, *except matters of religion*, to send me some trusty person with whom I shall be contented to talk; but assuring you, that if any servant of mine, man, woman, or chaplain, should move me contrary to my conscience, I would not give ear to them, nor suffer the like to be used in my house. And thus, my lord, with my hearty commendations, I wish unto you and the rest [of the council] as well to do as myself.—From my house at Kenninghall, 22nd of June, 1549.

“Your assured friend to my power,

“MARY.”

The dispute gathered strength as it proceeded, and, in a letter written a few days after, she says, “Her poor sick priest, Hopton, has set out in obedience to their orders, though the weather was cold and stormy, and he likely to fail by the way.” This controversial correspondence with Somerset was suddenly interrupted by his deposition from the protectorship. The faction which had deposed him (the leaders of which were Dudley and Northampton) addressed an extraordinary memorial to Mary, giving their own version of the transaction, written with natural partiality to their own cause and conduct. From this singular document we abstract the following particulars:—

TO MY LADY MARY’S GRACE AND MY LADY ELIZABETH’S GRACE.

“It may please your *grace*,¹ with our most humble and hearty commendations, to understand, that whereas some trouble hath chanced between us of the king’s majesty’s council and the duke of Somerset, and because the same may be diversely reported, we have thought it our parts to signify to your *grace* briefly how the matter hath grown, and by what means it hath now come to this extremity.” Many sentences then occur, accusing Somerset indefinitely of pride, ambition, and impracticability in business, and at last, with flying into violent courses because he suspected a cabal against him. As addressed to the princess Mary, the following narrative of the only misdemeanour that could be alleged against the hapless Somerset is very curious:—“We,” resume his accusers, “had not dined together above twice, but immediately he took the Tower, and raised all the country about Hampton-

¹ A duplicate of this state paper was certainly sent to both sisters, as it is superscribed to both, but is only pertinent to Mary, as the

contents will show. It is printed at length in Mr. Tytler’s *Edward and Mary*, vol. i p. 248.

court, *bruiting* and crying out ‘that certain lords had determined to destroy the king’s majesty’—whom we pray to God on our knees to make as old a king as any of his progenitors! And when he had thus gathered the people together at Hampton-court, he brought his majesty into the base-court there, and to the gate, causing him (good prince) to say to the people crowded round the gate, ‘I pray you be good to us and our uncle!’” The scene of this stirring historical drama, we consider, is that antique quadrangle in Hampton-court which opens on the river, the bridge, and offices; this, we think, agrees with the term “base-court.” It is little injured by the hand of innovation; and here imagination can picture the royal boy, with his noble-looking uncle, supplicating through the grate the motley crowd (assembled from the banks of the river and the adjacent hamlets) “to be good” to them. But this did not form the whole of the protector’s harangue, which chiefly turned on a political intrigue he suspected his rivals meant to agitate with the princess Mary. The document proceeds:—“When he, Somerset, began his oration to the people, and, among his other untrue and idle sayings, declared ‘that we wanted to remove him from his office, because we were minded to have your grace [princess Mary] to be regent of the realm;’ dilating on what danger it would prove to his majesty to have your grace (who are *next in succession and title*) to be in that place, and that therein was meant a great treason—which, as God knoweth, we never intended, and consider all laws touching the government provide to the contrary; neither have any of us all at any time, by word or writing, opened any such matter to your grace, as your honour knoweth.” This singular communication bears every appearance of a snare laid for Mary by Dudley. It opened to her a prospect, which she had never previously contemplated, of governing England as princess-regent, by the aid of his faction after the deposition of Somerset. Had she given way for one instant to the temptation of ambitious vanity, and encouraged Dudley by replying, “That, as *next in succession and title*, her appointment as regent was by no means an unreasonable step,” she had been lost, for the same party afterwards conspired to invalidate her title and right of succession to the throne. She knew them well, and gave no encouragement to the subtle hint. The whole transaction has, till very recently, slept in the dim twilight of the State-Paper office. Most wisely does Mr. Tytler observe “that historical truth is progressive, of slow attainment, and to be found, if anywhere, in the original letters of the times.” To this may we add that History, separated from the companionship of her sister Biography, is an inexplicable riddle; for in the individual characters of rulers and princes, in their passions, interests, and good or bad principles, can alone be traced the springs of the outward and visible actions which history records. Dudley’s despatch, after detailing many curious particulars relative to Edward VI. and Somerset, irrelevant

here, thus concludes :—"We trust your grace, in our just and faithful quarrel, will stand with *us*, and thus shall we pray to Almighty God for the preservation of your grace's health."

It may be inferred, from Mary's kindness on her accession to Somerset's down-trodden and persecuted family, after his enemies had wreaked their final vengeance on him, that she by no means approved of his ruin and execution; and it is certain, from the immediate renewal of aggravated severities against her for the practice of her domestic worship, that "her grace did not stand" with his enemies, according to their earnest request. Indeed, Mary's utter retreat from all political agitation in her brother's stormy minority, coincides entirely with Pollino's narrative regarding her father's death-bed charge. Whenever she was at issue with the ministers of Edward VI., her disagreement was wholly personal, and never of a public nature. It was passive, and limited to repelling their interference with her domestic altar; and when she resisted their attacks, she neither meddled with their intrigues, fomented their factions, nor encouraged their enemies. When Dudley was established in the regency, he had vainly excited her to claim trial: he arrested her chaplains for officiating in her chapel, she appealed to the emperor on the subject;¹ and his ambassador demanded of the privy council "that the lady Mary might have her mass, which was denied," says her royal brother, in his journal. The denial was in ambiguous terms, since the imperial ambassador understood that "permission had been granted." Yet molestation to the princess continued during 1550, and towards the autumn assumed a serious aspect. Meantime the duke of Brunswick became a suitor for her hand, but was informed by her brother "that don Louis, the infant of Portugal, was engaged in a marriage-treaty for the princess Mary, and when that was determined, he should be answered." The duke of Brunswick was the second illustrious wooer Mary had had from among the champions of the Protestant faith, and the marquis of Brandenburg soon after offered her his hand. There seems, during the reign of Edward, to have been as many overtures for her marriage as when her father was alive. She gave her consent to alliance with don Louis of Portugal, but the match was never concluded.² Meantime the emperor threatened England with war, if the lady Mary was not exempted from all penal law against nonconformity, which was at this time severe;³ and when the young king positively refused to permit mass to be said in her chapel, the emperor Charles sent ships (commanded by one of his Flemings, named Scipperus) to hover off the east coast, to

¹ Several of her letters to Charles V. are extant in Haynes's Collection. They are inconsequential.

² Strype's Notes to Hayward's Edward VI.

³ The first of these acts of parliament, enforcing conformity with the Protestant church of England under cruel penal laws, was just carried into effect. Joan Bocher was under

sentence of the fiery death she afterwards suffered. Several Dutchmen, condemned to the flames, bore fagots to St. Paul's, and one was burnt to death. Sir Anthony Browne, a faithful and honest servant of the crown, and several more, were imprisoned in the Tower for catholicism.

receive Mary on board and carry her to the protection of his sister, the queen of Hungary.¹ King Edward ordered Sir John Gates to watch that his recusant sister was not stolen away from Newhall (which is situate near the mouth of the Blackwater, in Essex) to Antwerp. This measure was expected, because it was said at court "that more than one of her gentlemen had been to the coast, and examined the best places for her embarkation." Thus it appears her favourite seat of Newhall, or Beaulieu, was regarded with jealousy by the court. The privy council endeavoured to entice Mary from the forbidden ground of Newhall, by amiable representations that the air of Essex was bad for her health, and the cause of illness which attacked her in the November of 1550; in answer, she wrote the following letter, which is pleasantly worded, and from which may be gathered information regarding her health and residences. It was probably addressed to the lord privy-seal, Bedford, with whom she was always on friendly terms:—

"MY LORD,

"I most heartily thank you for your gentle and kind letters. And whereas it should seem to you, and others my friends, that the soil and air of this house might be the reason of my sickness, for recovery whereof you think it good I should remove from the same. My lord, the truth is, neither the house or the air is herein to be suspected, but the time of the year, being the fall of the leaf, at which time I have seldom escaped the same disease these many years; and the rather, to prove the air is not the evil, I have not at present (thanks be to God) any of my household sick. Notwithstanding, I had made my provisions at Wanstead and St. John's² this two months past, where I intended to have been all this winter; but by reason of one departed at Wanstead of the plague, who was buried in the churchyard, very near to my gate, I was driven from that house; and then my disease coming on me so sore (hearing also that the air at St. John's was not clear), I durst not venture to take so far a journey, the *stay* [delay] whereof was a grief to me, because the chief intent of the same was to see the king's majesty. So having no house of my own near hand, I thought it not meet to make more provision in any other, but determined to rest here³ till Christmas was past, and caused mine officers to provide accordingly. Moreover, for the better amendment of my health, you so gently offer me the choice of any of the king's majesty's houses, or any other man's house, being meet, to be had, you would give order for the same. My lord, your gentleness in this, or in any other of my causes, doth appear so unfeignedly, that I have just occasion to think you my very friend; and not being otherwise able to

¹ King Edward's Journal.

² St. John's is always alluded to as the town-house of the princess. It seems to have been St. John's, Clerkenwell, where the Hos-

pitallers had been dispossessed of a magnificent mansion by Henry VIII.

³ At Beaulieu, now Newhall, near Chelmsford.

recompense you, I shall pray for you. Hereafter, if I shall espy any house meet for my purpose, I shall make bold to require your favour therein; for I mean, if strength and health will suffer me, to change the air and house here for the cleansing of the same, and borrow my lord chancellor's house for ten or twelve days, who very gently hath offered me the same. And thus, with my most hearty commendations, I wish you well to do as myself.—From *Beaulieu* [Newhall], the 23rd of November.

“Your assured friend to my power,
“MARY.”

This letter was so represented, that it produced the observation from the young king, in his journal, “that the lady Mary refused to come to him.” Throughout the winter a controversy continued regarding the ritual used in her chapel, which, at last, became so serious, that she resolved to appeal to her brother in person. The offence given by Mary was, that she did not have service celebrated with closed doors, but permitted her neighbours to come in crowds to share in her worship. Mary was likewise accused of usurping the parish churches near her residences, occupying them with her chaplains, and causing mass to be celebrated therein; but bishop Ridley, in his narrative of his subsequent discussion with her, exonerates her from the charge by declaring that when he pressed the subject of preaching to her, she referred him “to the parish church at Hunsdon, as the proper place for his ministry.”¹

Familiar intercourse took place in the following year between the princess Mary and her kinswoman Frances Brandon, duchess of Suffolk, and her daughters. “In the fourth year of Edward VI., the duchess Frances came with a great retinue from Bradgate to Tilsey.² Ten gentlemen arrived from London to escort her to my lady Mary's grace, and after breakfast, November 21, the duchess Frances, with my lady Jane Gray, my lady Katharine Gray, and my lady Mary Gray, repaired to my lady Mary's grace. The first days of December lady Katharine Gray came back with her sister Mary to Tisley, but lady Jane Gray was left at court as the guest of her cousin the princess Mary until the 16th of that month. When the princess bade farewell to her guest, lady Jane Gray departed in company with her father, her mother, and her uncles, the lord John and lord Thomas Gray, and rode with them to spend the Christmas at Tilsey.³ The princess Mary sent one of her gentlemen with a message to the family party of the Grays, and he dined with them.”

When the princess Mary was resident at Wanstead-house, in the year

¹ Strype, vol. ii. part 2, p. 334.

² These extracts are from a precious unprinted MS. book belonging to lord Middleton, being a set of extracts made by Capt. Willoughby, in December, 1702, from the family

papers in his brother's study at Wollarton, in Nottinghamshire.

³ A seat of the Willoughbys. Lady Willoughby was lady Jane Gray's aunt, lady Anne Gray, sister of the duke of Suffolk.

1551, she paid a state visit to the court of Edward VI. She rode from Wanstead, attended by a noble cavalcade of ladies and gentlemen, through Fleet-street to Westminster. Her intention was to make a personal appeal to her brother on the subject of the interruption his ministers were then offering to her domestic worship. Every one of her numerous retinue wore a black rosary and cross hanging at the girdle, a display which naturally gave rise to irritation, and caused infinite offence to the Protestant court of the young king.¹ "At the great gate of the palace she alighted, and Mr. Wingfield, comptroller of the king's household, and many lords attended her there. And so she was brought through the hall unto the chamber of presence, and so she tarried there two hours, and partook of a goodly banquet."

"The lady Mary, my sister," says young Edward, in his journal, "came to me at Westminster, where, after salutations, she was called with my council into a chamber, where was declared how long I had suffered her mass *against my will*, in the hope of her reconciliation; and how (now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters), except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it. It was said," continues Edward, "I constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey, and that her example might breed too much inconvenience." Mary answered, "that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary words." It is to be noted that the royal writer has scored through the words "against my will," and that he carefully abstains from speaking in the first person; plainly indicating that the declaration, though made in his name, was not uttered by his lips. It does not even appear that he was present on the occasion. The same guarded and impersonal style may be traced throughout Edward's journal whenever he records the harsh messages sent to Mary. This confirms her assertions that "he, good sweet king had nothing to do with the unkind and intolerant treatment to which she was subjected from the council."

Some alarm was evidently felt for the princess by the populace, whose idol she then was; but she seems to have parted on friendly terms with the king, whatever resentment she bore to the council, since she obtained leave to visit her favourite seat of Beaulieu (Newhall), in Essex. After the goodly banquet, the same afternoon "she took horse and rode back to St. John's, Clerkenwell, and there she lay all night; and on the morrow her grace rode to Newhall, in Essex, and there bides with grace and honour—thanks to God and the king her brother."²

The king, it may be perceived by his journal, was personally aggrieved by the reluctance his sister Mary manifested at visiting his court; yet,

¹ March 18. This Cottonian chronicler (edited by Sir F. Madden, *Privy-purse Expenses*, p. cx.) dates Mary's visit to court a day earlier than her brother does in his jour-

nal. Strype's edition of the same adds the incident of the black rosaries.

² Chronicle in Mary's *Privy-purse Expenses* Sir F. Madden.

and there existed no religious differences, the ceremonial imposed upon every one who approached the Tudor sovereigns must have been difficult for an invalid to support. "When one of the king's sisters eats with him," says the Florentine ambassador, Ubaldini, "she may not sit on a chair, but a mere bench, and so far distant from the head of the table and the king, that the canopy does not overhang her. The ceremonies observed before sitting down to table are truly laughable. I have seen, for example, the princess Elizabeth drop on one knee five times before her brother, ere she took her place." The king was answered on the knee every time he addressed any one, even of the highest rank. Laughable it certainly was, that the representatives of Owen Tudor should exact from their court almost oriental prostration, when the mightiest of the majestic Plantagenets, Edward III., required no such servility.

The very day after Mary's visit, the emperor's ambassador declared, that "If his master's kinswoman was any further molested in her religious rites, he should quit the country, preparatory to a declaration of war." The ministers, and even the bishops, of the young king assured him that war with the Low Countries would be utter ruin to England, and that he must wink at his sister's mass for awhile—whereat he wept.¹ The enforced toleration did not last long; for Francis Mallet, the head chaplain to the princess's household, was seized, and confined rigidly in the Tower; a person was placed in his cell, night and day, to watch what he said and did. This was the more to be deplored, since Mallet had shown, by aiding Mary in the translation of Erasmus, a tendency to liberality of principles; and when such persons meet persecution, the mischief done to the general cause of Christianity is great, since all the tendencies to kindness and mutual forbearance are changed into polemic fury. Mary's imprisoned chaplain had been esteemed by queen Katharine Parr: he was a retiring character, but a man of great learning and sincerity. He had been long in the service of the princess Mary, and it was to him she addressed the following words, at the end of a prayer she composed: "Good Francis, pray that I may have grace to obtain the petitions contained in this prayer above written. Your assured loving mistress, during life—MARIE."²

When her old and tried friend was dragged from under her roof to prison, Mary wrote earnest letters of remonstrance to her brother and his council, but in vain. She continued, however, to have her religious service celebrated by her remaining chaplains, although, in the following August, another attempt was made to prevent it. The princess was at Copthall, Waltham, Essex, when the king and council sent for the comptroller of her household, Mr. Robert Rochester, with Mr

¹ Edward's Journal, as quoted in Lingard and Madden.

² Sir F. Madden's *Privy-purse Expenses*, p. cxxxvi.

Waldegrave and Sir Francis Inglefield, her two other principal officers; and, after using many menaces and persuasions, charged them to return to their mistress, and inform her and her remaining chaplains that mass should not be continued; in short, these officers were charged to control the princess in her own house, by altogether putting a stop to her religious rites,¹ and if, in consequence, she discharged them from her service, they were to stay nevertheless, and enforce the king's orders.

Most unwillingly, and with heavy hearts, did Mary's officers receive the orders of the privy council, and return home charged with commissions to execute them. How they sped in their attempts to control their mistress their own words will best testify:—"We arrived at Copped-hall, August 15, late in the evening; but as the following day was Sunday, and her grace was to receive the sacrament, we abstained from delivering the letters before noon, lest she should be disquieted." After dinner, they presented the letters delivered to them at Hampton-court on the 14th; and when the princess had read them, they prayed her to be contented to hear the commission they had received of the council. To which her grace made answer, "that she knew right well that their commission agreed with the letters before her, therefore they need not rehearse it." They implored her to permit them to obey the council. "At last she consented to hear their message, but was marvelously offended when she heard it, and forbade them to declare the same to her chaplains and household; if they did, they must no longer consider her as their mistress—moreover, she would leave the house directly." As during this interview they all observed "that her colour often altered, and she seemed passioned and unquiet, they forbore to trouble her further, fearing that the troubling her might bring on an attack of her old disease;" they therefore begged her "to consider the matter within herself, and pause upon her answer to the council till the next Wednesday, when they would wait upon her grace again to hear further her pleasure;" adding that they did this, hoping "to find her more conformable." On Wednesday they found her anything but conformable, for she would not permit them to declare their charge from the council to her chaplains and family, saying, "Her household were enjoying the completest peace and quiet; and if they chose to disturb her and them, and any ill should arise, they, the said Rochester, Inglefield, and Waldegrave, must answer for the blame of it."² After this exhortation from their mistress, they preferred returning to the council without performing their commission, contenting themselves with bringing to Windsor, for his majesty, "letters from the lady Mary's grace, as followeth:"—"My

¹ Privy Council-book. Likewise Ellis's Letters, first Series.

² See the original MS. Harleian, 352, fol. 166. It is printed, with some acute comments, in Sir Henry Ellis's first collection of

English Letters. The narrative of the unfortunate officers is drawn from a MS. belonging to the collection of Sir T. Phillipps, at Middle Hill.

duty most humbly remembered to your majesty. It may please you to be advertised that I have by my servants received your most honourable letter, the contents whereof do not a little trouble me; and so much the more, for that any of my servants should move or trouble me in matters touching my soul, which I think the meanest subject in your realm could evil bear at their servants' hand, having, for my part, utterly refused heretofore to talk with them in such matters, and of all other persons least regarded them therein. To them I have declared what I think, as she which trusteth your majesty would have suffered me, your poor humble sister and bedeswoman, to have used the accustomed mass which the king, your father and mine, with all his predecessors evermore used, wherein also I have been brought up from my youth; and thereunto my conscience doth not only bind me (which will by no means suffer me to think one thing and do *another*), but also the promise made to the emperor by your majesty's council was an assurance to me, that in so doing I should not break the laws, although they seem now to qualify and deny the thing. And at my last waiting on your highness I was so bold as to declare my mind and conscience, and desired your highness, rather than constrain it, *to take my life*; whereunto your majesty made me a *very gentle answer*. And now I beseech your highness to give me leave to write what I think touching your majesty's letters. Indeed, they may be signed with your own hand, and nevertheless, in my opinion, not your majesty's in effect; because it is well known, that heretofore I have declared in the presence of your highness that, though (our Lord be praised) your majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can at these years be a judge in matters of religion; and therefore I take it that the matter proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves, by whose doings, your majesty not offended, I mean not to rule my conscience. And thus, without molesting your highness any further, I humbly beseech the same ever, for God's sake, to bear with me, as you have done; and not to think that by my doings or example any inconvenience might grow to your majesty, or to your realm, for I use it not after any such sort, *putting* [having] no doubt but in time to come, whether 'live or die, your majesty shall perceive mine intent is grounded upon true love towards you; whose royal estate I beseech Almighty God long to continue, which is and shall be my prayer, according to my duty. And after pardon craved of your majesty for this rude and bold letter, if, neither at my humble suit nor for regard of the promise made to the emperor, you will suffer and bear with me as you have done till your majesty may be a judge herein yourself, and right understand their proceeding (of which yet I despair not), rather than to offend God and my conscience I offer my body at your will, *and death shall be more welcome*

than life with a troubled conscience. Most humbly beseeching your majesty to pardon my slowness in answering your letters, for my old disease would not suffer me to write any sooner. And thus I pray Almighty God to keep your majesty in all virtue, and honour, and long life, at his pleasure.—From my poor house at Copped-hall (Essex), the 19th of August.

“Your majesty’s most humble sister,

“MARY.”

Edward VI. and his council took four days for the consideration of this letter, nor could they devise a more rational scheme of reducing the recusant princess to conformity, than by continuing to excite her own servants to control her; “who, being accustomed to render her implicit obedience,” were, as she shrewdly remarked, “the last persons likely to enforce it.” And so it proved; for when Robert Rochester, her principal officer, was brought before the king and council in order to receive a second code of instructions on his return to his vocation in the household of the princess, he flatly refused to carry any more messages, vowing “he had had enough of his first commission. They might send him to prison if they liked, but as to face his mistress on any such errands, he would *not*.”¹ Sir Francis Inglefield and Mr. Waldegrave were precisely in the same mind, refusing to intermeddle with the religious rites in the household of their lady, saying it was against their consciences. The resolution of Mary’s officers to endure any infliction rather than return to their mistress’s residence with fresh orders for controlling her, placed the privy council in a dilemma; and they actually found no expedient, except carrying out their own enactments in person. Accordingly, a deputation of their body set off for the purpose of reducing the princess to obedience. The persons composing it were the lord chancellor Rich, Sir Anthony Wingfield (comptroller of the king’s household), and Mr. Petre; they likewise brought a gentleman, who meant to favour Mary with his service in place of the impracticable Robert Rochester—that faithful servant of the princess having been, on his refusing to exercise coercion, consigned prisoner, first to the Fleet, and then to the Tower. The proceedings of the privy councillors at Copt-hall cannot be better narrated than in the words of the lord chancellor² himself, who, in a very tragic tone, thus relates a scene, which, contrasted with the sad and tearful events of those times of terror, positively ends

¹ Privy Council-book, reign of Edward VI.

² Privy Council-book, and Ellis’s Letters, first Series. This lord chancellor Rich, on account of ill health, resigned the seals a few months afterwards.—See Edward VI.’s Journal. He was the same person who climbed into favour by the persecution of Sir Thomas More, and whose perjured testimony was the only shadow of witness against him. He is

the man who is accused by Foxe of throwing off his gown and aiding Wriothesley in working the rack that tortured poor Anne Askew, in order to wring from her evidence to destroy queen Katharine Parr. Yet, in 1551, he voluntarily went to harass Mary into conformity with the very religion, for the profession of which he almost tore the tender frame of Anne Askew to pieces.

with a tinge of comedy :—"I, the lord chancellor, delivered his majesty's letters to the lady Mary, who received them on her knees, saying, that she would kiss the letter because the king had signed it, and not for the matter contained therein, which was merely the doings of the council. Reading it to herself, she said these words, in our hearing : 'Ah! good Mr. Cecil took much pains here.'" When they began to exhort her on the business they came on, she prayed them to be brief; "For," said she, "I am ill at ease in health, and I shall, mayhap, make you a short answer, having written my mind to his majesty with mine own hand."

Nevertheless, they proceeded in their exhortation, and offered to show her the names of all the council who had resolved she should not have the private mass in her house. "She cared not," she said, "for the rehearsal of their names, for she knew they were all of one mind therein. And," added she, "rather than use any other service than that ordained during the life of my father, I will lay my head on the block; but," she continued, "I am unworthy to suffer death in so good a cause. And though his majesty, good sweet king, have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet it is not possible for him, at present, to be a judge of all things; for instance, if ships were to be sent to sea, I am sure you would not think him able to decide what should be done, and much less can he, at his age, judge in questions of divinity. Howbeit, if my chaplains do say no mass, I can hear none, no more can my poor servants. As to my priests, they know what they have to do, if they refuse to say mass for fear of imprisonment; they may act therein as they will, but none of your new service shall be said in any house of mine, and if any be said in it I will not tarry in it an hour." They then told her how the king had commanded her comptroller, Mr. Robert Rochester, to enforce his council's orders, and how ill and inefficiently he and his colleagues had done the errand, and of their flat disobedience when commanded to return with a second message.

As might be expected, this information gave the princess Mary extreme satisfaction: friendless and oppressed she might be, but it was evident she was still absolute mistress in her own domicile, and her servants preferred gainsaying a king and his council to the task of contradicting her under her own roof. With true woman's wit she rejoined—"It was not the wisest of all councils that sent her own servants to control her, in her own house; for, of all persons, she was least likely to obey those who had been always used to obey her implicitly. As for their punishment, the lords must use them as they thought fit;¹ but if they refused to do your message," added she, "they were the honestest men, I

¹ They were kept in prison during the remainder of the reign of Edward VI. At least, Mr. Waldegrave's family annals—*see* Burke's *Peerage*—affirm that he was found in prison

by Mary at her accession. Mary remembered the fidelity with which they suffered in her cause.

wis." Then the chancellor opened at length regarding the message of Charles V. in her behalf to the privy council, to which she replied, "I have the emperor's letter, in his own handwriting, testifying that an actual promise was made by the council that the mass should be permitted me, nor can you marvel that I credit the emperor's writing more than your words; and though you esteem the emperor so little, yet should ye show me more favour than ye do, even for my father's sake, who made the most of ye what ye be now, almost out of nothing." This observation must have been peculiarly cutting to those in her presence, since they were remarkable for nothing excepting the art of skilful compliance with every persecuting whim of the sovereign that happened to be reigning, whether directed against Protestants or Catholics.

"As for the emperor," continued the princess, "were he dead, I would do just as I do now: notwithstanding, to be plain with you, his ambassador shall know how I am used." "After this," resumes lord chancellor Rich, "she was told that the king had appointed a person to supply the place of her impracticable comptroller, Rochester, who was sent to prison for refusing to carry the messages of the council. 'I shall appoint mine own officers,' said Mary, 'for my years are sufficient for the purpose; and if ye leave your new comptroller within my gates, out of them I go forthwith, for we twain will not abide in the same house. And,' added she, 'I am sickly, yet will I not die willingly; but if I chance to die, I will protest openly that ye of the council be the cause of my death.' And having said this, she on her knees delivered a ring as a token to the king, saying, 'that she would die his true subject and sister, and obey him in all things except matters of religion; but this,' she added, 'will never be told his majesty.' And having spoken thus, she departed into her bedchamber." Then the lord chancellor called the chaplains of her household before him, and commanded and threatened them if they said aught but the service contained in the Common-prayer book. "The chaplains, after *some take*,¹ promised to obey."

When departing, the lord chancellor and his company went down into the court-yard and waited a few minutes, while search was made for one of the chaplains, who had got out of the way of the exhortation. Just then the princess, who, perhaps, was willing to divert their attention, opened a little window close by them; and though they offered "to return to the house, to hear what she had to say, she would needs," says my lord chancellor, "speak out of the window. 'I pray you,' quoth she, 'ask the lords of the council that my comptroller [Rochester] may shortly return; for since his departing I take the accounts myself, and lo! have I learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat! I wis my father and mother never brought me up to brewing

¹ Perhaps "some talk." There is, however, an Anglo-Saxon idiom "to take on," signifying querulous lamentation.

and baking; and, to be plain with you, I am a-weary of mine office. If my lords will send mine officer home again, they shall do me a pleasure; otherwise, if they send him to prison, beshrew me if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will. And I pray God to send you well in your souls, and in your bodies too, for some of you have but weak ones." It cannot excite surprise that the deputation waited not to hear any more of this address, to which the princess certainly gave a comic turn that few will expect from her. Thus she remained victor in the whole discussion, for it is not mentioned that the absentee chaplain was found; therefore, when the unwelcome visitors departed, the chaplain doubtless came out of his hiding-place, and performed the forbidden service as usual in the chapel.

These events took place just before the arrest and final condemnation of the duke of Somerset: he had previously lost every shadow of power. Among other accusations, he was charged with having proclaimed to the people "that the Dudley faction had sown strife between the king and the princess Mary." In the succeeding April,¹ 1552, the united attacks of the small-pox and measles left a blight on the constitution of the young king, which too truly prognosticated his early death. Projects, in consequence, began to be formed for excluding Mary from the throne. The long fits of illness which afflicted her gave probability to the reports the Dudley faction raised, representing her, according to the Italian of Pollino, "as a poor, miserable invalid, fit for nothing but to be shut up in her palace;" nevertheless, many of the principal lords of the kingdom were anxious for their daughters to serve her and be her companions, to whom she replied, "Do not marvel that I am obliged to decline receiving them, for my fortunes are such that I could neither benefit their prospects in life, or give them pleasure; and, though you kindly offer them, I could not receive services without rewarding them."²

The visits of the princess Mary to her brother, in the last year of his life, had become few and far between, and when they took place, were conducted according to the solemnest etiquette. One of these visits took place in June, 1552. She previously spent some days in London, at her palace of St. John's, Clerkenwell, "from whence she rode with a goodly company of ladies and gentlemen, June 11, to the Tower-wharf; there she took her barge, and was rowed to Greenwich-palace." Her interview with the king was, to take leave of him previously to his progress to Guildford.

The princess Mary received lady Jane Gray as her guest at Newhall, July, 1552, during the king's progress. An anecdote connected with this visit proves that the religious rites of catholicism were, notwith-

¹ April 2, 1552. "I fell sick of the small-pox and measles. April 15. The parliament broke up, because I was sick and unable to go abroad. I signed some bills, and sent the

lord chancellor, &c., to dissolve them."—Edward VI.'s Journal. Burnet, vol. ii. part 2. p. 45.

² Pollino, p. 75.

standing all opposition, still celebrated in Mary's domestic chapel; for lady Wharton, passing through the chapel at Newhall in company with lady Jane Gray, at a time when service was not proceeding, curtsied to the Host, which was in its usual place on the altar. Lady Jane asked, "If the lady Mary was present in the chapel?" Lady Wharton said, "No." "Why, then, do you curtsy?" asked lady Jane Gray. "I curtsy to Him that made me," replied lady Wharton. "Nay," said lady Jane Gray, "but did not the baker make him?" Lady Wharton¹ reported this dialogue to the princess Mary, who never after loved lady Jane as she had done before. The princess had previously presented lady Jane Gray with a rich dress, and her observations on the sinfulness of wearing it, mentioning Mary "as one who left God's word," probably found their way to the princess's ear, as well as into the narrative that recorded them. It is possible that these incidents caused lady Jane Gray to be nominated as the successor of Edward VI.—a choice replete with calamity to her. The mad ambition of John Dudley, who had lately created himself duke of Northumberland, destined the English crown for his youngest son, lord Guildford Dudley, by means of marriage with one of the ladies of the blood-royal descended from the Protestant branch of Suffolk. At first, lady Margaret Clifford, the grandchild of Mary Tudor, the sister of Henry VIII. (by descent from her youngest daughter), was the mate chosen for Northumberland's favourite boy.² Subsequently the faction became more daring or more desperate, as the king's illness took the form of consumption; and Guildford Dudley was matched three degrees nearer the throne with the fair and learned lady Jane Gray, eldest daughter of Frances duchess of Suffolk, who was heiress to the sister of Henry VIII. and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

The ensuing September was spent by the princess Mary at Hunsdon; and to this place, on the 8th of that month, the eloquent and zealous Ridley, then bishop of London, came from his seat of Hadham, close by, to pay her a pastoral visit. "He was courteously entertained by Sir Thomas Wharton, and the other officers of the princess, till about eleven o'clock, when she came forth into her presence-chamber. He

¹ Foxe's Martyrology; but the dates and place are from *Biographia Britannica*. Lady Wharton is called, in the usual indefinite versions of this anecdote, lady Anne Wharton, and is supposed to have been a young companion of Lady Jane, the difference between Anne lady Wharton, and lady Anne, not being in those days properly distinguished. She was, however, a lady of the princess's household, wife to Sir Thomas Wharton, who, as one of Mary's officers, offered soon after the stirrup-cup to bishop Ridley. The second anecdote is recorded by Aylmer, Jane's tutor.

² The jealousy of Dudley was low enough

to make the opinion of a female servant a matter of state discussion. A woman belonging to the unfortunate duchess of Somerset (then a wretched widow, unjustly detained in the Tower) was charged with having said, when this projected marriage was mentioned, "Have at the crown, by your leave!" and accompanied the words "with a stout gesture." The anger of Dudley shows that this surmise was detection. It is all the memorial that such a match was ever intended.—From MS. Harleian, edited by Sir F. Madden, *Privy-purse Expenses*, p. 114.

saluted her grace, and said he was come to pay his duty to her. The princess received the bishop courteously, and conversed with him right pleasantly for a quarter of an hour." She told him "she remembered him when he was chaplain to her father; that she recollected a sermon he preached before the king, on occasion of the marriage of my lady Clinton¹ to Sir Anthony Browne." She concluded by inviting him to dinner.

After dinner bishop Ridley told her "he came to do his duty by her as her diocesan, and to preach before her next Sunday." The princess blushed when she answered (for emotion, it has been before noticed, always brought a lively colour to her cheeks), and bade him "make the answer to that himself." Upon which he became more urgent, and she answered, "That the parish church would be open to him, if he had a mind to preach in it; but that neither she nor any of her household would be present." He said, "He hoped she would not refuse to hear God's word." She replied, "She did not know what they called God's word now, but she was sure it was not the same as in her father's time."—"God's word," replied Ridley, "was the same at all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in other." She answered, "He durst not have avowed his present faith in her father's lifetime;" and asked, "if he were of the council?" He said he was not. When he retired, she said, "She thanked him for coming to see her, but not at all for his intention of preaching before her."

Before the bishop left Hunsdon, Sir Thomas Wharton, steward of the household, according to the custom of the times, took him to the cellar,² or to the buttery-hatch, and presented him the usual stirrup-cup. When bishop Ridley had drunk, he said, "He had done amiss to drink under a roof where God's word was rejected: for he ought to have shaken the dust off his feet for a testimony against the house, and departed instantly." With these words he went his way, leaving all that had heard him in the utmost consternation at his manner. Heylin, in his version of the story, affirms that "they declared their hair stood on end at his denunciations."

The sincerity of both these opponents was unquestionable. Mary, pure in life, and unswerving in principle, was ready to lay her head on the block to testify her love for the faith in which she had been reared. Ridley was ardent in piety, and as poor (though bishop of London) as the apostles, to whom he compared himself—so bountiful was he in charitable distribution. In a milder age, such persons would have

¹ This was the fair Geraldine. It proves the princess Mary was at her wedding. These incidents are from Dr. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, and were drawn from Dr. Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley.

This custom was in vogue in the middle

ages as a trait of old English hospitality; persons of the highest quality were taken into the cellar to taste draught wine or ale, fresh from the cask, as Cavendish says the duke of Buckingham did in Wolsey's cellar.

respected each other's virtues, and tolerated difference of belief; but the mainspring of all the horrors of that dismal era was the fact, that if the word toleration was in use, it only served, on both sides, to nominate a crime. Nor was it till after as much Roman catholic blood had been shed by Elizabeth as would have fairly extinguished the hideous fires of the Marian persecution, that one glorious light of the reformed catholic church of England discovered the great Christian truth, that odious comparisons, bitter sarcasms, and other fruits of polemic argument excite combative anger, rather than feelings of Christian benevolence or veneration. It was holy George Herbert, the mild beams of whose tolerant faith were only diffused over *one* rural parish, who thus addressed his countrymen, just preparing, after a short breathing time, to rush into another religious civil war:—

"Be calm in arguing, for fierceness makes
Error a crime, and truth discourtesy.
Why should I blame another man's mistakes,
More than his sickness or his poverty?
In love I may; but anger is not love,
Nor reason neither, therefore gently move."¹

As the young king's health declined, the homage offered to the princess Mary increased; and when she paid one of her state visits to him at Westminster, on occasion of the new year of 1553, her *cortége* was crowded with the principal nobility. An eye-witness² thus enumerates the leading persons who thronged to do her honour:—"My lady Mary's grace rode from St. John's [Clerkenwell], through Fleet-street, unto the king at Westminster, with a great number of lords and knights, and all the great ladies. The duchess of Suffolk [Frances Brandon], the duchess of Northumberland, my lady marquise of Northampton, and lady marquise of Winchester, and the countesses of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and Arundel, my lady Clinton [the fair Geraldine], and my lady Browne and Browne,³ and many *mo* ladies and gentlemen. At the outer gate of Westminster-palace there met her my lord [duke] of Suffolk, my lord [duke] of Northumberland, lord Winchester, lord Bedford, lord Shrewsbury, the lord chamberlain, the lord admiral, and a vast train of knights and gentlemen. And so she went up to the chamber of presence," which at Westminster must have been the Painted-chamber, "and there the king met my lady princess, and saluted her." It is worth remarking here, that the names of the political leaders who seemed most solicitous to do the honours of the court to the princess Mary on occasion of her visit to her declining brother, will subsequently be found prominent on the list of the council which strove to exclude her from the succession.

¹ George Herbert's "Temple, and other Poems," published in 1633. See his beautiful biography, written by a man of similar mind, Isaac Walton.

² Machyn's Diary, p. 30; Camden Society.

³ One was the mother of Sir Anthony Browne, the other the wife of Sir Edward Browne.

Mary retired, a day or two after this grand demonstration of her popularity at court, to her favourite seat of Newhall, where she passed the spring in tranquillity. In May the princess received false intelligence that the king was better, and addressed to him, in consequence, the following letter of congratulation :—

THE PRINCESS MARY TO EDWARD VI.¹

“ My duty most humbly presented to your majesty, it may please the same to be advertised, that as hearing of your highness's late rheum and cough was as much grief as ever was any worldly thing, even so the hope which I have conceived since I received your majesty's last token by my servant hath not been a little to my comfort, praying Almighty God, according to my most bounden duty, to give your majesty perfect health and strength, with long continuance in prosperity to reign, beseeching your highness to pardon my bold and rude writing and if in the same I do trouble your majesty at this present (which I hope I do not), that my humble duty and *nature* [natural feeling] which enforceth me thereunto, may excuse my default. Thus most humbly taking my leave of your majesty, I do, and shall, daily pray for the prosperous preservation of your royal estate as, of all others, I am most bound.—From Beaulieu [Newhall], the 16th of May, scribbled with a rude hand. [No date.]

“ Your majesty's most humble sister,

“ MARY.”

This was the last communication that passed between the princess Mary and her dying brother: his real situation was sedulously concealed from both his sisters, who, in distrust of the prevalent court fashion, kept at some distance from the metropolis. At the end of May a splendid bridal festival was held at Durham-house, Strand, while the king was extremely ill; his accomplished kinswoman, lady Jane Gray, was married to lord Guildford Dudley, and her sister, lady Katharine Gray, to the heir of the earl of Pembroke.

King Edward expired at Greenwich-palace, little more than a month afterwards, July 6, 1553. He disinherited, by an illegal will, not only the sister whose religion he hated, but his Protestant sister Elizabeth, in order to bestow the crown on lady Jane Gray. It is a point that will admit strong historical controversy, whether, in this transaction, Edward was Northumberland's dupe or his victim.² The dominant faction, by means of doubling the guards round the royal apartments, contrived to

¹ Strype, vol. ii. part 2, p. 110.

² A contemporary, Sir John Hayward, declares, that in his decline king Edward suffered agonies of regret for the death of both his uncles, the Seymours. The MS. of the Throckmorton family confirms Hayward's assertions, viz., that the young king

abhorred Northumberland, on account of his uncles' deaths; and, as Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was a close attendant on Edward's person (the only one who was not Northumberland's spy), the tradition he left deserves great attention. Sir James Neville, another contemporary, gives similar evidence.

keep Edward's death a secret from the public for two days, for the better arrangement of their plans. Meantime, one of the young Throckmortons was in the service of Dudley duke of Northumberland, and as he waited at Greenwich-palace, he overheard a conference between him and Sir John Gates, which took place when the duke was in bed, early in the morning after the death of the young king. These two confederates were discussing the destination of the princess Mary, when young Throckmorton heard Sir John exclaim sharply, "What, sir! will you let the lady Mary escape, and not secure her person?"¹ No more met the listener's ears, but those words fell not unheeded. When the council met, a deceitful letter was agreed upon and written to Mary, saying "that her brother, who was very ill, prayed her to come to him, as he earnestly desired the comfort of her presence, and likewise wished her to see all well ordered about him." Mary, who had watched over his infancy, appears to have been melted by this appeal; she returned a tender message, expressive of her pleasure "that he should have thought she could be of any comfort to him." She set out immediately from Hunsdon, and got as far as Hoddesdon, when a mysterious messenger met her, sent, some historians say, by the earl of Arundel, others by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and warned her that her sisterly affection had been imposed on, that the king was dead, and that she was destined to imprisonment in the Tower. The private memorials of the Throckmorton family describe how this was effected.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who had been present at the king's death, came in great grief to Throckmorton-house, in the city, where his father and three brothers were assembled, to whom he revealed the king's death, and the intended proclamation of Northumberland's daughter-in-law as queen. To this information the brother, who was in the household of the duke of Northumberland, added what he had heard pass between his master and Sir John Gates. At the same time Sir Nicholas Throckmorton must have obtained the intelligence that it was Northumberland's strong detestation of the princess Elizabeth, rather than "dislike to Mary," that was his motive of action.²

The Throckmortons, agreeing in enmity to the aspiring house of Dudley, resolved that timely notice should be given to the princess Mary, and therefore called into consultation her goldsmith, who undertook to carry the important message: he set out accordingly to meet her, and was undoubtedly the man who intercepted her at Hoddesdon, and revealed the real state of affairs.³ Mary showed indications of great

¹ Bishop Goodman's *Memoirs*, 161.

² Throckmorton Despatches, Hardwicke Papers. The remark was made to queen Elizabeth herself, and probably had some connection with her attachment to young Robert Dudley.

³ Cole's MS. vol. xI., British Museum, fully confirms the statement that Mary's goldsmith gave her the warning, and the whole of the facts quoted above.

perplexity at the information. She asked the goldsmith, "How he knew for a certainty that the king was dead?" He answered, "Sir Nicholas knew it verily." His authority was exceedingly mistrusted by Mary, for as Sir Nicholas Throckmorton¹ had assumed the phraseology of the Calvinists at the court of Edward VI., she could not believe that his intentions were friendly to her cause. She dreaded that a trap was laid to seduce her into an overt act of treason, by proclaiming herself the sovereign of England while her brother was living. After musing some time, she said to her informant, the goldsmith, "If Robert had been at Greenwich, I would have hazarded all things, and gaged my life on the leap."² She meant the elder brother of Sir Nicholas, Sir Robert Throckmorton, for whom she had always the greatest esteem. The deliberations of the princess were settled by the elder Throckmorton,³ who had taken the resolution of meeting her, and confirming the message his sons had sent by her goldsmith. Mary then diverged from the London road towards Suffolk, with all her train. These events must have occurred on the afternoon of the 7th of July.

The fugitive heiress of England bent her flight in the direction of Cambridgeshire, as the nearest way to her seat of Kenninghall, through Bury St. Edmund's. As the soft shades of a July night fell round her hasty course over those desolate plains which are intersected by the eastern road, the ladies and cavaliers of her faithful retinue began to discuss the recent death of the young king. They were all Roman Catholics, and, of course, viewed the changes of the eventful times wholly according to their prejudices. They recalled, with awe, that the only heir-male of the line of Henry VIII. had expired on the very anniversary of the lawless execution of Sir Thomas More.⁴ It was in vain that king Henry had overthrown all existing impediments, and set at nought the lives of thousands in his wilfulness, since his desire of continuing his name and sceptre by heirs-male was now as much blighted as if the divorce of Katharine of Arragon and the awful bloodshed which stained his latter years had never taken place.

Wearied and worn, the whole party arrived at the gate of Sawston-hall, in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, and by the advice of Andrew Huddleston, one of Mary's gentlemen, craved the hospitality of Mr. Hud-

¹ In Jardine's *State Trials* the above statement is corroborated by the affirmation that Mary received this timely warning through Throckmorton; and in Mr. Tytler's acute examination of all the windings of Cecil's duplicity, it appears, from a document at the State-Paper office, that Cecil adroitly shifted the proclamation of queen Jane on Throckmorton's back, saying, in his paper of apologies, "I refused to make the proclamation, and turned the labour on Mr. Throckmorton, whose conscience I saw was troubled therewith."

² Sir Charles Throckmorton's MS.

³ Goodman. He adds that Mary, in acknowledgment of this service, made the elder Throckmorton chief-justice of Chester; and that, in remembrance, after her death he always prayed for her soul when he said grace at his dinner.

⁴ Heylin's *Reformation*. The names of Mr. and Mrs. Bassett, the son-in-law and daughter of Margaret Roper, occur in the list of queen Mary's household; and this incident makes it probable they were in her service at this crisis.

dleston, its owner, his kinsman. That gentleman, like his namesake, who in after times watched the royal oak at Boscobel so well, was a zealous Roman Catholic. He knew, though Mary might not, how inimical his neighbours of the town of Cambridge were to her cause, as lineal heiress of the crown. Huddleston was, nevertheless, too true a gentleman to refuse shelter to the way-wearied princess and her harassed retinue, though there can be little doubt but that he must have foreseen the evil consequences which threatened himself and his Lares and Penates.

Mary lodged that night under the hospitable roof which was never more to shelter a human being. She was astir, with her ladies and retinue, before sunrise. There was need, for the alarm came that the Protestants had risen in Cambridge, and were marching to destroy her. Her party were forced to disperse in different disguises from the devoted hall of Sawston, but they commenced not their arduous journey till they had offered up their devotions according to the rites of their religion.¹ Very early in the morning, Mary set out on her journey to Kenninghall. Some Cambridge traditions say that the princess left the house in the disguise of a market-woman, riding behind Mr. Huddleston, who was dressed in the livery-coat of one of his own servants;² but it is more probable that the cavalier who escorted her was his kinsman Andrew Huddleston, as she made him for his services captain of her guard.³ When Mary gained the rise called Gogmagog hills, she turned her steed, and looked back on Sawston-hall.⁴ At that moment it burst into flames, for the party from Cambridge adverse to her cause had mustered early in the morning, to attack the house that harboured her. If they had not amused themselves with plundering and burning Sawston-hall, they might have seized Mary, so close were they on her traces. She gazed on the flaming pile undauntedly. "Let it blaze," she said; "I will build Huddleston a better." She kept her word; the present Sawston-hall was built by her order, and at her expense.

Mary was received loyally at Bury St. Edmund's, yet she made no further stay there than for the noon refreshment. The news of the death of Edward VI. had not yet reached that town, and Mary's retinue accounted for their hurried journey by asserting "that one of the household at Hunsdon had died suddenly, suspected of the plague; therefore

¹ Foxe's Martyrology, who mentions, in his biography of Dr. Edwin Sandys, "that popish books, used in celebrating mass when queen Mary lodged near Cambridge, at Mr. Huddleston's, during her flight into Suffolk, were captured at the destruction of the said person's house."

² Fuller's Worthies. ³ He was the husband of her favourite god-daughter, Mary Hutton, of Hutton John, in Cumberland, and the direct ancestor of father John Huddleston, of faithful memory.

⁴ Sawston is a pleasant village about seven

miles from Cambridge, seated in a fertile valley, shaded with groves of rich foliage. The north is bounded by the Gogmagog hills, which, contrasted with the extensive plains spreading on that side of England, appear to the eye of the traveller as miniature Apennines. On a green in this romantic village stood a beautiful cross, where justice is said to have been administered anciently. This structure was so much venerated, that it ever survived the religious civil wars of England, but was demolished in the present century

the fear of communicating that disease prevented them from tarrying in populous neighbourhoods, and caused their retreat into the depths of the country."¹ The same night Mary crossed the river which separates Suffolk from its sister county, and arrived safely at her seat of Kenninghall, in Norfolk. There was little rest for her, either in mind or body. By that time the news of the death of the king, her brother, was generally known, and it was necessary for her to take immediate steps for the assertion of her title to the throne. She instantly penned a remonstrance to the privy council, mentioning her brother's death with feeling, and further declaring that she was aware of their inimical projects; but she concluded with the offer of amnesty and favour if they relinquished the same, and proclaimed her in London as their sovereign. This despatch was dated Kenninghall, July 9.² The council proclaimed lady Jane Grey queen on the 10th of the same month. Their reply to Mary was peculiarly aggravating: they branded her in gross terms with illegitimacy, and advised her to submit to her sovereign lady queen Jane.

Mary had neither money, soldiers, nor advisers: Sir Thomas Wharton, the steward of her household,³ Andrew Huddleston, and her ladies, were her only assistants in the first bold step she took. Had she been surrounded by the experienced veterans in arms and council that rallied round her sister Elizabeth at Tilbury, and had Elizabeth been the heroine of the enterprise instead of Mary, it would have been lauded to the skies as one of the grandest efforts of female courage and ability the world had ever known. And so it was, whether it be praised or not.

Sir Henry Jerningham and Sir Henry Bedingfeld brought their Norfolk tenantry to her aid before she left Kenninghall, which she did on the representation that the country was too open, and the house not strong enough to stand a siege. She resolved to fix her headquarters within an easy ride of the eastern coast, whence she could, on emergency, seek the protection of her kinsman, the emperor Charles V. With this intention she left Kenninghall July 11, mounted on horseback; and, attended by her faithful knights and ladies, she never drew bridle till she reached the town of Framlingham, which is deep embosomed in the Suffolk woodlands, and situate about twenty miles from Kenninghall. The treble circle of moats which girdle the hill-side, town, and fortress of Framlingham were then full and efficient, and the whole defences in complete repair. Mary arrived there after nightfall, at the head of a little cavalry force destined to form the nucleus of a mighty army. The picturesque train of knights in warlike harness and their men-at-arms, guarding equestrian maids of honour with the heiress of the English

¹ Bishop Godwin's Life of Mary.

² Some historians say lady Jane was proclaimed on the 9th.

³ Bishop Godwin's Life of Mary.

crown at their head, wended their way by torchlight up the woodland eminence on which the Saxon town of Framlingham is builded. Thus they passed the beautiful church where the bones of the noble poet Surrey have since found rest,¹ and ascended the mighty causeway over two deep moats, and paused at length beneath the embattled gateway, surmounted then, as now, by the arms of Howard.

Directly Mary stood within the magnificent area formed by the circling towers of Framlingham-castle, she felt herself a sovereign; she immediately defied her enemies, by displaying her standard over the gate-tower, and assumed the title of queen-regnant of England and Ireland.

CHAPTER IV.

THE royal standard of England had not floated many hours over the towers of Framlingham-castle, before the chivalry of Suffolk mustered gallantly round queen Mary. Sir John Sulyard, the knight of Wetherden, was the first who arrived to her assistance, and to him was given the honourable post of guardian to her person.² Sir Henry Bedingfeld's Suffolk tenants³ came in, completely armed, to the amount of 140 men, and Mary appointed their zealous master knight-marshal of her hourly increasing host. The young grandson of the imprisoned duke of Norfolk, lord Thomas Howard,⁴ then seventeen, appeared as one of the queen's defenders, and there is no question but that the adherents of his house crowded round the banner of the disinherited heir of the murdered Surrey. Meantime Sir Henry Jerningham undertook a most dangerous commission at Yarmouth, the success of which finally turned the scale in Mary's favour.

One of the reasons that prompted Mary to raise her standard in Suffolk, was the detestation in which the usurper Northumberland was held, on account of the tremendous cruelties he had perpetrated when Kett's rebellion was crushed in blood in the eastern counties. Sir William Drury, knight of the shire for Suffolk, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, high sheriff, soon joined the queen's muster at Framlingham; likewise Sir John Shelton and Sir John Tyrrel, both very zealous Roman Catholics. An extraordinary misapprehension exists that Mary's recognition as queen

¹ It has been a disputed point whether the body of Surrey was ever transferred from its ignoble place of sepulture in Aldgate church, where it was interred after his execution, for the vault of Framlingham church, beneath the tomb reared to his memory by his grandson, was found clean swept and empty. In a recent examination, however, the bones of a man were found enclosed in the tomb itself,

directly beneath the fine portrait statue of Surrey, which reclines above the slab. The tomb is a large square structure, capable of containing several coffins.

² Green's History of Framlingham, p. 77; likewise bishop Godwin's History of Mary.

³ He had a numerous tenantry at Ridlington, near Framlingham, as well as in Norfolk.

⁴ Lingard.

was chiefly enforced by the Protestants of Suffolk ; yet the leaders of her Framlingham force were not only Roman Catholics, but many of their descendants are so to this day. Her army soon amounted to 13,000 men, all voluntarily serving without pay, though the queen prudently directed, "that if any soldier seemed in need of aught, his captain was to supply his wants as if by way of gift, and charge the expense to her." In an incredibly short time a populous camp rose around the ancient walls of the castle, within whose mighty circle the queen herself sojourned.

Framlingham-castle was founded in the Saxon heptarchy, by king Redwald ; it remained a royal demesne till Henry I. granted it to earl Bigod, to whom the present structure is attributed. Subsequently it was given by Edward I. to his second son, Thomas of Brotherton, and from him it descended to the Howards, the dukes of which race made it their principal residence. The site of the castle is a high mound, from whence springs the source of the river Orr. This stream supplied the three moats, which are in the summer season gaily enamelled with golden irises. On the edge of the mound is reared a magnificent circle of walls and towers, enclosing an area of more than an acre. These walls remain to this day nearly entire ; they are forty feet in height, and more than eight feet in thickness, and are studded with thirteen square towers. Within the area surrounded by these bulwarks once stood the baronial residence occupied by queen Mary ; the fragments existing are small, yet the traces of the state apartments are, as it were, curiously mapped upon the mighty walls which once sustained them. After crossing a walled causeway over the double moat,¹ and passing through the gate-tower, the spectator enters into the spacious area. To the right, nearly opposite, are seen several chimneys, whose summits are hollow pillars of wreathed brickwork, very elaborately wrought. The chimney of the state bedchamber, on the second floor, still remains ; on one side of it is a recess about the size of a dressing-room, with an arched window looking towards the east : this is declared by tradition to have been Mary's chamber, but it is evidently the oriel or private oratory pertaining to her state chamber, which, of course, was the room to which the chimney belonged.

At the time Mary took refuge in the castle, everything was in the same order as when the old duke of Norfolk surrendered it into the hands of his ungrateful master, Henry VIII. When he found the Seymours² bent on the downfall of his house, he requested that the king would be pleased to bestow his possessions on the royal children, "be-

¹ For most of the topographical information relating to the spot, the author is indebted to the excellent history of Framlingham by Mr. Green, who likewise courteously aided in the examination of the castle, giving such valuable explanation of the scene as

alone can be afforded by one who has carefully studied the localities.

² The Seymours had marked this nob property as their prey, and were much disappointed at its disposal. The disgusting rapacity with which the duke of Somerset and his

cause," as he said, "it was stately gear." At the same time, the experienced statesman calculated shrewdly on its restoration, a result he actually lived to see effected. Framlingham appears to have been retained in the hands of Edward VI.; but its governor, Thomas Sheming, evidently adhered to the ancient ritual, and was consequently willing to surrender it to Mary, as queen. A Roman Catholic priest, named Sir Rowland, still officiated in the private chapel, where a lamp burnt perpetually. The chapel was hung with tapestry, representing the life of Christ. The size of the gable of the chapel, and the form of its crockets, may be plainly traced on the wall; likewise a few small windows, belonging to a gallery leading from the state chamber occupied by Mary to the chapel. The tapestry which hung in the state apartments was transferred from Framlingham to Audley-end, by lord Howard of Walden; and even in the succeeding century was so good and rich, that William III. sent it to one of his palaces in Holland,¹ where it is, perhaps, at this day.

The local traditions of Suffolk affirm that queen Mary came to Framlingham on the 10th or 11th of July, and remained there till the 31st: many circumstances prove their correctness. None of her Kenninghall despatches and state papers are dated later than the 9th of July; and as she was certainly proclaimed queen at Norwich on the 12th of the same month,² she naturally retreated to a place of security before that hazardous step was taken. From the steeple of the church of Framlingham the seaport of Aldborough may be seen. The castle stands at a much greater elevation, and its highest watch-tower, when entire, commanded a view of the German ocean, and all that passed near the coast, which circumstance was likely to prove of great utility to Mary, who meant to retreat, in case of danger, by the nearest road to the sea. To this day a lane, about a mile and a half from the castle, leading to the coast, is called "bloody queen Mary's lane," because it is reported she used to walk there—that is, like a prudent general, she surveyed the roads by which retreat was to be made, if needed. The close and winding lanes which led through the forest surrounding Framlingham-castle were rendered impassable by trees felled and thrown across them.³

younger brother Henry divided the wearing-apparel of the earl of Surrey (who was sacrificed to their faction), raises a feeling of loathing stronger even than the other iniquities connected with his death. The shirts and stockings of the victim were not deemed beneath the consideration of "these new nobles," as Surrey contemptuously called them. Certainly, whatever new nobles might do, no real gentleman would have worn his old caps, doublets, and stockings, nor are there such instances of personal meanness to be found excepting in that age.

¹ Green's Framlingham.

² See Speed, a contemporary. All local authorities declare that Mary was not pro-

claimed queen till she went to Framlingham-castle; but, as she was indubitably proclaimed at Norwich on the 12th of July, the author is convinced the 11th was the true date of her removal from Kenninghall, and not the 16th, as stated in history. In fact, the struggle was decided on the 19th, and there was not time for the events to have happened between the 16th and the 19th which settled Mary on the throne, or for the news to have reached London, and to have the effect there of causing her proclamation; therefore the author prefers her native topographical records.

³ An Italian authority, quoted by Sharon Turner, reign of Mary, p. 366.

The crisis of extreme danger occurred about five days after Mary had retired to Framlingham, when six ships of war were seen to sail past the Suffolk coast, making for Yarmouth-roads. Now, there were stout hearts and strong hands at Framlingham, but no other artillery or instruments of war than those carried by the cavaliers at their belts or saddle-bows, while the infantry had to depend on push of pike, or blow of axe or brown-bill. The ships seen passing had been despatched by the privy council to carry cannon and warlike stores for the siege of Mary's castle, and likewise to intercept her if she attempted to retreat to the emperor's dominions. Sir Henry Jerningham was at Yarmouth when the fleet, under pretence of stress of weather, came close to the harbour, and he boldly went out in a boat to hail them. "Upon which," says Speed, "these sea-soldiers demanded 'what he wanted?' 'Your captains,' replied the intrepid knight, 'who are rebels to their lawful queen, Mary.'—'If they are,' replied the men of war, 'we will throw them into the sea, for we are her true subjects.' Upon which the captains surrendered themselves, and Sir Henry and the Yarmouth burgesses took possession of the ships."

Another favourable incident to Mary's cause occurred simultaneously with the surrender of the fleet. When Sir Edward Hastings had raised a large force in the name of Jane, he proclaimed Mary as his rightful queen, and thus placed at her disposal a great body of militia close to London. The defection of the fleet at Yarmouth could scarcely have reached lady Jane Gray's privy council when this revolt, so near to them, struck terror through their hearts. The first indication of goodwill the metropolis showed towards Mary's right of succession, was on the morning of the 16th of July, when a placard was found posted on Queenhithe church, importing that she had been proclaimed queen of England and Ireland in every town and city therein excepting London. The same day the earl of Sussex and the earl of Bath seceded from the council; they took their way to Framlingham, at the head of their armed vassals.

The queen had, directly on her arrival, formed a privy council at Framlingham-castle, who were soon in active correspondence with the municipal authorities at Harwich, Thetford, Norwich, and Ipswich. The mayor and corporation of Thetford begged for aid from the queen's headquarters at Framlingham, but were answered by Mary's orders, "that the pride of the enemy they would see in short time abated; therefore they of Thetford will be out of all doubt of their conceived fear." The same day "all the ships in the harbour of Harwich declared for the queen, having deposed Sir Richard Broke, and other captains, from their command." The queen directed stores of ammunition to be instantly forwarded to Framlingham from these ships, and commissioned one of the captains, John Basing, to resume the command of his vessel. "The day after, John Hughes, the comptroller of the customs at Yarmouth,

and John Grice, captain of a ship of war, called the Greyhound, submitted *themselves* to the queen's mercy, and were sworn in her service." She ordered all the ordnance and shot from the Greyhound to be brought to Framlingham that could be possibly spared from its own defence. The same day she sent orders for certain chests, containing church-plate and money, at Norwich, to be opened in presence of the mayor, and the treasure conveyed to her at Framlingham by Austin Steward, at whose house the chests had remained; likewise she demanded a number of bakers to be sent from Norwich, and 300 quarters of malt were brewed at Orford. Three brass pieces of ordnance, which were at Aldborough, ready mounted, the queen required to be sent from thence. A proclamation of defiance to Northumberland was issued forth, July 18, from Framlingham-castle, offering 1000*l.* in land to any noble, 500*l.* to any gentleman, and 100*l.* to any yeoman, who brought him in prisoner to the queen.¹

Five hundred men were appointed to guard the queen within the walls of her fortress of Framlingham;² and no persons, whether coming to submit themselves or otherwise, were permitted to approach her without order from the council. She commanded all prisoners in the gaols of Suffolk and Norfolk to be freed—a very doubtful policy in an unsettled time; it is, however, pretty certain they had been crowded with persons who had committed no other crime than expressing themselves favourably to her title while Edward VI. was declining. The queen likewise had the temerity to order, as early as the 22nd of July, Sir Edward Hastings to dismiss his militia, and come to her, with lord Windsor. She seems to have had from the first an extraordinary dislike to standing armies: perhaps they did not suit her rigid notions of state economy.

Northumberland, though at the head of an army at Cambridge, had employed himself rather in polemic than military warfare. He had requested Dr. Edwin Sandys,³ the vice-chancellor of the university, and a very zealous Protestant, to preach a sermon against Mary's title and her religion. Whilst the sermon was proceeding, a yeoman of the guard held up to public scorn a Roman Catholic missal and a *grayle*,⁴ which had been captured the preceding night at Mr. Huddleston's house, where Mary had slept and heard mass during her late rapid journey into Suffolk. The next day news arrived of the revolution in London; and Northumberland, struck with terror, made a clumsy attempt to imitate his colleagues, by personally proclaiming queen Mary in Cambridge

¹ Privy Council Journal, at Framlingham-castle. Haynes, pp. 155–160.

² Journal, Privy Council. Haynes, p. 159

³ Afterwards made archbishop of York by Elizabeth.

⁴ Foxe's Martyrs, book iii. p. 783. The word "grayle" is an old English corruption of the word *graduale*, and means a liturgical

book, containing those passages of the psalms and holy writ sung between the chanting of the epistle and gospel. The desk at which the clerks were stationed who chanted this part of the service being raised by steps, it was called a *graduale*, and in process of time, the books from which the chants were sung were known by the same name.

market-place, tossing up his cap, while the tears ran down his cheeks. Dr. Sandys, who stood by him, was a man of indomitable courage, mental and physical: he could scarcely conceal his scorn when the duke said to him that "queen Mary was a merciful woman, and that, doubtless, all would receive the benefit of her general pardon." Dr. Sandys bade him "not flatter himself; for, if the queen were ever so inclined to pardon, those who ruled her would destroy him, whoever else were spared." Then occurred a disgusting scene of treachery: Sir John Gates, one of Northumberland's most guilty agents, arrested his master when he was personally helpless, with his boots half on and half off. This was a true specimen of the dishonourable spirit of the era. In a few hours Northumberland was again set at liberty; at last, the entry into Cambridge of the earl of Arundel with a body of the queen's troops decided all doubts. He arrested Northumberland, Gates, and Dr. Sandys, and sent them to the Tower.

Several of Northumberland's party, after the arrest of their chief, hastened on to Framlingham in order to excuse themselves to queen Mary, under the plea that they were but obeying the orders of the privy council. Among these visitors were the marquis of Northampton and lord Robert Dudley. Bishop Ridley likewise presented himself at Framlingham, but was evilly received, and sent back, Foxe declares, "on a halting horse." He was really arrested, and, with Northampton, sent to the Tower from the queen's camp on the 26th of July, on account of a sermon he had recently preached against her title, at St. Paul's-cross. The camp broke up at Framlingham the last day of July, when queen Mary commenced her triumphant march to the metropolis, from whence her sister Elizabeth set out the same day to meet her, at the head of a numerous cavalcade of nobility and gentry, amounting to a thousand persons.

The queen's approach to her capital was in the manner of a peaceful royal progress, receiving the homages of her faithful or penitent subjects at her various resting-places on the road. She arrived the first day at Ipswich, where she gave audience to Cecil, who had been despatched by the council with tidings, after the departure of Arundel and Paget; here he made such fluent excuses for all his turnings and tricks, and what he called "pardonable lies,"¹ that the queen told his sister-in-law, Mrs. Bacon, that "she really believed he was a very honest man." It is worthy of notice, that Mrs. Bacon, who was a learned Protestant lady, belonged to the queen's bedchamber, then and afterwards, and had access to her in private conversation. At her seat of Newhall, Cecil presented

¹ He had previously forsaken Somerset, his benefactor, in the hour of adversity. His intercessor with the queen was his sister-in-law, wife of Nicholas Bacon, mother of the celebrated lord Bacon, and daughter to Sir

Anthony Cooke, the Protestant tutor of Edward VI.: she was lady Cecil's sister. He had previously married a daughter of Sir John Cheke.

her with a list of excuses, lately given entire to the world, which will, to all futurity, remain an example of the shamelessness of a climbing statesman.¹ The queen next proceeded to the seat of Sir William Petre, at Ingatestone, where the council, most of whom had lately defied and denied her, were presented to her for the purpose of kissing her hand. Cecil kissed the royal hand "before any other of the council-men"—so far had his apology satisfied the queen through the intercession of Mrs. Bacon, but his favour went no further, notwithstanding his sedulous compliances with her mode of worship. The queen arrived at her seat of Wanstead on the 3rd of August, where she disbanded her army, excepting a body of horse²—a bold measure; nevertheless, it was only a proper observance of the ancient laws of London.

Lord Arundel had previously arrived at the Tower, on the 27th of July, with Northumberland and the other prisoners brought from Cambridge. He received orders to arrest the duke of Suffolk and his daughter, lady Jane Gray, and lodge them in prison-rooms in the Tower. Frances, duchess of Suffolk, directly her husband was taken from her, hastened to meet the queen, and throwing herself at her feet, lifted up her voice in piteous lamentation; she told the queen "that Suffolk was very ill and would die if shut up in the Tower."³ Mary was softened by her complaints, and granted the liberation of her husband—"a wonderful instance of mercy," bishop Godwin observes. Thus unharmed in body or estate, Suffolk paid the penalty of but three days' imprisonment for his conspiracy with Northumberland. No pleadings are recorded of the duchess Frances for her hapless daughter, lady Jane Gray, who might have been liberated on her parole with far less danger than her father. It was notorious that the duchess Frances was a very active agent in the evanescent regality of her daughter Jane, had forced her marriage with young Guildford, and carried her train as queen.⁴

The ladies who had accompanied the princess Elizabeth from London, were at Wanstead introduced formally to queen Mary, who kissed every one of them. Such is the tradition in a family whose ancestress attended that antique royal drawing-room. The queen was, on the 3rd of August, escorted from Wanstead by great numbers of nobles and ladies, who came to grace her entrance into her capital. A foreigner, who was an eye-witness, thus describes her appearance on this triumphant occasion:⁵ "Then came the ladies, married and single, in the midst of whom rode

¹ This account of Mary's progress on her accession is gleaned from a curious document, edited by Mr. Tytler, among his state-papers of Edward VI. and Mary. It was written in the year 1573, at the request of Cecil, when he was prime-minister to queen Elizabeth, by his secretary, Roger Aford; and if the memorial of Cecil's conduct appears so disgusting to the lovers of truth thus compounded under his own eye, how would it appear if

written by any one else?
Martin's Chronicle.

³ Holiusbed.

⁴ Machyn's Diary.

⁵ Perlin. *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. i. p. 228. Mary was but thirty-seven. Her portrait in our illustrated edition, vol. iii. represents her about thirty. It is undoubtedly from Holbein's family group at Hampton-court, and is very pleasing.

² Godwin.

madame Mary, queen of England, mounted on a small white ambling nag, the housings of which were fringed with gold. The queen was dressed in violet velvet; she seemed about forty years of age, and was rather fresh-coloured." The old city portal of Aldgate, at which the queen made her entrance into the metropolis, was hung with gay streamers from top to bottom; over the gateway was a stage with seats, on which were placed the charity children of the Spital, singing sweet choruses of welcome to the victorious queen. The street of Leadenhall, and all down to the Tower, through the Minories, was clean swept, and spread with gravel, and was lined with all the crafts in London, in their proper dresses, holding banners and streamers. The lord mayor with the mace was ready to welcome her, and the earl of Arundel with the sword of state. A thousand gentlemen, in velvet coats and richly embroidered cloaks, preceded queen Mary.

Next the queen, rode her sister Elizabeth; then the duchess of Norfolk, the marchioness of Exeter followed, and other noble dames, according to their connection with the crown and precedence. The aldermen brought up the rear, and the city guard, with bows and javelins. The guard which accompanied Mary—being 3000 horsemen, in uniforms of green and white, red and white, and blue and white—were dismissed by the queen with thanks, and all departed before she passed the city gate.¹ Mary acted according to the intrepidity of her character in trusting her person wholly to the care of the civic guard; thus implicitly relying on the fidelity of a city where a rival had reigned but a few hours before. She bent her way direct to the Tower, then under the care of Sir Thomas Cheyney, warden of the Cinque-ports. Here she meant to sojourn, according to the ancient custom of her predecessors, till the funeral of the late sovereign.

When Mary entered the precincts of the Tower, a touching sight presented itself to her. Kneeling on the green before St. Peter's church were the state prisoners—male and female, Catholic and Protestant—who had been detained lawlessly in the fortress during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. There was Edward Courtenay, the heir to the earl of Devonshire, now in the pride of manly beauty, who had grown up a prisoner of the Tower from his tenth year; there was another early friend of the queen, the wretched duchess of Somerset; there was the aged duke of Norfolk, still under sentence of death; there were the deprived bishops of Durham and Winchester—the mild Cuthbert Tunstall and the haughty Stephen Gardiner, which last addressed a congratulation and supplication to the queen, in the name of all. Mary burst into tears as she recognised them, and, extending her hands to them, she exclaimed, "Ye are my prisoners!" She raised them one by one, kissed them, and gave them all their liberty.

¹ *Strype*, vol. iii. p. 27.

The bishops were instantly restored to their sees ; Gardiner was sworn into the queen's privy council (according to the evidence of its journal) so early as the 5th of August. The duke of Norfolk and earl of Devonshire were immediately restored to their rank and estates. The duke took his place with so little delay, that he sat as high-steward at the trial of the duke of Northumberland. Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, mother of Courtenay, was made lady of the bedchamber, with so high a degree of favour that she shared the bed of her royal kinswoman. The duchess of Somerset was liberated, and comforted ; her son, an infant minor, restored to his rights,¹ and her daughters, lady Jane, lady Margaret, and lady Mary Seymour, were appointed maids of honour. The heirs of the three unfortunate gentlemen who had suffered with the protector Somerset were reinstated in their property. Somerset's adherents were zealous Protestants, but Mary then used her own free will, uncontrolled by council or husband.

The queen remained in privacy, sojourning at the royal apartments of the Tower, till after the funeral of her brother, which was performed with great magnificence. Many historical controversies exist regarding the religious rites of that funeral ; but it appears that Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, performed the ceremony for the lamented Edward at Westminster-abbey, according to the ritual of the church of England. At the same time the queen and her ladies assisted at a solemn dirge and requiem for the repose of his soul, in her private chapel in the Tower. This arrangement, in which each party showed their respect for the memory of the deceased according to their different modes of belief, was far too rational a method to suit the furious spirit of that dreadful era, and the religious war recommenced in the Tower chapel. A chaplain of the court, one Walker, approached with a censer to cense the queen, when Dr. Weston thrust him on one side, exclaiming, "Shamest thou not to do this office? A priest having a wife? I tell thee the queen will not be censed by such as thou!"²

The queen, directly she arrived in London, published pacific manifestoes, exhorting each party to refrain from reviling by the epithets of idolater and heretic. Her first promised liberty of conscience unconditionally ; in the last a clause was introduced, which declared religion was to be settled by "common consent," meaning by act of parliament. Mr. Dobbs had previously presented a petition from the Reformers of Ipswich, claiming protection for their religion on the faith of the queens

¹ Not to the dukedom of Somerset. This was a royal title, to which the protector had ambitiously helped himself. He had caused his fairest daughter, lady Jane Seymour, to be elaborately educated, in hopes of matching her with Edward VI. (which intention the young king greatly resented). She died unmarried ; so did her sisters, lady Katharine and

lady Margaret. The queen's god-child, lady Mary, married Sir Henry Peyton. After the fall of their father, these ladies had been canonized on their relations, allowed, from the wreck of Somerset's fortune, miserable annuities.—Strype, vol. ii. p. 8.

² Strype, from Bale, vol. iii. p. 31.

first proclamation; but Mr. Dobbs was set in the pillory for his pains—a strange way of answering a petitioner. That, and several other deeds of the kind, emanated from the violent zeal of the privy council, which governed in London in the queen's name.¹ The most nefarious of their proceedings was the imprisonment of judge Hales, which brought great obloquy on Mary, though all she had to do with it was righting the wrong when it became known to her. Judge Hales had positively refused to have any concern in the disinheriting of Mary: he had boldly declared to Northumberland and his faction that it was against English law. With equal conscientiousness he had, at the assizes held at the usual time, in the last days of July, given a charge from the bench to the people of Kent, advising them to observe the laws made in king Edward's time, which were certainly in force. For thus doing his duty, he was committed to the Fleet prison by the officious privy council.² Hales, despairing that justice would ever again visit his country, attempted his own life, but ineffectually. The queen's attention was drawn to Hales' unmerited sufferings, and she sent for him to the palace, "spoke many words of comfort to him," and ordered him to be set at liberty honourably.³ He seemed composed and happy, but destroyed himself soon after.

The violent party spirit that distinguished this council of interregnum, which governed the metropolis from Mary's proclamation to her arrival at the Tower, is extremely well portrayed by Mr. Edward Underhill, an accomplished Worcestershire gentleman, who, for his zeal in the Calvinistic cause, was called "the hot gospeller."⁴ He belonged to the band of gentlemen pensioners. He had penned a satirical ballad against "papists," and for this squib was summoned before the council in authority, whilst the queen was in Suffolk. After much brow-beating, Edward Underhill was committed to Newgate. He was an elegant lutanist, and was advised by his friends to play much on the lute while in prison, and eschew polemics. He probably took this advice, and

¹ Machyn's Diary records the inflictions of poor Mr. Dobbs in these words: "The 29th July, 1553, was a fellow set in the pillory, for speaking against the good qwen Mare." This was five days before the queen's arrival.

² Toone, the professed English chronologist, dates these outrages before the 3rd of August. They were transacted by the council in London, at a time when Mary had not received the homage of all the privy councillors. They seem the fruits of that officious zeal, often assumed by persons desirous of wiping out the stains of recent misconduct. Neither the name of Hales nor Dobbs occurs in the journal of the council acting under the immediate directions of Mary, as may be ascertained by reference to its transactions, printed in Haynes's Burleigh Papers.

³ Martin's Chronicles, and Holinshed (black letter, first edit.), though indefinite in dates, both expressly relate the queen's personal conduct, in rectifying the intolerable wrong done to judge Hales.

⁴ Lady Jane Gray was preparing to stand godmother to his child (born in the Tower during her short sway) when her authority ceased. Strype has published rich fragments of Underhill's MS., the whole of which would be a most precious document, if recoverable. Underhill, in the reign of Elizabeth, offered the loan of it to Foxe, for his Martyrology, but it was returned to him without any use being made of it. The "hot gospeller," though ardently attached to his religion, admits the *pour et contre* with a naïve simplicity delightful to the inquirer into facts, but by no means pleasant to a partisan historian.

being withal a man of family, had no difficulty in obtaining access to the ear of the queen, since he was released from Newgate a few days after her arrival in London; and, finally, she restored him not only to his place in the band of gentlemen pensioners, but, as he notices with great satisfaction, to his salary, without deduction of the time of his arrest.

Several instances are to be found of the queen's interference to save persons from the cruelty of her privy council. Those who were of rank or consequence sufficient to find access to her, were tolerably sure of her protection. This peculiarity gave a tone to her reign which renders its character singular in English history, for examples of political vengeance were made chiefly on persons whose station seemed too lowly for objects of state punishment, because, being poor and obscure, they were not able to carry their complaints to the foot of the throne. Thus the council sent orders to the town of Bedford "for the punishment of a woman (after due examination of her qualities) by the cucking-stool, she having been arrested for railing and speaking unseemly words of the queen's majesty." These awards of personal punishment without regular trial, emanated from a certain junta of the privy council, whose business it was to sit in the Star-chamber in Westminster-palace, and apportion the inflictions which seemed good in their eyes, as vengeance on personal affronts offered to the reigning monarch. Most of the extortions of the reign of Henry VII., and the bloodshed of that of Henry VIII., may be attributed to the operations of this illegal and inquisitorial tribunal;¹ but when it condescended to doom an old scold of a distant provincial town to the cucking-stool, it might have been thought that derision would have disarmed its terrors for ever. Such would have been the case, had the periodical press of the present day been in operation at the time. In the latter part of Mary's reign, when she was utterly incapacitated by mortal sufferings from interference with their proceedings, her cruel ministers inflicted more tragic punishments on old women who "railed against the queen's majesty."

Mary remained at the Tower till after the 12th of August. This is apparent from the following minute from the privy-council book: "The council delivered to the lord mayor and recorder these words, from the queen's own mouth,² yesterday at the Tower, being the 12th of August, on occasion of a riot at St. Paul's-cross about preaching: Albeit her

¹ Yet its functions may be traced to an earlier day. It was certainly in activity in the reign of Henry VI. since Owen Tudor was evidently summoned before some such tribunal; then, again, the well-known incident of Edward IV. putting to death, illegally, the vintner, for the joke of saying "that he would make his son heir to the crown" (ostensibly meaning the sign of his house, but with a side sneer at the recent coronation of the king)—this exploit was in the true spirit

of the Star-chamber. The proceedings of Louis XI. on the other side of the Channel, with his two or three low-born privy councillors and his pet executioner, seem to have offered an exaggerated example to the government of Edward IV. and Richard III., whose vice-constable, Sir James Tyrrel, was the instrument of the murders and tortures devised in this secret conclave of the crown.

² Privy Council Journal: queen Mary. Haynes's Burleigh Papers, p. 172.

grace's conscience is *stuid* [fixed] in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel and constrain other men's consciences, otherwise than God shall (as she trusteth) put into their hearts a persuasion of the *truth that she is in*, through the opening of his word by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers;" but she forbade the lord mayor to suffer, in any ward, "open reading of the Scriptures in the churches, or preaching by the curates, unless licensed by her." Such was the first blow aimed at the Protestant church of England. Mary was empowered to inflict it, as the head of the very church whose ministers she silenced by force of her supremacy. It is an instance of the manner in which that tremendous power worked, and explains the mystery why the great body of the English nation—albeit, not composed of the most flexible of elements—changed their ritual with magic celerity, according to the differing opinions of four successive sovereigns; but the truth was, in that evil century each sovereign was empowered, unfettered by parliament or synod, to change the entire ministration of the clergy throughout the realm by the simple act of private will. Thus, the religious tuition of the parish churches in London the Sunday before the 12th of August was according to the Protestant church established by Edward VI., and the next Sunday according to Henry VIII.'s anti-papal church of the six articles. While queen Mary continued head of the church in England, a reconciliation with the see of Rome was an impossibility.

The trial of Northumberland and his coadjutors took place August 18. If we may trust the public records, he and his fellow-prisoners all pleaded guilty.¹ Eleven were condemned to die, but three only executed—the smallest number ever known, either before or since, of the partisans of a usurpation. It is affirmed² there was great difficulty in inducing Mary to consent to the death of Northumberland, because of the former friendly intercourse there had been between them, of which friendliness many instances may be proved from her privy-purse expenses when princess. Northumberland, with his two dependants, Gates and Palmer, were nevertheless put to death on August 22. Northumberland professed himself a Catholic at his death, and spoke very earnestly against the Protestant religion, which could receive no injury from lips false as his. An affecting incident occurred on the evening of his death. The Lancaster herald, who had been an old retainer of the duke, begged an audience of queen Mary, and, "respectful to the dead," implored her to grant him the head of his master, that it might be decently interred. The queen told him, "In God's name to take the whole body as well, and give his lord proper burial." Mary was, at the time of Northumberland's execution, resident at Richmond-palace.

The imperial ambassadors urged the queen to bring lady Jane Gray

¹ Baga de Secretis, pouch **xxi**.

² Hollinshed.

to trial at the same time with her father-in-law, Northumberland, since she could never reign in security while that lady lived, for the first faction, when strong enough, would set up her claims again. Mary replied, "she could not find it in her heart or conscience to put her unfortunate kinswoman to death, who had not been an accomplice of Northumberland, but merely an unresisting instrument in his hands. If there was any crime in being his daughter-in-law, even of that her cousin Jane was not guilty, for she had been legally contracted to another, and therefore her marriage with lord Guildford Dudley was not valid. As for the danger existing from her pretensions, it was but imaginary, and every requisite precaution should be taken before she was set at liberty."¹

The friendly intentions of queen Mary towards lady Jane coincide with a letter of explanation sent by that lady from the Tower, which contains an extraordinary narrative of her brief royalty.² Lady Jane commenced this narrative with the declaration that she was willing to extenuate her fault, if such great faults may be extenuated, by a full and ingenuous confession; she described her consternation and confusion when her father and mother, her mother-in-law, the duchess of Northumberland, and the duke, announced to her the death of Edward VI., and at the same time, doing her homage as queen, informed her that, by virtue of his will, she was left heiress to the crown. She fell to the ground and swooned, as one dead, overcome with grief at tidings she too truly felt to be fatally disastrous to her, and with tears and shuddering remained the passive victim of their ambition. She declared to her royal cousin, to whom her domestic griefs seem told familiarly, "that when she was brought to the Tower, as queen, the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, brought her the crown³ to try on her head, to see how it would fit her, and that he brought it of his own accord, unsent for by her, or any one in her name; and when she scrupled to put it on, the marquis said, 'she need not do so, for he would have another made to crown her husband withal.'" To this exaltation of her husband Jane firmly objected, which drew on her scenes of coarse violence from him, and his mother the duchess of Northumberland. They appear to have used personal ill-treatment to her, for she says, with indignant emphasis, "I was *maltreated* by my husband and his mother." This curious narrative exists in the pages of three contemporary Italian writers, with slight variations; which prove they collected the same

¹ Renaud's Despatches, edited by Griffet. Renaud is by no means willing to praise Mary for conduct which must raise her in the estimation of every feeling heart, but rather is telling tales of her weakness and contradiction to politic advice; therefore the fact may be depended on, without dread of heeding a mere flattering story.

² Pollino, *Istoria dell' Ecclesia d'Inghilterra*, p. 73.

³ This appears to have been the state crown, kept, with other regalia, at the Tower, and not St. Edward's crown, then always given in charge of the dean and chapter of Westminster abbey.

acts from different sources, all agreeing in essentials. One of our contemporary chroniclers relates an anecdote of the marquis of Winchester, the time-serving lord treasurer above named, who, with the shamelessness peculiar to the officials of that era, when preparing for the coronation of queen Mary, came to the unfortunate prisoner lady Jane, and told her "that several valuable jewels were missing from the state crown, and that she was accountable for them." On this pretence all the money and jewels of lady Jane and her husband were confiscated.

The accession of queen Mary had not altered her affection for the princess Elizabeth; whatever were their after jealousies, their first difference had yet to take place, for, at the present time, wherever Mary went, she led her sister by the hand,¹ and never dined in public without her. Mary likewise distinguished Courtenay earl of Devonshire with great attention: she endeavoured to form his manners, and appointed a nobleman to guide his conduct. He is said to have contracted habits of low profligacy at the Tower, which she was exceedingly desirous of seeing altered; but he was too late in life for any very rapid improvement, being turned of thirty. His noble person was not, however, deteriorated by the vices with which he is charged, for his portrait, by Sir Antonio More, presents all the grand outline of our ancient royal race—the commanding Plantagenets. The expression of his face is penetrating and majestic, the features high, and exquisitely moulded, the forehead lofty and noble, and decorated withal by a magnificent *chevelure* of light brown curls.² Courtenay inherited sufficient ambition to desire a marriage with the queen, and the English people ardently wished the match. It has been said that Mary loved him, and was refused by him—an assertion directly contrary to all existing documents. If she ever loved her cousin Courtenay, she must have relinquished him within a very few days of her accession, since in the middle of August she had a private interview with Commendone, the pope's envoy, in which she told him "that she had concluded her league with the emperor, and had entirely resolved on her marriage with his heir, prince Philip."³ Commendone had privately entered the kingdom from Flanders: he obtained his first audience with difficulty, and in disguise. Mary assured him of her inviolable attachment to the religion in which she had been educated, and of her desire to restore the pope's supremacy in her kingdom; but she entreated him to act with caution, and to conceal his identity. She gave him a letter to pope Julius III., declaring her wish that her kingdom might be reconciled to Rome, and entreating that Cardinal Pole might be instantly sent to her.

¹ Foxe: Memoir of Elizabeth. Mackintosh's History of England.

² An engraving from this portrait is to be seen in Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*

³ Tytler's reign of Mary, vol. ii. pp. 238, 239.

Public opinion had already named this attached kinsman as one of the three suitors for the hand of the queen ; but, if the pope was willing to dispense with the vows of a prince of the church, it was not probable that the rigid principles of either the queen or Reginald Pole would suffer them to accept such dispensation. The counsel Pole gave to Mary was, to remain single—counsel which was seconded by another of her friends of tried sincerity, his intimate associate, friar Peyto. This churchman was by birth a gentleman of Devonshire : his bold sermon at Greenwich, in defence of Mary's mother, had startled Henry VIII. in his pitch of pride. Peyto had survived Cromwell's proposal of putting him in a sack, and throwing him into the Thames ; and, unaided by any power save his calm contempt of life, had proved victor in the contest, and lived to be a cardinal. He had resided with Reginald Pole since he had retired from England. To queen Mary, Peyto now tendered his advice, with the same uncompromising integrity which had led him to thunder the principles of moral justice in the ears of her terrific father. "Do not marry," he wrote to the queen, "or you will be the slave of a young husband. Besides, at your age, the chance of bringing heirs to the crown is doubtful, and, moreover, would be dangerous to your life." Unvarnished truths were these, yet it is a respectable point in Mary's character that she testified no displeasure either to her kinsman or his plain-spoken friend, when counsel was offered so little soothing to female vanity.

Violent struggles took place, throughout the month of August, between the partisans of the rival rituals for possession of churches and pulpits, which were frequently decided by the prevalence of personal strength. For the ostensible purpose of putting an end to scenes disgraceful to religion in general, the queen issued another proclamation, forbidding any person to preach without her licence, "till further order by common consent was taken"—meaning by act of parliament. Thus were all preachers silenced who promulgated doctrine contrary to the royal will. One of the earliest compliments paid to the queen on her accession, was the baptism of the great bell at Christchurch (which had been re-cast) by the name of Mary. The learned Jewel, whose office it was to write the congratulatory letter from Oxford on the queen's accession, was reading it to Dr. Tresham, a zealous Catholic, for his approbation, when the newly hung bell set out in an earnest call to the first mass that had been celebrated in Oxford since the establishment of the Protestant church of England. Dr. Tresham broke into an ecstasy. "Oh, sweet Mary !" he exclaimed, "how musically, how melodiously doth she sound !"—"That bell then rung," adds Fuller, impressively, "the knell of gospel truth in the city of Oxford, afterwards filled with Protestant tears."

However ample her power as head of the English church might be,

it was the wish of queen Mary to resign it, and restore supremacy to the pope; but bishop Gardiner, her lord chancellor, was opposed to her intentions. So far from wishing any reunion of England with the see of Rome, he was extremely earnest that queen Mary should retain her title and authority as head of the English church.¹ Her answer to him was a remarkable one:—"Women," she said, "I have read in Scripture, are forbidden to speak in the church. Is it, then, fitting that *your* church should have a dumb head?"² Bishop Gardiner had been transferred from a prison-room in the Tower to the lord chancellor's seat on the woolsack with marvellous celerity. Until Gardiner had the seals, Cranmer was not only at liberty, but officiating in his high functions as archbishop of Canterbury; yet, in obedience to an order from the queen's council, he delivered a schedule of his effects, August 27, receiving a command to confine himself to his house at Lambeth.³

In one opinion did all the polemic antagonists agree, which was, in the detestation of the queen's engagement with the prince of Spain. They were heartily joined in it by cardinal Pole, whose dislike to the Spanish match was so well known to the emperor Charles, that he intercepted him in his journey to England, and detained him in a German convent till after the marriage had taken place. One class in England alone was desirous of the match: these were the political economists, chiefly belonging to the moneyed and mercantile interests. They were alarmed at the marriage of Mary queen of Scotland with the heir of France, and they earnestly wished the balance of power to be restored, by the wedlock of Mary queen of England with the heir of the Low Countries. Charles V. had resolved on this marriage despite of his son's reluctance, who, at twenty-six, intreated that his father would give him a wife younger than himself, instead of one eleven years older.⁴ But union with England was too favourable a step towards the emperor's scheme of universal dominion, to be given up for notions of mere domestic happiness; therefore he made a final tender of the hand of the unwilling Philip, in a letter written to queen Mary on the 20th of September, in which he says, "that if his own age and health had rendered him a suitable spouse, he should have had the greatest satisfaction in wedding her himself; but as he could not make such proposal, he had nothing more dear to offer to his beloved kinswoman than his son, don

¹ Tytler's *Edward and Mary*: Despatches of Renaud, ambassador of Charles V.

² Narrated in Dodd's *History of the Church*, edited by the rev. Mr. Tierney, who confirms the opposition of Gardiner to the reunion of England with the see of Rome. The original authority was queen Mary's funeral sermon, preached by the bishop of Winchester before queen Elizabeth.

³ *Biographia Britannica*. Much indignation had been excited among the Protestants,

by rumours that Cranmer was once more about to join the ranks of their enemies (*i. e.* the anti-papal Catholic church), which induced him to publish an explanation of his present creed. This being construed into an attack on the government, he was, by the queen's council, sent to the Tower on the 13th September, and was kept in captivity till his horrid martyrdom, three years afterwards.

⁴ Strype's *Memorials*.

Philip."¹ When it is remembered that this great emperor had been formerly betrothed to Mary, and was now a widower, an apology for not marrying her himself was far from superfluous; yet it must be owned, that the style in which he proposes his son as a substitute, bears an amusing resemblance to the solemn gallantry of his illustrious subject, the knight of La Mancha.

Mary made Robert Rochester² comptroller of the royal household and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; she carried her gratitude so far as to make him knight of the Garter, and one of her privy council. His nephew, Edward Waldegrave, she honoured with knighthood, and gave him the profitable office of master of the great wardrobe. Sir Francis Inglefield, their fellow sufferer, was given a place at court, and appointed a privy councillor. The queen likewise made her faithful protector, Mr. Huddleston, of Sawston, a member of her privy council; and at the same time gave orders for rebuilding his mansion, destroyed by fire in her cause. She contrived to punish and to humiliate the town of Cambridge when she rewarded Huddleston, for she granted him the materials of Cambridge-castle for the reconstruction of Sawston-hall.³

The queen's gratitude took a very odd form in the case of the earl of Sussex: he was a valetudinarian, who had a great fear of uncovering his head; and, considering that the colds he dreaded respected no person, he petitioned queen Mary for leave to wear his nightcap in her royal presence. The queen, in her abundant grace, not only gave him leave to wear one, but two nightcaps, if he pleased.

Mary reinstated the old duke of Norfolk in his rank, and restored the bulk of his immense possessions, confiscated by the crown without legal attainder. Indeed, as the offence given by the duke and his murdered son was a mere quibble regarding heraldic bearings—such as an English sovereign, centuries before, would have scorned to consider as a crime—the duke was restored on petition to the queen; in which he says, pathetically, "Sovereign lady, the offence wherewith your said subject and supplicant was charged was only for bearing arms which he and his ancestors had heretofore of long continuance borne, as well in the presence of the late king as in the presence of divers of his noble progenitors, kings of England." The grandson of the injured noble, Thomas, heir to the earl of Surrey, was distinguished by queen Mary with great favour, and received the appointment of her page of honour, a post his youth and beauty well qualified him to fill.⁴

¹ Mackintosh's Hist. of England.

² He was the son of Sir John Rochester, of Tarling, Kent. The receipt of Robert Rochester, in the spring of 1553, is given for monies allowed by the crown for repair of injuries done by the fury of waters in the year 1552 at Newhall. Waldegrave was found in prison, according to the annals of his own family.

³ Fuller's Worthies, vol. i. p. 177.

⁴ His effigy in Framlingham church, kneeling at the feet of his father's recumbent statue, proves him to have closely resembled his relative, queen Anne Boleyn. His dark eyes, dark curling hair, and the beautiful outlines of his face, rendered him more like her than was her own daughter.

The queen now indulged the musical taste for which she was noted, and which the extraordinary manifestation of melody in her forehead proves to have been a ruling passion. She established the musicians of her chapel-royal with more than usual care; the names of our best English composers are to be found among them. A letter extant from Grace lady Shrewsbury¹ to her husband (who was absent, guarding against an inbreak from the Scotch border), gives some insight regarding the manners of Mary in the early days of her sovereignty, and describes her as in high enjoyment of her taste for sacred music: "September, 1553.—Yesternight the queen's majesty came from evensong, which was sung in her chapel by all her singing men of the same, with playing of organs in the solemnest manner. Her highness called me unto her, and asked me, 'When you rode to the north?' And when I told her grace 'that you were there,' she held up her hands, and besought God 'to send you good health, and that she might soon see you again.' I perceived her grace to be doubtful of the quietness of the northern counties. Her highness was so much my good lady as to tell me, 'that whatsoever I wished I should come to her for, since she would be my husband till your lordship came home.'" The whole attention of queen Mary and her court was now fixed on the approaching coronation. Deep were the cogitations of heralds and royal chamberlains; they were at a loss regarding precedents, since neither Saxons nor Normans had owned a sovereign *regina*. Britain had been occasionally governed by female monarchs, and the venerable common law of the land not only recognised their right of succession, but the law itself is traced to a female reign.² Yet these fair civilizers had existed in an antiquity so dim, that no clear idea could remain of their coronations, nor was it very certain that they had been crowned. The Norman nobility and their descendants, through evident distaste to female authority, had refused to recognise the lineal heiresses, the empress Matilda, Eleanor of Brittany, and Elizabeth of York, as sovereign regnants. Ferocity, which interminable wars had rendered national, had destroyed the promising heirs-male from every branch of the great stem of Plantagenet, and it was now matter of curiosity to note how completely the throne was surrounded by female claimants. If the life of queen Mary failed, nature and an act of parliament made her sister Elizabeth her successor, on whose failure the young queen of Scotland had undoubted rights to unite the island crowns, the sceptre of north, as well as that of south Britain, being then swayed by a queen Mary. If the young queen of Scotland died without heirs, then a procession of female claimants, long as that of Banquo's kings, appeared. There was lady Margaret Douglas, who had, however,

¹ Wife of Francis earl of Shrewsbury. Lodge's Illustrations.

² See Introduction, vol. i., regarding the Martian laws established by a female regnant, from which Alfred's laws were derived.

infant sons, but neither she nor her offspring had ever been recognised as claimants. Then Frances duchess of Suffolk, and her daughters, lady Jane Gray, lady Katharine Gray, and their younger sister, the deformed lady Mary: next to them, the sister of Frances Brandon, Eleanor lady Clifford, and her two daughters, were the representatives of the royal line. Thus our combative forefathers, if they meant to preserve the succession in the royal family, had no alternative but to submit to the domination of a female; this they did with the worst grace in the world, and if they did not term their sovereign, as the Hungarians did theirs, "king Mary," they insisted on encumbering her with spurs, and girding her with swords and other implements of the destructiveness in which their souls delighted; for the result of all the cogitations on her coronation was, that their *regina* was to be inaugurated, in "all particulars, like unto the king of England."¹

There was, however, one thing needful, without which a coronation, like most other pomps, must remain a dead letter—there was not one penny in the royal purse; and queen Mary was forced to borrow 20,000*l.* from her loyal London citizens before she could be crowned. When the requisite supply was obtained, the coronation "was all the care,"² and was finally appointed for the 1st of October. Previously to that day the queen was to pass in grand procession through the city, which it was the citizens' province, by old custom, to adorn for the occasion. Three days before the coronation, the queen removed from St. James's to Whitehall; she then took her barge at the stairs, accompanied by her sister the princess Elizabeth and other ladies, and proceeded to the Tower: this was by no means a private transit, but attended with all the gaiety of a city procession by water, the lord mayor and companies meeting her in their barges, with streamers, trumpets, waits, shawms, and regals. At the Tower, the queen was received with discharges of ordnance. The next day, September 29, she made fifteen knights of the Bath, who did not receive the accolade from her hand; they were knighted in her presence by the lord steward, Henry earl of Arundel. The most noted among these knights were her cousin, Courtenay earl of Devonshire, and the young earl of Surrey.

Queen Mary's city procession, homeward to Westminster, September 30, was splendid, the more so on account of the great numbers of her own sex, who ever surrounded her. It must be owned that some personal courage was required to be lady of honour to queen Mary, for, in the dangerous struggles for the crown, she was always accompanied by her female attendants. This was, however, one of her halcyon days, and the procession was distinguished by seventy ladies following her on

¹ Mr. Planché's erudite Regal Records are the chief authority for this coronation. He has there edited the particulars from official

MSS. (never before printed) in the college of Arms, and the Society of Antiquarians.

² Strype's Mem. vol. iii.

horseback, clad in crimson velvet. Five hundred gentlemen, noblemen, and ambassadors preceded her, the lowest in degree leading the way. Each of the ambassadors was accompanied by a great officer of the crown—the French ambassador, Noailles, by lord Paget; and Renaud, the emperor's resident (who took precedence of Noailles), by lord Cobham. The chief sewer, the earl of Sussex, bore the queen's hat and cloak between two squires of honour, who had state robes rolled and put baldrick-wise over the shoulder and round the waist, and wore the caps of estate of the dukedoms of Normandy and Guienne. The lord mayor, on the left of the Garter king-at-arms, carried the sceptre.

The queen headed the lady procession, seated in a most splendid litter, supported between six white horses, covered with housings of cloth of silver. She was dressed in a gown of blue velvet, furred with ermine; on her head was a caul of gold network, beset with pearls and precious stones; the value thereof was inestimable, and the weight so great, says Stowe, "that she was fain to bear up her head with her hand." It was evident that she was afflicted with one of her constitutional headaches, which generally attacked her if unusually agitated; the pain was not ameliorated by the weight of her inestimable circlet. The princess Elizabeth followed, in an open chariot richly covered with crimson velvet, and by her side was seated Henry VIII.'s surviving widow, Anne of Cleves: they were dressed in robes and kirtles of cloth of silver, with large hanging sleeves. This car was followed by Sir Edward Hastings—who, in reward for his services, had been made master of the horse—leading queen Mary's own palfrey. To him succeeded a long train of alternate chariots and equestrian damsels: the ladies of the highest rank four together in chariots; the ladies of the bedchamber and those who held office at court rode on horseback, dressed in kirtles of gold or silver cloth and robes of crimson velvet, their horses trapped with the same. Among the ten ladies who bore office in the palace, the names of the queen's confidante, Mrs. Clarencieux, and Mary Finch, keeper of the jewels, appear: they were her old and faithful servants. Then rode the queen's chamberers in crimson satin, their horses decked with the like; they were nine in number, and were guarded by Mrs. Baynham, the mother of the maids. Some of these ladies were married women; among them might be recognised the virtuous and learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, one of whom was the wife of Nicholas Bacon, and another the second wife of Cecil. Mrs. Bacon's intercessions with queen Mary in behalf of Cecil prove that she had some influence. Among the other distinguished ladies who attended this coronation was Mrs. Basset,¹ daughter of the illustrious Margaret Roper, and grand-

¹ See Planché's *Regal Records*, where her name appears in the list of chamberers, and Dr. Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. ii. p. 150, for the fact that this lady and

her husband were both in Mary's service. Mrs. Basset translated Eusebius from the Greek into English.

daughter of Sir Thomas More. The royal henchmen, clad in the Tudor colours of white and green, the royal guard and their captain, Sir Henry Jerningham, and the gentlemen-at-arms, brought up the procession.

Pageantry, in the old-accustomed style, greeted the queen in her progress through the city. In Fenchurch-street she listened to orations from four great giants; in Gracechurch-street to a solo on the trumpet, from a great angel in green, perched on a triumphal arch prepared by the Florentine merchants; and when this angel lifted its gigantic arm with the trumpet in its mouth, the mob gave a shout of astonishment. The conduits at Cornhill and Cheapside ran with wine, and at the latter the aldermen presented the queen with the benevolence of 1000 marks in a crimson purse. At St. Paul's school the queen's favourite poet and player, Heywood, sat under a vine, and delivered an oration. By the time the procession, which had started at three from the Tower, had proceeded as far as St. Paul's, the shades of an autumn evening must have been closing around, and the violence of the wind somewhat injured a sight only once before exhibited in London; this was the gymnastics of Peter the Dutchman, on the weathercock of old St. Paul's. The ball and cross of the cathedral were decorated with flags, and meant to be illuminated, but the wind blew out the torches as fast as they were lighted. It does not appear that Peter flew down on a rope, as he did at the coronation of Edward VI., but he played many antics at that fearful height, for which he was paid 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the lord mayor.

The queen was escorted by the lord mayor through Temple-bar to the palace of Whitehall, where she took leave of him, "giving him great thanks for his pains, and the city for their cost." The seat of English royalty had been transferred from the ancient palace of Westminster to Whitehall-palace, after a great fire in the royal apartments in the latter years of Henry VIII. Whitehall was a grand structure, now existing only in name: its water-gate, still bearing the name of Whitehall-stairs, marks its locality. St. James's-palace was chosen by queen Mary as her private residence, but Whitehall was the scene of all grand state-ceremonies and receptions, as St. James's is at present, the monarchs of England having been gradually burnt out of every palace built on a scale suitable to their dignity.

On the coronation morning, October 1, the queen and her train took their barges early, and landed at the private stairs of the old palace of Westminster, leading direct to the parliament-chamber, which was richly hung with tapestry. The queen was conducted to the royal privy-chamber, where she was robed, and rested there with her ladies till the hour of the procession. Blue cloth was laid from the marble chair in Westminster-hall to the pulpit in Westminster-abbey, and to the stage-royal from the choir to the high altar, which was covered with cloth of

gold. The choir of Westminster-abbey was hung with rich arras, and well strewn with rushes; a raised boarded pathway for the procession led to the royal stage, which was surmounted by a platform of seven steps, covered with the striped cloth of gold called *baudikins*; and on them the royal chair was set, covered with the same gold cloth, the chair having pillars at the back, with a turreted canopy, and two lions of gold. The procession began, from Westminster-hall to the abbey, before eleven o'clock. The queen, dressed in her crimson parliament robes, walked under the canopy, borne by the barons of the Cinque-ports. She was supported by the bishop of Durham on her right hand, and the earl of Shrewsbury on the left. The train of the first queen-regnant was borne by the duchess of Norfolk, attended by Sir John Gage, the vice-chamberlain. Directly after the queen walked the princess Elizabeth, the lady Anne of Cleves following her, as expressly declared by Noailles. And here it deserves notice, that the queen's sister, in every part of these important ceremonies, received all the honours and took all precedence due to her rank. Moreover, it has very seldom been that either heir or heiress-presumptive to the throne occupied a place in a coronation, of such distinction.

The queen was met in Westminster-hall by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and ten other bishops, with their mitres, and crosses, and copes of gold cloth, and the officers of the queen's chapel singing. The bishops censed her and sprinkled holy water, and then fell into their places in the procession. That day Gardiner performed all the offices of the coronation usually pertaining to the archbishop of Canterbury,¹ who was, unhappily, as well as the archbishop of York, in prison. It may be noted, that the times have ever proved most disastrous for England, when any convulsions of church or state have prevented an archbishop of Canterbury from officiating at a coronation. Before eleven o'clock, the queen was conducted by her two supporters to St. Edward's chair, prepared on the royal stage; she was led by them to the four sides of the stage in the view of the whole assembly, where the bishop of Winchester, standing by her side, offered her to the recognition of the people in the following words, which were fuller and more comprehensive than any similar address:—

“Sirs,—Here present is Mary, rightful and undoubted inheritrix, by the laws of God and man, to the crown and royal dignity of this realm of England, France, and Ireland; and you shall understand, that this day is appointed by all the peers of this land for the consecration, unction, and coronation of the said most excellent princess Mary. Will you serve

¹ His prison was not guarded on the coronation-day, and Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley could have left the Tower with the

utmost impunity, if they had chosen to escape.—See Memoir of Dr. Edwin Sandys, Foxe's Martyrology.

at this time, and give your wills and assent to the same consecration, unction, and coronation?"

Whereunto the people answered, all in one voice, "Yea, yea, yea. God save queen Mary!" The queen was then conducted to a rich chair before the high altar, and made her offerings. A cushion of velvet was put before the altar, on which she lay prostrate, while certain orisons were said over her. The sermon followed, preached by the bishop of Chichester, who was esteemed a most florid preacher; his subject was the obedience due to kings. Gardiner then declared the coronation-oaths; and the queen, at the high altar, promised and swore upon the Host to observe and keep them. Again the queen prostrated herself before the high altar, and remained in this attitude while the bishop, kneeling, sang the hymn of invocation to the Holy Ghost, commencing *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, the choir and organ joining in the strain.

After the Litany, the queen was led to her traverse, on the left hand of the altar, and "there was unarrayed and unclothed" by the ladies of the privy-chamber. This preparation was chiefly the removal of her royal mantle; she returned in a corset of purple velvet. After her unction by the bishop of Winchester, Mrs. Waldegrave laced up the apertures left on the shoulders of the corset where she was anointed, and put her on a pair of linen gloves. The queen then retired to her traverse, and returned in a robe of white taffeta, and a mantle of purple velvet furred with ermine. She offered up on the high altar the sword she was *girt* withal by the bishop of Winchester. Lord Arundel, who had borne it, redeemed it for a sum of money. The duke of Norfolk, after she was seated in the chair near the altar, brought her three crowns; these were, St. Edward's crown, the imperial crown of the realm of England, and a third very rich crown, made purposely for her.¹ These crowns were set, one after the other, on her head by the bishop of Winchester, and betwixt putting on every one the trumpets sounded. During the singing of *Te Deum*, a ring was put on the queen's marrying finger by the bishop; then the various great officers who had carried the remaining regalia, brought them to her—the bracelets of gold by the master of the jewel house; the sceptre by the earl of Arundel; St. Edward's staff by the earl of Bath; the spurs by the earl of Pembroke; the orb by the marquis of Winchester; and the *regal* of gold by the bishop of Winchester. And the queen sat apparelled in her royal robes of velvet—a mantle with a train; a surcoat, with a kirtle furred with wombs of miniver pure; the crown imperial on her head, her sceptre

¹ It is difficult to surmise for what purpose the third crown was introduced, without it was to indicate a coronation for the kingdom of Ireland. The kings of England, previously

to Henry VIII., only assumed the title of lords of Ireland; that is, suzerain over the petty kings of that island.

in her right hand, and the orb in her left, and a pair of sabatons on her feet, covered with crimson cloth of gold, garnished with riband of Venice gold, delivered to her by her master of the great wardrobe. Thus royally invested, queen Mary was brought to St. Edward's chair; and when seated, the bishop of Winchester kneeled down before her, and made his homage for himself and all the bishops:—

“I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth bear to you, our sovereign lady and queen, and to your heirs, kings and queens of England, France, and Ireland; and I shall do and truly acknowledge the service of the lands which I claim to hold of you, as in the right of your church, as God shall help me and all saints.” And then kissed every one of the bishops the queen's left cheek.

Then kneeled down the greatest temporal prince, the duke of Norfolk, and made his homage:—

“I become your liege man of life and limb, and of all earthly worship and faith, and all truly shall bear unto you, to live and die with you against all manner of folk. God so help me and all-hallows!”¹

Then he kissed the queen's left cheek. And the premier noble of every class, the marquis of Winchester for himself, the earl of Arundel for the earls, the viscount Hereford and lord Burgavenny² for the barons, repeated the same homage for their fellows: who, all kneeling, held up their hands, meantime, in manner of *lamenting* (supplication), and the queen's highness held their hands thus between hers, while they by turns kissed her left cheek; and when they had ascended (*i. e.* the steps of the throne) to that homage, they all with a loud voice together cried, “God save queen Mary!” Her whole house of lords then consisted of less than fifty individuals.³

The general pardon published at this coronation contained so many exceptions, that it seemed more like a general accusation, and bore melancholy evidence to the convulsed state of the times. Bishop Gardiner commenced the office of the mass; and after the gospel was read, he sent the book to the queen who kissed it. She came down from the throne to make the regal offering—an *oble*⁴ of bread, laid upon the paten or cover of St. Edward's chalice, a cruet of wine, and a pound of gold. The fact of the queen's receiving the eucharist is not mentioned, but it is recorded that she bowed her head, and the bishop said a prayer over her, and her grace was conveyed again to her seat-royal, where she sat till *Agnus Dei*; then the pax was brought her to kiss by a bishop. Afterwards she retired to St. Edward's chapel, where the bishop of Winchester took the crown from her head, and offered it on the altar of St. Edward.

¹ All Saints² Abergavenny.³ See the list of those summoned, Parliamentary History, vol. iii.⁴ An abbreviation of *oblatus*, the wafer consecrated at mass.

The other regalia was likewise offered on the altar, and received by the dean of Westminster. The queen was then unclad of her robes, and other royal apparel given her by her great chamberlain. Her dress, when she returned to the hall from the abbey, was a robe of purple velvet, an open surcoat of the same, a mantle and train, furred with miniver and powdered ermine, a mantle-lace of silk and gold, a riband of Venice gold, and a crown was set on her head. A rich canopy was borne over her by the barons of the Cinque-ports; and so she was conveyed in goodly order to Westminster-hall, with all her train, to dinner. The ceremony of the banquet was in all particulars the same as at the coronations of previous monarchs. To the grandson of the aged duke of Norfolk was deputed the duty of earl-marshal; but the duke made the usual entry into the hall, ushering the first course, on horseback, accompanied by the earl of Derby, high-steward of England.¹

The queen recognised her sister in all respects as the next to herself in rank, for she sat at the royal table at her left hand. Anne of Cleves sat next to Elizabeth: both had their especial services. These "virgin princes," as Speed quaintly calls Mary and Elizabeth, were chaperoned by their father's surviving widow, whom they both treated with dutiful respect. The ambassadors of Cleves attended the coronation, notwithstanding the change of religion; they were part of that great mercantile alliance in which the English and Flemish merchants were so closely knit. The champion of England was Sir Edward Dymoke, whose portrait, preserved in the college of Arms, in the act of throwing down his gauntlet, gives, indeed, the *beau-idéal* of a knight worthy to do battle in vindication of the claims of his sovereign lady.² He pronounced his challenge *viva voce* right gallantly, the first in behalf of a queen-regnant:—

"If there be any manner of man, of whatever estate, degree, or condition soever he be, that will say and maintain that our sovereign lady, queen Mary the First, this day here present, is not the rightful and undoubted inheritrix to the imperial crown of this realm of England, and that of right she ought not to be crowned queen, *I* say he lieth like a false traitor! and that *I* am ready the same to maintain with him while *I* have breath in my body, either now at this time, or any other whensoever it shall please the queen's highness to appoint; and therefore *I* cast him my gage."

¹ Strype. The earl of Arundel was lord steward of the queen's household.

² Sir E. Dymoke wrote a disdainful letter, Nov. 23, 1553, reproaching Sir William Cecil with making him sue out a warrant from the queen for his perquisites. "At the coronation of king Edward," he says, "I had all such delivered to me by your father [Richard Cecil, groom and yeoman of the wardrobe] without warrant. I had my cup of gold

without warrant. I had my horse without warrant, and all my trappings of crimson satin without warrant; and, by the old precedents of my claim, I ought to have them now. It is the queen's pleasure that I should have all things pertaining to my office, and so she willed me to declare to my lord treasurer; and rather than I would be driven to sue a warrant for such small things, I would lose them."

And then he cast his gauntlet from him, "the which no man would take up." Yet, if ever there was danger of a champion being called upon to prove his words, it was at the coronation of Mary the First. The gauntlet remaining there the usual time, a herald took it up and presented it to Sir Edward, who made the same challenge in three several places in the hall. The queen drank to the champion, and sent him the gold cup. Then followed the proclamation of Garter king-at-arms, which in this reign is by no means a dead formula, but vital with historical interest, since it proves that, howsoever against her inclination it might be, Mary actually challenged therein the right to be considered head of the church. As it is scarcely possible to doubt that she had just taken the ancient coronation oath, which bound the sovereign to maintain the church in all things as Edward the Confessor did, this proclamation is difficult to reconcile with such obligation. The ancient coronation oath, it is not irrelevant here to observe, was, owing to the want of moral consistency of the English legislature, imposed upon every one of her successors, whether their principles were Protestant or Catholic, until the alteration made by parliament at the coronations of William III. and Mary II.¹

Garter king-at-arms, having made three several obeisances before the queen's majesty at the upper end of the hall, proclaimed the style and title in Latin, French, and English :—

"Of the most high, puissant, and most excellent princess, Mary the First, by the grace of God, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, of the church of England and Ireland supreme head. Largess, largess, largess!"

No observance appertaining to an English sovereign was omitted at this banquet; the feudal cups, the wafers, and ipocras, were all duly received by the maiden sovereign as by her ancestors. It was candlelight ere her majesty had dined; and after the tables² were taken up, and her hands laved, she arose and stood in the midst of the *haut place* with the princess Elizabeth and Anne of Cleves, surrounded by all the nobility according to their degrees. She then called the foreign ambassadors: after conversing with them graciously for a short time, and thanking them for their attendance, she gave them leave to retire. The queen changed her dress in the privy-chamber, and all the nobility divested themselves of their robes, and accompanied her, the princess Elizabeth, and the ladies to their barges, and whilst they made their short voyage to Whitehall-stairs. Nor did the fatigues of the day end here, for the evening concluded with feasting and royal cheer at Whitehall-palace.

Dramatic representations were among the entertainments at Mary's

* See a most valuable collection of instances of coronation-oaths in Mr. A. Taylor's *Glories of Regality*.

² Dining-tables then stood on tressels, and were carried off after dinner.

coronation festival; these were superintended by Heywood, the comic dramatist, whose attachment to the Roman ritual had caused him to take refuge in France. By an odd coincidence, he returned to his native country on the very same day that Bale, the sarcastic poet of the Reformers, retreated to Geneva. If we may be permitted to judge by the tone of their writings, pure Christianity and moral truth lost little by the absence of either ribald railer, for they were nearer allied in spirit than their polemic hatred would allow. There is something irresistibly ridiculous in the change of places of these persons, resembling the egress and regress of the figures in a toy-barometer on the sudden alterations of weather to which our island is subject. The comedian Heywood, it has been shown, had served queen Mary from her childhood, beginning his theatrical career as manager to one of those dramatic companies of infant performers which vexed the spirit of Shakespeare into much indignation, and caused him to compare them to "little eyases."¹

When Heywood, on his return from banishment, presented himself before his royal mistress, "What wind has blown you hither?" asked queen Mary. "Two special ones," replied the comedian; "one of them to see your majesty."—"We thank you for that," said Mary; "but, I pray, for what purpose was the other?"—"That your majesty might see *me*." A first-rate repartee for a player and a dramatist, and her majesty named an early day for beholding him in his vocation. He was appointed manager of the performances of her theatrical servants; and she often sent for him, to stand at the sideboard at supper and amuse her with his jests, in which, it is said, the Protestant reformation was not spared, though (according to Camden) the arrows of the wit glanced occasionally at his own church, even in these interviews with majesty.²

Lady Margaret countess of Lennox was not forgotten when times changed, her cousin and early friend, Queen Mary, wrote to her, as lady Margaret's situation had prevented approach to London until after the coronation. She now came from Settrington, Yorkshire, to congratulate the queen, with her husband, her new-born daughter, and her eldest son, the lord Darnley, then about nine years old, attended by his literary tutor, John Elder. Queen Mary, knowing that the rank of the Lennox princes was higher than their fortunes, sent to her Susan Clarence, with a fair diamond for luck; and still better, "500 sovereigns in one bag, besides two splendid gold tissue gowns for wearing at court, a girdle of gems, and many other rich gifts of her brother Edward's belongings, for young lord Darnley, who was, indeed, king Edward's heir male."³ Apart-

¹ The young nestlings of hawks; these hawkings being untrained, and good for little in falconry. It appears, by Mary's Privy-purse Expenses, she often paid for seeing Heywood's juvenile actors.

² Camden's remains.

³ Life of Margaret countess of Lennox, vol. ii. Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses, &c., by Agnes Strickland.

ments in Whitehall were given to the Lennox family, unfortunately, just over the suite pertaining to the princess Elizabeth. The first symptoms of jealousy began to be apparent in Elizabeth regarding the favour of the queen to Margaret, and even to Frances duchess of Suffolk, the mother of the unfortunate lady Jane Gray.

Four days after her coronation, queen Mary performed the important office of opening her first parliament. She rode to Westminster-abbey in scarlet velvet robes, her peers, spiritual and temporal, attending her likewise dressed in scarlet, with trumpets sounding before them. In the abbey the mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated according to the ancient custom. It did not pass over without manifestations of the sincere Protestant principles of two of the bishops—Taylor of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford—who, refusing to kneel at the mass, were thrust violently out of the abbey and the queen's presence. After mass, the queen, the lords, and the remaining bishops adjourned to the usual parliament chamber in Westminster-palace. They went in grand state, the earl of Devonshire bearing the sword before the queen, and the earl of Westmoreland the cap of maintenance. After Mary had seated herself on the throne, bishop Gardiner, as lord chancellor, made an oration, showing the causes "wherefore the virtuous and mighty princess Mary, by the grace of God queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and head of the church, had summoned her parliament." He concluded by signifying her pleasure "that the commons should, at their accustomed place, choose a speaker."¹ The queen had, by previous proclamation, remitted to her people two heavy property taxes, one on lands and the other on goods, called, in the financial language of the day, "two tenths" and "two fifteenths," granted by the last parliament of Edward VI., for the purpose of paying the debts of the crown. The queen, in this proclamation, acknowledged herself answerable for these debts, promised to use the utmost economy to pay them off, from her own resources, although they had been chiefly incurred by the misrule of the duke of Northumberland. She had no private purse of her own at her accession, and, as she had restored the estates of several of the great nobility,² and had resolved not to touch any part of the church lands still retained by the crown, it must be owned that she commenced her government in a state of poverty deep enough to exonerate her from any charge of bribing her senate. Some historians have affirmed, that the emperor furnished the funds for bribing this parliament;³ if so, the recipient parties were strangely ungrateful, since the only measures in which they opposed the queen's wishes were relating to her marriage with his son, prince Philip.

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 290.

² It is supposed, besides this relinquishment of taxes, she surrendered 60,000*l* per annum to the rightful owners—a sum exceeding the revenues of the crown.

³ See Rapin, Burnet, and most of the historians of the last century.

The first act of legislation was, to restore the English laws regarding life and property to the state in which they stood in the twenty-fifth year of Edward III. Since the accession of the Tudor line, a hideous change had taken place.¹ A statistic writer of those times, who is by no means properly impressed with the horror of the fact, computes that more than 72,000 persons were executed on the gibbet in the latter years of Henry VIII.'s reign.² It cannot excite surprise that the earliest specimens of parliamentary eloquence in the house of commons were excited by the review of his atrocious laws, which by one consent they compared to those of Draco.³ The parliament next proceeded to annul all previous acts passed in Henry's reign relating to the divorce of Katharine of Arragon, and the illegitimation of her daughter. It has been already shown that, by power of that most unconstitutional act of parliament which placed the disposal of the crown at Henry VIII.'s will, he restored his daughters to their places in the succession; at the same time he left the acts of parliament in force which, by declaring his marriages with their mothers nullities, branded both sisters equally with illegitimacy; for his evil passions had caused such inextricable confusion in his family, that it was impossible to do justice to Mary without injuring Elizabeth. It was indispensable for the public peace that the title of the reigning sovereign should be cleared from stigma. This could not be done without inexorable circumstances tacitly casting a stain on the birth of her sister; yet this was not the crime of Mary, but of her father. As far as the unfortunate case would permit, Elizabeth was guarded from reproach, for all mention of her name, or that of her mother, was carefully avoided,⁴ and Mary had just allowed Elizabeth,

¹ Holinshed, vol. i. p. 185. In the freer days of the Plantagenets, proof of an open, or overt, act of war against the sovereign was required before the man could be attainted; in the third year of Henry VIII. a supposed knowledge of conspiracy was sufficient to incur all the penalties of treason. Very few of Henry VIII.'s numerous victims could have been put to death according to the ancient laws; towards the end of his life, English freedom was still more infamously infringed. Our Saxon chroniclers record, that the Norman conqueror and his sons made cruel laws for the protection of game; they acted as conquerors, without the sanction of the national council, but Henry VIII. found a parliament that could make it death for an Englishman to take a hawk's egg. In his thirty-first regnal year the measure of his cruelty swelled higher, and "conjuring, sorcery, witchcraft," were made capital. In his thirty-third regnal year was the act compounded to which Surrey fell the victim, under this mysterious title, "Propheying upon arms, cognizances, names, and badges;" likewise, "casting of slanderous bills"—that is libel, was punished with death. "Con-

veying horses or mares into Scotland" was capital. The act which punished stealing in a dwelling to the amount of 40s. owed its origin to one of Henry VIII.'s statutes; it has been recently modified, as it had, since the decrease in the value of money, become even more cruel in the present era than in the sixteenth century. The state of vagabondage, into which the sudden withdrawal of the provision for the destitute afforded by the monasteries had thrown numbers of the lower classes, had been restrained with barbarous laws, in the reigns of Henry and his son, instead of a proper poor-law. The iron sway of Henry VIII. crushed, not only the ancient nobility and the richly endowed monks, but also the common people.

² Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 186.

³ Parliamentary Hist., vol. ii. p. 186.

⁴ Rapin, whose history was the text-book of readers in the last century, has roundly made the following assertion, vol. ii. p. 34: "*The princess Elizabeth, being thus again declared illegitimate by an act which restored Mary, found a great change in the behaviour of the queen.*" &c. As this assertion has been copied into many other histories, particularly

at the recent coronation, the place and honours of the second person in the realm. Whilst this parliament sat, a bill of attainder was passed on lady Jane Gray, her husband, and Cranmer, who had been the same month brought to trial at Guildhall, before the lord chief-justice Morgan. Lady Jane pleaded guilty, and received sentence of death, to be burnt on Tower-hill, or beheaded, at the queen's pleasure. Such was the ancient law of England, if women either committed high treason against the sovereign, or petty treason by killing their husbands. Lady Jane Gray conducted herself with angelic meekness, and comforted her companions in misfortune. She was followed back to the Tower by crowds, weeping and bewailing her fate. It was, nevertheless, understood by all about the court, that the queen meant to pardon her, and she was soon after given every indulgence compatible with safe keeping; she was permitted to walk in the queen's garden at the Tower, and even on Tower-hill.¹

The most important act of the same session was that which repealed the laws passed in the reign of Edward VI. for the establishment of the Protestant church of England, and made the anti-papal church of Henry VIII.'s six articles the dominant religion of the country, confirming queen Mary in the office she so much deprecated of supreme head of that church. Its functions she continued to exercise two years.² That this was a period of grief and alarm to the reformed church of England our ecclesiastical histories³ amply manifest, and to their voluminous pages the reader is referred, where may be traced the arguments of those illustrious Protestants who undauntedly defended their principles in the convocation, held for the settlement of religion at Westminster in the autumn of 1553; likewise details of the struggles, often personal and violent, between them and the members of the newly restored church of Henry, for possession of places of worship. The queen actually held the then despotic authority of supreme head of the church more than a year and a half; during which period she had ample time and opportunity to have doomed some of her religious opponents to the flames, or at least to have inflicted personal punishment on some of her numerous libellers. But it is certain, that till Mary surrendered her great power as head of the church the cruelties of her reign did not commence. The only anecdote preserved by Foxe, regarding her private conduct towards a Protestant clergyman, it would be difficult to interpret into an act of malice. The arrest of Dr. Edwin Sandys has been mentioned. His offences against the queen combined an attack on her title and insult to her worship; nevertheless, she lent a favourable ear to the intercession of one of the ladies of her bed-

school-books, the words of the act (Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 292) will prove that the queen confined herself to the removal of her own stigma, without mentioning her sister or her birth.

¹ *Biographia Brit.*

² Parliamentary History, Edward VI., vol. ii.

³ Strype, Fuller, Foxe, Heylin, Collier, and Burnet, have all written voluminous histories on the same subject.

chamber for his pardon, in case the bishop of Winchester had no objection. The next time Gardiner came to the privy-chamber, the queen said to him—"Winchester, what think you about Dr. Sandys? Is he not sufficiently punished?"—"As it pleases your majesty," answered Gardiner, who had previously promised, "that if the queen was disposed to mercy, he would not oppose it." The queen rejoined, "Then, truly, we would have him set at liberty." She signed immediately the warrant for his liberation, and called on Gardiner to do the same.¹

A curious instance of the power of the clerical lord chancellor occurred about the same time. He thought proper to suppress the Paraphrases of Erasmus, translated by Udall, Cox, and queen Mary. It had been published by the fathers of the Protestant church of England, and placed in all churches, in company with the Bible, as the best exposition of the gospels.² Thus, one of the queen's first acts as head of the church was the destruction of her own learned labours. Surely Mary's situation, in this instance, as author, queen, and supreme dictator of a church by no means consonant with her principles as a Roman Catholic, was the most extraordinary in which a woman was ever placed. She did not, however, manifest any of the irritable egotism of an author, but, at the requisition of her lord chancellor, condemned her own work to the flames, in company with the translations of her Protestant fellow-labourers—an ominous proof of Gardiner's influence, who swayed her in all things excepting her marriage with Philip of Spain, to which he was, in common with the majority of her subjects, of whatever religion they might be, sedulously opposed.

Among the other difficulties which Mary had to encounter in her reign, it was not the least that the rights of queen-regnant of England were matter of speculation and uncertainty. Her people believed that their country would be transferred as a marriage-dowry to Philip, and sink into a mere province, like Sicily, Naples, Arragon, and other adjuncts of the crown of Spain. The example of their queen's grandmother, the illustrious Isabel of Castile, had proved that a female regnant, though wedded to a sovereign, could sway an independent sceptre with great glory and national advantage. Yet this instance was not only distant, but solitary; for female reigns in the middle ages had been very calamitous, and the English people could not imagine a married woman, even though she were queen-regnant, otherwise than subject to her husband, politically as well as personally. These ideas seem to have prompted Mary's hitherto compliant parliament to send up their speaker, with twenty of their number, to petition "that the queen would not marry a stranger or a foreigner." Mary attributed

¹ Dr. Sandys soon after retired to Zurich, where he waited for better times. He died archbishop of York.

² Burnet, vol. ii., and *Encyclopædia Britan-*

nica (art. Mary). Gardiner's quarrel with Cranmer and the other fathers of the Protestant church of England, originated in his opposition of these Paraphrases.

the movement to Gardiner, and vowed she would prove a "match for his cunning." Accordingly, she sent that night for the Spanish ambassador, and bade him follow her into her private oratory; there, in the presence of the consecrated Host, she knelt before the altar, and, after repeating the hymn *Veni Creator*, she called God to witness, that while she lived she would never wed any other man than Philip of Spain; thus virtually making a vow to marry but one husband in case of her survivorship. This event occurred the last day of October, and for some days during the succeeding month she was extremely ill. November 17 she sent for the deputation of the commons, when their speaker read the above-mentioned petition, and instead of her answer being given, as expected, by her chancellor, she herself replied, saying, that "For their loyal wishes, and their desire that her issue might succeed her, she thanked them; but, inasmuch as they essayed to limit her in the choice of a husband, she thanked them not, for the marriages of her predecessors had been free, nor would she surrender a privilege that concerned her more than it did her commons." Arundel whispered to Gardiner that he had lost his office, the queen had taken it. Mary turned to her lord chancellor with the words, "I may thank you, my lord of Winchester, for this!" Gardiner protested his innocence, saying, "the commons had drawn their petition themselves, though he allowed he was partial to Courtenay—he knew him in the Tower."—"No reason that I should marry him," replied the queen, "and that I never will, I promise you. I am a woman of my word—what I say I do."—"Marry whosoever you will," said Gardiner, "and your majesty's spouse shall find me his most obedient subject."¹

This interference of the house of commons is generally supposed to have been the reason of their dissolution, on the 6th of December, when the queen came in state to the house;² and at the same time gave her royal assent to thirty-one acts, not in the manner of modern times, when the clerk of the house names and holds up the act in presence of the sovereign on the throne, who sits passively till the officer, supposing silence gives consent, exclaims, "*La reine le veut*," "the queen wills it." The action of assent in the days of the first queen-regnant was more graceful and significant, and throws a light on the ancient use of the sceptre; for the royal approval was implied by the queen extending her sceptre and touching the act immediately before the proclamation of "*La reine le veut*." Traits exist of this elegant ceremonial, from the time of queen Mary down to the reign of queen Anne.³ It is only mentioned in connection with female sovereigns, but it was, there is no doubt, the etiquette of all English monarchs pre-

¹ Renaud,

² Parl. Hist. p. 300.

³ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 332, and Sir Henry Ellis's second series of English

Historical Letters, vol. iv.; letter of lord Tarbet to queen Anne. The Parliamentary Journals in MS., likewise mention "sceptering the acts."

vious to the era of George I., whose want of English might have led to some inconvenient results, for the ceremony called "sceptering the acts" seems to have expired with the last queen of the line of Stuart.

The queen had been informed, that since her legitimacy had been confirmed by parliament, the French ambassador, Noailles, had sought to awaken discontents in the mind of her sister Elizabeth, as if it were tantamount to her own degradation; and that Elizabeth was likewise jealous, because Margaret countess of Lennox and Frances duchess of Suffolk were sometimes given precedence before her at court. It is improbable that the queen should wish to give undue exaltation to the mother of lady Jane Gray; it is therefore likely that the precedence was in some particular instance given them as matrons, before a young unmarried woman. No pains were spared by the malignity of partisans to create enmity between the royal sisters; but for a time these endeavours were fruitless, since Elizabeth, when questioned by the queen, cleared herself satisfactorily of receiving nocturnal visits from the intriguing Noailles. Mary took leave of Elizabeth with kindness, on her departure from court to her seat at Ashridge, and gave her, as tokens of her affection, two sets of large pearls,¹ and several jewelled rosaries magnificently mounted.

Early in January, count Egmont landed in Kent, as ambassador from Spain, to conclude the marriage-treaty between Mary and Philip. The first symptoms of a political storm, about to burst, were then perceptible; for the men of Kent rose partially in revolt, and Egmont was in some danger of being torn to pieces, as he was mistaken by the common people for the queen's bridegroom. However, he arrived safely at Westminster, and, in a set speech, opened his mission to the queen. Her reply had some spice of prudery in its composition. She said, "It became not a female to speak in public on so delicate a subject as her own marriage; the ambassador might confer with her ministers, who would utter her intentions. But," she continued, casting down her eyes on her coronation-ring, which she always wore on her finger, "they must remember her realm was her first husband, and no consideration should make her violate the faith she pledged to her people at her inauguration."²

The articles of the queen's marriage were communicated to the lord mayor and the city of London, January 14, 1553-4. Mary and Philip were to bestow on each other the titular dignities of their several kingdoms; the dominions of each were to be governed separately, according to their ancient laws and privileges. None but natives of England were to hold offices in the queen's court and government, or even in the service of her husband. If the queen had a child, it was to succeed to her dominions, with the addition of the whole inheritance Philip derived

¹ Lingard, vol. vii. p. 147; and List of Queen Mary's jewels, edited by Sir F. Madden.

² Griffet's edition of Renaud, p. 30.

from the dukes of Burgundy, namely, Holland and the rich Flemish provinces, which, in that case, were for ever to be united to England—a clause which, it is said, excited the greatest indignation in the mind of don Carlos, the young heir of Philip. The queen was not to be carried out of her dominions without her especial request, nor her children without the consent of the nobility. Philip was not to engage England in his father's French wars; he was not to appropriate any of the revenue, ships, ammunition, or crown jewels of England. If the queen died without children, all connection between England and her husband was instantly to cease. If Philip died first, queen Mary was to enjoy a dower of 60,000 ducats per annum, secured on lands in Spain and the Netherlands. No mention is made of any portion, or *dote*, brought by Mary to her spouse. One noxious article atoned to the ambitious Spaniard for the rigour of these parchment fetters, and this stipulated that Philip should *aid* Mary in governing¹ her kingdoms—a fact that deserves particular notice.

Just at the publication of the articles, the Spanish embassy found it needful to make a speedy retreat. The mode of their departure was graphically described by queen Mary's sister, when long years afterwards she, as queen Elizabeth, was on the point of concluding as unpopular a marriage. "It happened," says the royal writer, "in queen Mary's days, that when a solemn ambassade of five or six, at least, were sent from the emperor and king of Spain [Charles V.], even after her marriage-articles were signed and sealed, and the matter divulged, the danger was so near the queen's chamber-door, that it was high time for those messengers to depart without leave-taking, and bequeath themselves to the speed of the river-stream, and by water passed with all possible haste to Gravesend."² The week after, three insurrections broke out in different parts of England. One was organized in the mid-counties, by the vassals of the duke of Suffolk, for the restoration of lady Jane Gray; another by Sir Peter Carew, in the west of England, with the intention of placing the earl of Devonshire and the princess Elizabeth on the throne.³ The third and most formidable of these revolts occurred in Kent, headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, a youth of twenty-three. He was a Catholic, but having accompanied his father (the illustrious poet and friend of Anne Boleyn), on an embassy to Spain, where the elder Sir Thomas Wyatt was in danger from the Inquisition, he conceived, in his boyhood, such a detestation of the Spanish government, civil and religious, that his ostensible motive of revolt was to prevent the danger of like tyranny in England. Yet it is scarcely possible to imagine anything worse in Spain than had already taken place in England under Henry VIII.; such

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, and Dr. Lingard. Rapin wholly omits it.

² See her letter to Stafford, her ambassador in France, in August, 1581.—Wright's *Times of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 150.

³ See Bacardo, p. 47; Stowe, p. 622; likewise De Thou and Heylin.

as the tortures and burning of Anne Askew, friar Forrest, and numerous other Protestants and Roman Catholics. As Wyatt was at the same time a professed Catholic and a partisan of the princess Elizabeth, his conduct is exceedingly mysterious, unless, indeed, he was an anti-papal Catholic, and discontented at the prospect of Mary's resignation of church supremacy, was desirous of placing Elizabeth in her sister's place in church and state.

The queen was so completely deceived by the affected approbation of the duke of Suffolk to her marriage, that she actually meant to employ him against Wyatt, and sending for him to Sion,¹ found he had decamped with his brothers, lord Thomas and lord John Gray, and a strong party of horse they had raised. They took their way to Leicestershire, proclaiming lady Jane Gray queen in every town through which they passed,² to the infinite injury of that hapless young lady, still a prisoner in the Tower. The Gray revolt was quickly suppressed by the queen's kinsman, the earl of Huntingdon, in a skirmish near Coventry, when the duke and his brothers became fugitives, absconding for their lives. Carew's insurrection was likewise abortive, and he fled to France. This good news was brought to the queen on the 1st of February,³ at the very moment when most alarming intelligence was communicated to her regarding Wyatt's progress in Kent. The queen had sent the aged duke of Norfolk, who had ever proved a most successful general, with her guards and some artillery, accompanied by five hundred of the London trained bands, commanded by captain Brett. This person was secretly a partisan of Wyatt, and actually revolted to him at Rochester, with his company. Brett's defection caused the loss of the queen's artillery, and the utter dispersion of her forces, and gave such encouragement to the rebels, that Wyatt advanced to Deptford at the head of 15,000 men; from whence he dictated, as his only terms of pacification, that the queen and her council were to be surrendered to his custody. The queen preferred abiding the results of open war, and prepared to repel the besiegers of her metropolis.

CHAPTER V.

WHEN the news arrived that the duke of Norfolk's army was dispersed, the greatest consternation pervaded the court and city; for every one knew that the royal residences at Westminster possessed no means of defence, excepting the stoutness of their gates, and the valour of the

¹ Baoardo, p. 47. A letter in Lodge's Illustrations confirms the Italian.

² Stowe, p. 622. Likewise De Thou, Heylin, Rosso, and Baoardo, p. 47, printed but three years after the event occurred.

³ Speed.

gentlemen-at-arms. The queen's legal neighbours at Westminster-hall liked the aspect of the times so little, that they pleaded their causes clad in suits of armour, which were, however, decorously hidden by the flowing forensic robes. They followed the example set by Dr. Weston, who officiated at Whitehall chapel in the service for Candlemas-day, early in the morning (Feb. 2), before the queen, with armour braced on under his priestly vestments¹—a real specimen of a clerical militant. He was, indeed, a most truculent polemic.

In the midst of the warlike preparations of the valiant and the dismay of the timid, queen Mary remained calm and collected. She ordered her horse, and, attended by her ladies and privy councillors, rode to the city. She had no intention of taking refuge within the fortified circle of London wall, then entire and tolerably efficient; her purpose was merely to encourage the citizens by her words and example. The lord mayor, Sir Thomas White, the most trusty and valiant of tailors,² received his sovereign-lady at Guildhall clad in complete steel, over which warlike harness he wore the civic robe. He was attended by the aldermen, similarly accoutred. Such portentous equipments were true tokens of the exigence of the hour, for the rumour went that Wyatt, then at Southwark, was preparing to storm the city.

When the queen was placed in the chair of state, with her sceptre in her hand, she addressed the following speech to the citizens, with clearness of utterance, and no little grace of manner:—"I am come in mine own person to tell you what you already see and know; I mean the traitorous and seditious assembling of the Kentish rebels against us and you. Their pretence (as they say), is to resist a marriage between us and the prince of Spain: of all their plots and evil-contrived articles you have been informed. Since then, our council have resorted to the rebels, demanding the cause of their continued emprise. By their answers, the marriage is found to be the least of their quarrel; for, swerving from their former demands, they now arrogantly require the governance of our person, the keeping of our town, and the placing of our councillors. What I am, loving subjects, ye right well know—your queen, to whom, at my coronation, ye promised allegiance and obedience. I was then

¹ Tytler, p. 280, supported by Holinshed, Speed, and Strype, Martin's *Chronicles*, and the Venetian Baordo.

² In those ages of turbulence and peril, when the civic chief of London had sometimes to buckle on armour and stand storm and siege, there is scarcely an instance of a lord mayor (whatever might be his trade) acting otherwise than became a wise and valiant knight. More than one among them won their spurs fairly as bannerets, and obtained pure nobility by the truest source of honour—the sword defensive. In modern times, it has been the fashion to speak scornfully of the London citizens; and, as men are

just what the opinions of their fellow-creatures make them, they have in the last century aimed at little more than being rich, benevolent, and well-fed; yet they should remember that their forefathers were likewise wise and valiant. They were, moreover, sometimes learned, and may be generally reckoned among the most generous patrons of learning, which the names of Whittington and Gresham will recall to memory: and this Sir Thomas White, merchant-tailor, endowed St. John's college, Oxford (formerly Bernard's), so munificently, that he is honoured there as its founder.

wedded to the realm, and to the laws of the same, the spousal ring whereof I wear here on my finger, and it never has and never shall be left off. That I am the rightful and true inheritor of the English crown, I not only take all Christendom to witness, but also your acts of parliament confirming the same. My father (as ye all know) possessed the same regal estate; to him ye were always loving subjects. Therefore, I doubt not, ye will show yourselves so to me, his daughter; not suffering any rebel, especially so presumptuous a one as this Wyatt, to usurp the government of our person. And this I say on the word of a prince. I cannot tell how naturally a mother loveth her children, for I never had any; but if subjects may be loved as a mother doth her child, then assure yourselves that I, your sovereign lady and queen, do as earnestly love and favour you. I cannot but think that you love me in return; and thus, bound in concord, we shall be able, I doubt not, to give these rebels a speedy overthrow. Now, concerning my intended marriage: I am neither so desirous of wedding, nor so precisely wedded to my will, that I needs must have a husband. Hitherto I have lived a virgin, and I doubt not, with God's grace, to live so still. But if, as my ancestors have done, it might please God that I should leave you a successor to be your governor, I trust you would rejoice thereat; also, I know it would be to your comfort. Yet, if I thought this marriage would endanger any of you, my loving subjects, or the royal estate of this English realm, I would never consent thereto, nor marry while I lived. On the word of a queen I assure you, that if the marriage appear not before the high court of parliament, nobility and commons, for the singular benefit of the whole realm, then will I abstain—not only from this, but from every other. Wherefore, good subjects, pluck up your hearts! Like true men, stand fast to your lawful sovereign against these rebels, and fear them not—for I do not, I assure you. I leave with you my lord Howard and my lord treasurer [Winchester], to assist my lord mayor in the safeguard of the city from spoil and sack, which is the only aim of the rebellious crew.”¹

At the conclusion of this harangue, the crowd, which filled the Guildhall and its court, shouted, “God save queen Mary and the prince of Spain!” The queen then mounted her horse, and rode with her train across Cheapside to the water-stairs of the Three Cranes, in the Vintry. When she alighted to take her barge, a hosier stepped forth from the crowd, and said to her, “Your grace will do well to make your forward of battle your bishops and priests, for they be trusty, and will not deceive you.” The man was arrested and sent to Newgate.² The queen's barge had been appointed to wait for her at the wharf of the

¹ Holinshed. Foxe and Speed have interpolated a clause, as if the Kentish rising were against the queen's religion, not to be found in Holinshed, and positively denied by Rapin.

² Proctor's Wyatt's Rebellion.

Three Cranes. When she entered it, she bade her rowers take her as near as possible to London-bridge, where the attack of Wyatt was threatened. After examining all matters within dangerous distance, she was rowed to Westminster. On her arrival, she held a council, in which she appointed the earl of Pembroke general of her forces, then mustering to defend the palaces of St. James and Whitehall. An armed watch was set that night in Whitehall-palace. The "hot gospeller," Mr. Edward Underhill, presented himself to take his share of this duty, but was repulsed and driven away by his bitter adversary, Norreys, who was a Roman Catholic; upon which, as Underhill writes, "I took a link to light me home, and went away for a night or two." There is an anecdote afloat, which implies that the queen visited her defences at the Tower, Feb. 31. Sir Nicholas Poynings, an officer of artillery there, asked of the queen "whether they should not discharge the Tower ordnance at the Kentishmen, and beat down the houses on their heads."—"Nay," said the queen, "that were pity, for many poor men and householders are like to be undone there and killed. I trust, God willing," added the queen, "that they shall be fought with to-morrow." Three days of suspense passed over; in which time Wyatt, finding the city defences by the river-side too strong for him, retreated from Southwark, his people contenting themselves with plundering Winchester-house, the palace of bishop Gardiner, when they made such havoc in his library, that the destructives stood knee-deep in the leaves of torn books.¹

The storm of civil war, averted from the city, was soon transferred to the door of Mary's own residence. At two in the morning, the palace of Whitehall² was wakened by an alarm brought by a deserter from the rebels, declaring "that Wyatt had made a *détour* from the east of the metropolis on the Surrey bank of the Thames, which he had crossed at Kingston-bridge, and would be at Hyde-park corner in two hours." The hurry and consternation that pervaded the palace on that winter's morning may be imagined. Barricades were raised at the points most liable to attack; guards were stationed, even at the queen's bedchamber windows and those of her withdrawing-rooms. The palace echoed with the wailings of the queen's ladies: her royal household had been replenished with a bevy of fair and courtly dames, of a different spirit from those few faithful ladies who belonged to her little circle when she was the persecuted princess Mary, and who shared her flight to Framlingham. These ladies—Susan Clarencieux, Mary Finch, and Mary Browne, and the grand-daughter of Sir Thomas More, were with her still, in places of high trust; but they had been too well inured to the caprice of Mary's fortunes to behave according to Edward Underhill's account of their col-

¹ Stowe's Annals.² *Raga de Secretis*, Tower Records.

leagues. "The queen's ladies," he said, "made the greatest lamentations that night; they wept and wrung their hands; and from their exclamations may be judged the state of the interior of Whitehall 'Alack! alack!' they said, 'some great mischief is toward. We shall all be destroyed this night! What a sight is this, to see the queen's bedchamber full of armed men! The like was never seen or heard of before.'" ¹ In this night of terror, every one lost their presence of mind but the queen. Her ministers and councillors crowded round her, imploring her to take refuge in the Tower. Bishop Gardiner even fell on his knees, to entreat her to enter a boat he had provided for her retreat at Whitehall-stairs. Mary answered, "that she would set no example of cowardice; and, if Pembroke and Clinton proved true to their posts, she would not desert hers." ² In the midst of the confusion at Whitehall, the "hot gospeller," Mr. Edward Underhill, came dressed in his armour as gentleman-at-arms, and was very thankfully admitted by the captain of the queen's guard, who could best appreciate his valour and fidelity to his standard. The queen sent information to Pembroke and Clinton of the alarm in the palace. They returned the most earnest assurances of their fidelity. At four o'clock in the morning their drums beat to arms, and they began to station their forces for the most effectual defence of the royal palaces of St. James and Whitehall, for the rebels were uncertain in which palace queen Mary had sojourned that night.

The queen had a very small force of infantry, ³ but was better provided with cavalry, which was under the command of lord Clinton, the husband of her friend and kinswoman, the fair Geraldine. Bands of soldiers were posted at intervals from Charing-cross to St. James's-palace; and on the hill opposite to the palace-gateway (now so familiarly known by the name of St. James's-street) was planted a battery of cannon, guarded by a strong squadron of horse, headed by lord Clinton. This force extended over the ground now occupied by Jermyn-street. The antique palace-gateway and the hill still remain witnesses of the scene, but no building was at that time in the vicinity of the palace, excepting a solitary conduit, standing where the centre of St. James's-square is at present. The whole area before the gateway was called St. James's-fields; and where now extend the streets of Pall Mall and Piccadilly, with their swarming thousands, sylvan lanes were then seen, or park walls stretched on each side.

After Clinton and Pembroke had arranged their plan of action, the approach of the enemy was eagerly expected. Day broke on the 7th of February slowly and sullenly, pouring with rain, a real London wintry

¹ Ed. Underhill's Journal : Strype, vol. iii. p. 137.

² Renaud's Despatches. Holinshed, Speed, and Baoardo.

³ Baoardo, her nearest contemporary, says

but 500 men (p. 49); and Rapin (who has never seen the work of the Venetian) proves the same fact. Standing armies were then considered contrary to the English constitution.

morning: The difficulty of bringing up artillery through roads (such as roads were in those days), made still worse by the wet weather, had delayed Wyatt's entry till nine o'clock; when his forces, finding all access to the higher ground strongly guarded, divided into three: one part, under the command of captain Cobham, approached Westminster through the park, assaulting the back of St. James's-palace as it went; the second, led by captain Knevet, attacked the rear of Whitehall and Westminster palaces; while the other, led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, marched down St. James's-lane, giving battle at Charing-cross, and threatening the Holbein-gateway in front of Whitehall. Wyatt had been promised, by his friends in the city, that Ludgate should be opened to him if he could make his way thither; therefore, without providing for his own retreat, he bent all his energies on the point of forcing a passage to that main entrance of the city. Lord Clinton permitted the van of Wyatt's forces to pass before he charged down St. James's-hill, and commenced the contest by severing the leader from the rear of his army. An attack was made on the back of Whitehall-palace, the principal defence of which was the ancient castellated portal leading to the abbey, called "the Gate-house." Queen Mary, at the most alarming crisis of the assault, stood in the gallery of the Gate-house: the palace then was in the utmost danger, for the remainder of the guards, headed by Sir John Gage, who (though a valiant cavalier) was an aged man, gave way before the overwhelming force. The queen saw her guards broken, and utterly dispersed, by Knevet. Sir John Gage was overthrown in the dirt; but he made good his retreat into the palace. The defeated guards rushed into the court-yard, and fled to hide themselves among the wood and scullery-offices. The gentlemen-at-arms, who were guarding the hall against attack, all ran out to see the cause of the uproar; when the porter flung to the gates, and locked all out—friend and foe. The gentlemen-at-arms were by no means satisfied with the precaution of the palace-porter, and did not like their station with the gates locked behind them;¹ at that moment, Sir Robert Southwell came round from one of the back yards, and the battle-axe gentlemen begged he would represent to the queen "that it was a scandal to lock the palace-gates on them; but, if she would only trust to them, she should soon see her enemies fall before her face." "My masters," said Sir Robert, putting his morion from his head, "I desire ye all, as ye be gentlemen, to stay yourselves here while I go up to the queen, and I doubt not she will order the gates to be opened: as I am a gentleman, I promise you to be speedy." He entered the palace by some private door to which he had access, and made a quick return. "My masters," said he, "the queen is content the gates should be opened; but her request is that ye go

¹ *Styve*, from Ed. Underhill's MS.

not forth from her sight, for her sole trust for the defence of her person is in you." The palace-gates were then flung boldly open, and the battle-axe gentlemen marched up and down before the gallery where the queen stood. When they were mustered, she spoke to them, telling them that, "As gentlemen in whom she trusted, she required them not to leave the spot."¹

The legal gentlemen who assumed armour when pleading at Westminster-hall, did not wear it wholly for their own preservation; some of them offered their services for the defence of their liege lady. "My father," says Ralph Rokeby² (the lively historian of the family celebrated by Sir Walter Scott), "went to Westminster-hall to plead with a good coat-armour under his serjeant's robes; but hearing at Charing-cross the approach of Wyatt and his rebels, he hastened to the defence of the queen at Whitehall. There he strung and fettle an archer's bow of the livery-guard that stood aside unstrung, and throwing aside his serjeant's robe, he went to the gate-house of the palace, and made good use of it with a sheaf of arrows."

Wyatt was then forcing the passes down the Strand to Ludgate, which were guarded with bands of soldiers commanded by Courtenay earl of Devonshire, and the earl of Worcester. Courtenay scampered off at the first approach of Wyatt. It was supposed that timidity, from his inexperience in arms, had caused him to show the white feather;³ but he really was a secret coadjutor of Wyatt, and willing to clear the way for him, though his manner of doing it was not likely to render him very popular with the fierce people over whom he wished to reign. Wyatt and his force then approached Ludgate, and summoned the warder to surrender; but instead of his citizen-partisan, who, he supposed, had the keeping of that important city entrance, lord William Howard appeared in the gallery over the portal, and replied, sternly, "Avaunt! traitor, avaunt! you enter not here." There was no resource for Wyatt but to fight his way back to his main body. The queen's forces were between him and his army. Urged by despair, he renewed the contest with great fury near Charing-cross.

Meantime, Courtenay rushed into the presence of the queen, crying out "that her battle was broken—and all was lost and surrendered to Wyatt!" The lion spirit of her race rose in the breast of Mary, and she replied, with infinite disdain, "Such was the fond opinion of those who durst not go near enough to see the truth of the trial;" adding, "that she herself would immediately enter into the battle, and abide the upshot of her rightful quarrel, or die with the brave men then fighting for her." And so," continues old Holinshed, "she prepared herself

¹ *Strype*, from Ed. Underhill's MS.

² *(Economia Rokebeiorum.*

³ *Baardo* (p. 51) mentions Courtenay by name. Holinshed tells the circumstance, and

describes the queen's personal heroism, but only calls Courtenay "a certain nobleman." Renaud, Nouilles, and Rosso all agree in their account of Courtenay's behaviour.

accordingly." Whitehall was at that moment assaulted in the rear by Cobham's forces, who had forced their way through the park from St. James's, while the contest still raged in the area of Charing-cross. The band of gentlemen-at-arms were very earnestly engaged in defence of the royal residence; part kept the rebels at bay in the rear of the palace, while the others defended the court-yard and gateway with their battle-axes. Fugitives from the battle ever and anon took refuge in the palace, crying out, "All is lost! away, away! a barge, a barge!" Yet the queen never changed her cheer, nor would desert Whitehall, but asked, "Where was lord Pembroke?" and being answered "he was in the battle"—"Well, then," replied Mary, "all that dare not fight may fall to prayers, and I warrant we shall hear better news anon. God will not deceive me, in whom my chief trust is."¹

Within the palace reigned the utmost terror; "such running and shrieking of gentlewomen, such clapping and slamming-to of doors and windows, as was appalling to hear."² While this uproar prevailed, the queen actually came out of the palace among the gentlemen-at-arms, and stood between two of them, within arquebuss-shot of the enemy,³ when Pembroke made the final charge which decided the fortune of the day. The difficulty was, in this last struggle, to tell friends from foes. "The adversaries," pursues Holinshed, "could only be distinguished by the mire which had adhered to their garments in their dirty march from Brentford; and the war-cry that morning, by the queen's troops, was, 'Down with the draggle-tails!'" The noise at Charing-cross, when Wyatt's forces were finally broken, was plainly heard by the marquis of Northampton and his fellow-prisoners, as they stood on the leads of the White Tower of London.⁴ The shrieking of women and children was absolutely terrific, though it does not appear that any of them were hurt in the fray. Wyatt was forced down Fleet street, whence there was no retreat. He sat down, fatigued and dispirited, on a fish-stall opposite to the Belle Sauvage inn, and was finally prevailed on to surrender by Sir Maurice Berkeley, an unarmed cavalier, who took him up behind him and carried him in this ignoble manner to court as prisoner, whence he was conveyed to the Tower. The band of gentlemen-at-arms were admitted to the queen's presence soon after the termination of the struggle; she thanked them very graciously for their valiant defence of her person and palace. They were all of them gentlemen of family, and many of them possessors of great landed estates. This was, in the

¹ Proctor's Wyatt's Rebellion.

² Stowe's Annals, p. 621.

³ Baordo, edited by Luca Cortile, p. 52. Rosso, p. 50. It is fully confirmed by Grafton, who is copied by Holinshed: both praise the queen's valour and presence of mind. The real writer of the English chronicle narrative was George Ferrers, master of the

revels to Edward VI. and Mary; he was afterwards a writer in the Protestant interest, yet was at this time an eye-witness and partaker in the dangers of the struggle. He acted as a sort of aide-de-camp, and passed many times with messages between Pembroke and the queen.

⁴ Stowe.

time of the Tudors, the most splendid bard of royal guards in Europe.

The worst consequence of this rebellion was, that the queen was beset on all sides with importunities for the execution of the hapless lady Jane Gray, against whom the fatal facts of her re-proclamation as queen by her father, and at Rochester by some of Wyatt's London allies, were urged vehemently. Poinet, the Protestant bishop of Winchester, affirms "that those lords of the council who had been the most instrumental, at the death of Edward VI., in thrusting royalty upon poor lady Jane, and proclaiming Mary illegitimate, were now the sorest forcers of men, yea, became earnest counsellors for that innocent lady's death."¹ The day after the contest with Wyatt, queen Mary came to Temple-bar, and there, on the very ground saturated with the blood of her subjects, she was persuaded to sign the death-warrant of her hapless kinswoman, on the plea "that such scenes would be frequent while she suffered the competitor for her throne to exist." The warrant specified that "Guildford Dudley and his wife" were to be executed on the 9th of February. Sudden as the order was, lady Jane Gray declared she was prepared for it. Dr. Feckenham, the queen's chaplain, who had had frequent conferences with the angelic victim since her imprisonment, was deputed to prepare her for this hurried death. Lady Jane was on friendly terms with him, but was naturally anxious to be spared the harassing discussion of their different creeds. She therefore declined disputing with him, saying "that her time was too short for controversy." Upon this, Feckenham flew to the queen, and represented to her "that indeed the time was fearfully short for preparation of any kind; and how could she expect lady Jane to die a Catholic,² if she was thus hurried to the block without time for conviction?" The queen immediately respited the execution for three days. Lady Jane smiled mournfully on her zealous friend when he brought her news of this delay. She told him "he had mistaken her meaning; she wished not for delay of her sentence, but for quiet from polemic disputation;" meekly, but firmly, adding, "that she was prepared to receive patiently her death in any manner it would please the queen to appoint. True it was her flesh shuddered, as was natural to frail mortality; but her spirit would spring rejoicing into the eternal light, where she hoped the mercy of God would receive it." The memory of this beautiful message to queen Mary, far more touching than any anecdote our church of England historians have recorded of lady Jane Gray, was preserved by Feckenham; who, though he succeeded not in turning the heavenly-minded prisoner from the Protestant religion, won her friendship and gratitude. Her last words bore witness to the humanity and kindness she received from him.³

¹ Strype, vol. iii. part 1, p. 141, thus quotes Poinet.

² Baoardo, p. 45.

³ History of Queen Mary I. by our church of England bishop Godwin, in White Kennett's

The executions of this lovely and innocent girl and her young husband must ever be considered frightful stains on the reign of a female sovereign.

Watch was kept night and day, in armour, at court, so great was the panic at this crisis. The city presented the most frightful scenes, for military law was executed on fifty of the train-bands, who deserted the queen's standard under Brett. Many were hung at their own doors, and left there; so that, according to an Italian eye-witness, "the queen could not go to the city without beholding the ugly sight of dangling corpses at every turn of the street." But let those who live in our blessed times of peacefulness imagine, if they can, the agony of the harmless families within the houses—children, wife, mother, or sisters, who saw a dear, perhaps an only protector, thus hanging before his own doorway. What tragedy has ever equalled such woe? The prisoners taken in arms of Wyatt's army, amounting to five hundred, were led to the tilt-yard at Whitehall, with ropes about their necks; the queen appeared in the gallery above, and pronounced their pardon.¹ Notwithstanding this act of personal forgiveness, many of these prisoners were sent to take their trials; but the sheriff of Kent sent word to the queen of the fact, when she promptly interfered, saying, "I have pardoned them once, and they shall not be further vexed."²

Meantime, the confessions of Sir Thomas Wyatt³ gave queen Mary notice of a competitor for her crown still nearer to her than the candid and angelic Jane, whose life she had just sacrificed; this was her sister, the princess Elizabeth. On the outbreak of the strife, the queen had sent for Elizabeth from Ashridge, by the following letter written in her own hand:—

"Right dearly and entirely beloved sister, we greet you well. And whereas certain ill-disposed persons, minding more the satisfaction of their malicious minds than their duty of allegiance towards us, have, of late, spread divers untrue rumours; and by that means, and other devilish practices, do travail to induce our good and loving subjects to an unnatural rebellion against God and us, and the common tranquillity of our realm: We, tendering the surety of your person, which might chance to come to some peril if any sudden tumult should arise, either where you

Complete History of England. Feckenham was the last abbot of Westminster. Both lady Jane and abbot Feckenham were martyrs for their respective faiths. He endured, in the reign of Elizabeth, a captivity of twenty-five years, and died at last a prisoner in the castle and noxious air of Wisbeach.

¹ Proctor's Wyatt's Rebellion. This author was a schoolmaster, who wrote at the time.

² Ibid.

³ Many historians have supposed Wyatt's confessions were extorted by torture but in his

speeches on his trial, carefully noted down by Holinshead, he does not mention it; though, if true, he would not have failed when he said, in allusion to the services of his family, "My grandfather served most truly her grace's grandfather [Henry VII.], and for his sake was on the rack in the Tower."—See Holinshead, black letter, vol. ii p. 136, first edit. Wyatt pleaded guilty at his trial, a curious fact elicited by the abstract of his trial preserved in the Baga de Secretis

now be, or about Dornington (whither we understand you are bound shortly to remove), do therefore think expedient you should put yourself in good readiness, with all convenient speed, to make your repair hither to us, which we pray you will not fail to do, assuring you that you will be most heartily welcome to us. Of your mind herein, we pray you return answer by this messenger. And thus we pray God to have you in his holy keeping. Given under our signet, at our manor of St. James, the 26th day of January, the 1st of our reign.

“Your loving sister,

“MARY THE QUEEN.”

Elizabeth was very ill, and pleaded to the messenger mentioned by the queen, that she was utterly unable to travel. Mary permitted her to remain a fortnight, waiting for convalescence. Accusations, however, that were made against her by Wyatt were partially confirmed by Sir James Crofts, who had been captured in an abortive attempt to raise an insurrection in Wales. The queen then sent imperatively for Elizabeth, yet showed consideration for her by the person despatched to bring her to Whitehall. This was lord William Howard, who was not only her great uncle (brother to Anne Boleyn's mother), but the kindest friend she had in the world. The queen sent, withal, her own litter for her sister's accommodation, and her three physicians, to ascertain whether she could travel without danger.¹ Before the princess Elizabeth came to Whitehall, the queen had heard so many charges against her that she would not see her when she arrived, but assigned her a secure corner of the palace to abide in. She had formerly given Elizabeth a ring as a token, and told her to send it, if at any time there should be anger between them. Elizabeth sent it to her at this alarming crisis, but was answered, “that she must clear herself from the serious imputations alleged against her before they could meet.”

Courtenay was, also, in disgrace; he had been arrested a few days after the contest with Wyatt, and sent to the Tower. It is to queen Mary's credit that she urged the law of her country to the Spanish ambassador, when he informed her “that her marriage with the prince of Spain could not be concluded till Courtenay and Elizabeth were punished.”² The Spaniard thus quotes her words to his master, Charles V.:—“The queen replied ‘that she and her council were labouring as much as possible to discover the truth, as to the practices of Elizabeth and Courtenay; and that, as to Courtenay, it was certain he was accused by many of the prisoners of consenting and assisting in the plot, and that the cipher by which he corresponded

¹ Mr. Tytler's recent discoveries in the State-Paper office have been followed, in this narrative, in preference to Foxe, whose account is contrary to documents.

² Tytler's *Mary I.*, vol. ii. p. 320.

with Sir Peter Carew had been discovered cut on his guitar; that he had intrigued with the French, and that a match had been projected between him and Elizabeth, which was to be followed by the deposition and death of her, the queen; yet the law of England condemns to death only those who have committed overt acts of treason; not those who have merely implied consent by silence." Renaud angrily observed, "that it was evident the queen wished to save Courtenay, and of course Elizabeth, since she does not allow that her guilt was as manifest as his."¹

Correspondence, of a nature calculated to enrage any sovereign,² was discovered, which deeply implicated Elizabeth. Mary answered Renaud, "That although she was convinced of the deep dissimulation of Elizabeth's character, who was, in this instance, what she had always shown herself, yet proof, open proof, must be brought against her before any harsher measures than temporary imprisonment were adopted."

At this crisis queen Mary offered, if any nobleman would take the charge and responsibility of her sister, that she should not be subjected to imprisonment in the Tower; but no one would undertake the dangerous office. The earl of Sussex and another nobleman were then appointed to conduct the princess thither, but she persuaded them to outstay the time of tide at London-bridge. This act of disobedience incensed Mary; she told the offending parties at the council-board, "That they were not travelling in the right path; that they dared not have done such a thing in her father's time;" and finally, as the most awful feature of her wrath, "wished that he were alive for a month." Well she knew that he was never troubled with scruples of conscience concerning how the ancient laws of England regarded treasons, open or concealed; for if he supposed that even an heraldic lion curled its tail contumaciously, that supposition brought instant death on its owner, despite of genius, virtue, and faithful service.³

A seditious piece of trickery was carried on in the city at this time. In an old uninhabited house in Aldersgate-street, a supernatural voice was heard in the wall, which the people (who gathered in the street to the amount of seventeen thousand) affirmed was the voice of an angel inveighing against the queen's marriage. When the crowd shouted, "God save queen Mary!" it answered nothing. When they cried, "God save the lady Elizabeth!" it answered, "So be it." If they asked, "What is the mass?" it answered, "Idolatry." The council

¹ Tytler's Mary I., vol. ii. p. 320.

² Consisting of three, from Wyatt to Elizabeth, and one, more important, from Elizabeth herself to the king of France (Henry II.), who, through Noailles, his turbulent ambassador, was the prime mover of the rebellion.—Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary

vol. ii. State Papers. The letter, which would have involved Elizabeth in the penalties of treason, was in cipher.

³ The gallant earl of Surrey was put to death for a supposed difference in the painting of the tail of the lion in his crest.

sent lord admiral Howard and lord Paget to quiet the spirit, which they did by ordering the wall to be pulled down, and soon unharboured a young woman, named Elizabeth Croft, who confessed that she was hired, by one Drakes, to excite a mob. The heroine of the "voice in the wall" was set in the pillory for her misdeeds, but with no attendant cruelty.¹ Another adventure, still more absurd, proves the state of excitement which pervaded all natives of England, of whatever age and degree, concerning the queen's marriage. Three hundred children, assembled in a meadow near London, divided themselves in two parties to play at the game "the queen against Wyatt;" these little creatures must have been violent partisans on both sides, for they fought so heartily that several were seriously wounded; and the urchin that played prince Philip, the queen's intended spouse, being taken prisoner and hanged by the rest, was nearly throttled in good earnest, before some people, alarmed at the proceedings of the small destructives, could break in and cut him down. Noailles, the French ambassador, who relates the story (and, being a detected conspirator against the queen, maligns her on every occasion), affirms, that "she wished the life at least of one of the children to be sacrificed for the good of the public." The truth is, the most pugnacious of this band of infantry were flogged, and shut up for some days; and that was all the notice she took of the matter.²

Conspiracies against queen Mary's life abounded at this unsettled time; even the students of natural philosophy (which, despite of the stormy atmosphere of the times, was proceeding with infinite rapidity) were willing to apply the instruments of science to the destruction of the queen. "I have heard," says lord Bacon, "there was a conspiracy to have killed queen Mary, as she walked in St. James's-park, by means of a burning-glass fixed on the leads of a neighbouring house. I was told so by a vain though great dealer in secrets, who declared he had hindered the attempt." Of all things, the queen most resented the libellous attacks on her character, which abounded on all sides. She had annulled the cruel law, instituted by her father, which punished libels on the crown with death; but to her anguish and astonishment, the country was soon after completely inundated with them, both written and printed: one she showed the Spanish ambassador,³ which was thrown on her kitchen-table. She could not suffer these anonymous accusations to be made unanswered; she said, with passionate sorrow, that "she had always lived a chaste and honest life, and she would *not* bear imputations to the contrary silently;" and, accordingly had proclamation made in every county, exhorting her loving subjects

¹ Holinshed. Stowe, p. 624.

² Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary I., vol. ii. p. 331.

³ See the abstracts from Parliamentary

History, and Holinshed, which show that Henry VIII., for the first time in England, caused an act to be made punishing libel with death.

not to listen to the slanders that her enemies were actively distributing. This only proved that the poisoned arrows gave pain, but did not abate the nuisance.

Amidst all her troubles and contentions, Mary found time to examine with approbation the translations from Latin of her little kinsman, lord Darnley, and to send him a present of a rich gold chain, as an encouragement for some abstract he had made, either from Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, or in imitation of that celebrated work. A letter of thanks to the queen from this child is extant,² which proves that she had frequently sent him valuable presents, and treated him kindly. Mary encouraged him to proceed in a learned education, in which he was early progressing, according to the unhealthy system of precocious study in vogue at that day, of which she herself and her brother Edward VI. were noted instances. The little lord Darnley, in his letter, designates queen Mary "as most triumphant and victorious princess," in allusion to her late conquest of the rebels, his epistle being written on the 28th of March 1554. In quaint but pretty language, he expresses his wish "that his tender years would permit him to fight in her defence." His mother, Mary's cousin-german and early companion, lady Margaret Douglas, was at this time first lady in waiting. Lord Darnley and his family during his early life are involved in utter historical obscurity till his marriage with the heiress of the English crown, Mary queen of Scotland.

Despite the extreme repugnance manifested by all her subjects to her marriage with Philip of Spain, queen Mary accepted his ring of betrothal, brought by the renowned count Egmont, who had returned to England on especial embassy in March. The Tuesday after his arrival, the earl of Pembroke and lord admiral Howard came to escort him into the presence of their royal mistress and her council, accompanied by Renaud, the resident ambassador, who describes the scene: "The eucharist was in the apartment, before which the queen fell on her knees, and called God to witness 'that her sole object in this marriage was the good of her kingdom;' and expressed herself with so much pathos and eloquence, that the bystanders melted into tears." The oaths confirming the marriage were then taken on the part of England and Spain; "after which," proceeds Renaud, "her majesty again dropped on her knees, and requested us to join our prayers with hers, 'that God would make the marriage fortunate.' Count Egmont then presented queen Mary with the ring that your majesty sent, which she showed to all the company; and assuredly, sire, the jewel is a precious one, and well worth looking at. We took our *congé* after this, first inquiring

¹ Tytler's *Edward and Mary*, vol. ii. p. 377.

² MS. Cottonian, Vesp., F iii. f. 37. This letter has been quoted as a specimen of lord Darnley's mode of writing to Mary queen of Scots—a mistake, since it is dated 1554,

when he was but nine years old; and even at that early age, he speaks of a long series of presents and benefactions bestowed by the queen, to whom it was addressed.

'whether her majesty had any commands for his highness prince Philip?' She enjoined us 'To bear her most affectionate commendations to his good grace. She would that they should both live in mutual good offices together; but that, as his highness had not yet written to her, she deferred writing to him till he first commenced the correspondence.' " This is not the only hint that Renaud throws out respecting the neglect of the Spanish prince: he likewise shows anxiety that the gentlewomen who were most confidential with the queen should not be forgotten. "Your majesty understands," he writes to the emperor, "that at the coming of his highness some little presents of rings, or such small gear, must be made to the queen's ladies; particularly to three, who have always spoken a good word for the marriage: these were, mistress Clarendieux, Jane Russell, and mistress Shirley."

In proportion to the strong willfulness with which Mary's mind was set on this marriage, was the amount of temptation when she was artfully informed that the destruction of her sister and of her kinsman Courtenay could alone secure it. Her tempter was Renaud, the Spanish ambassador, who was perpetually urging on her attention, "that it would be impossible for prince Philip to approach England till his safety was guaranteed by the punishment of the rebels." To which the queen replied, with tears in her eyes,¹ "That she would rather never have been born, than that any outrage should happen to the prince." The spleen of the Spanish ambassador had been excited by the queen sending for him on Easter-Sunday, March 27, to inform him "that, as it was an immemorial custom for the kings of England to extend their mercy to prisoners on Good-Friday, she had given liberty to eight; none of whom had been implicated in the recent rebellion." For a very good reason, certainly, since they were safe under the ward of locks and bolts in the Tower. The murmurings of the discontented Spaniard, and his threats "that, if her majesty continued such ill-advised clemency, his prince could never come to England," occasioned the queen to weep, but not to change her purpose, though he zealously presented her with Thucydides, in French (forgetting that the English queen could read the original Greek), to teach her how traitors ought to be cut off.²

In the next interview, which happened at the council-board, Renaud spake out plainly, and demanded by name the victims he required before she could be blessed with the presence of her betrothed. His words are, "that it was of the utmost consequence that the trials and *executions* of the criminals, especially of Courtenay and the lady Elizabeth, should

¹ Tytler's *Edward and Mary*, Renaud's Despatches; vol. ii. pp. 348, 350.

² Tytler's *Edward and Mary*, vol. ii. p. 346; likewise Burnet, as to Thucydides.

³ Tytler, *ibid.* p. 365. It is to be hoped that, after this plain evidence of the cruel

intentions of the Spanish court, the paradox will no longer be believed that Elizabeth owed her life to the Spaniards, when these scenes show that Mary was her sister's only protector.

take place before the arrival of his highness." The answer of queen Mary is a complete specimen of the art of dismissing the question direct by a general observation. "She had," she said, "taken neither rest nor sleep, for the anxiety she felt for the security of his highness at his coming." But this answer did not spare Mary from another urgent requisition for kindred blood. Bishop Gardiner remarked, "that as long as Elizabeth lived, there was no hope of the kingdom being tranquillized, and if every one went to work roundly, as he did, things would go on better." This savage speech gives authenticity to a passage which occurs in an old memoir of Elizabeth's early life, entitled *England's Elizabeth*,¹ in which the following assertion occurs:—"A warrant came down, under seal, for her execution, Gardiner being the inventor of that instrument. Master Bridges² no sooner received it, but, mistrusting false play, presently made haste to the queen, who was no sooner informed, but she denied the least knowledge of it. She called Gardiner and others (whom she suspected) before her, blamed them for their inhuman usage of her sister, and took measures for her better security."³

The measures taken by queen Mary for the security of her sister's person, were chiefly sending Sir Henry Bedingsfeld, with a strong guard, to receive the entire charge of her till she could be removed to a distant country palace. This appointment, he affirms, took place on the 1st of May. Here, again, is another historical mystery explained of Elizabeth's after-amicable conduct to Sir Henry Bedingsfeld. That gentleman, though deeply devoted to her sister, was plainly the guardian of her life from the illegal attacks of Gardiner and the privy council. The perpetual delays of the trials of Elizabeth and Courtenay had been (in a series of grumbling despatches to the emperor) attributed by Renaud to Gardiner,⁴ whom he accuses so perpetually, in consequence of being the friend of Elizabeth, that the reader of these documents is half inclined to believe he was such; but the positive attack on Elizabeth's life, in which Gardiner planned the species of tragedy afterwards successfully acted by Burleigh in the case of Mary queen of Scots, removes all doubts regarding his enmity to her. The apparent ambiguity of his conduct arose from the fact, that he was in reality Courtenay's friend; and Elizabeth and Courtenay were so inextricably implicated together in this rebellion, that one could not be publicly impeached without the other.

¹ By Thomas Heywood, a contemporary of Mary and Elizabeth, a great partisan of the latter, and author of *The Four Prentices of London*.

² Sir John Gage was the constable of the Tower at this time, but he was cited at court, being likewise vice-chamberlain; therefore Bridges, the lieutenant of the Tower, is always mentioned as the person in authority, in any

occurrence of interest which took place there. He was soon after created lord Chandos.

³ By Thomas Heywood. It is written with the utmost enthusiasm in the cause of Elizabeth and of the Protestant church of England; therefore undue partiality to Mary cannot be suspected.

⁴ Tytler's *Edward and Mary*, vol. ii. pp. 338, 339, 346

Some reason existed for Gardiner's protection of Courtenay. The family of this noble had endured deadly persecution for the ancient ritual; it is very doubtful if Courtenay, though politically tampering with the Protestant party, had shown the slightest personal bias to Protestantism, and he had, withal, been for some time Gardiner's fellow-prisoner in the Tower. It is certain, from whatever causes, that Gardiner had always been the great promoter of Courtenay's marriage-suit to the queen; and, since the insurrection, he must have considered the *liaison* between Courtenay and Elizabeth as a fresh obstacle to these views. The cruel intentions of both Renaud and Gardiner against Elizabeth had been plainly enough spoken at the council conference narrated by the former; it is as plain that she had but one friend in the fearful conclave, and that was the queen her sister whose intense constancy of disposition would not suffer her to destroy one whom she had tenderly caressed and loved in infancy. In one of these sittings of council was first started the idea of marrying Elizabeth to the brave but landless soldier, Philibert Emanuel of Savoy, the dispossessed prince of Piedmont; thus removing her by wedlock, if not by death; such disposal of her hand was, from the commencement to the end of Mary's reign, a favourite notion with Philip of Spain. The proposal of sending Elizabeth to the care of the queen of Hungary was probably connected with it. But Mary no more approved of her sister's removal from England than of her destruction, as subsequent events proved.

Renaud notices a remark made by lord Paget, "that it was vain to think of remedying the disorders in the kingdom, without the thorough re-establishment of religion, which would be difficult, if the opinion of the chancellor [Gardiner] were followed, who was anxious to carry the matter through by fire and blood."¹ In some other passages, Renaud himself blames the violence of Gardiner in matters of religion; and how savage must Gardiner have been, if he excited the reprobation and disgust of a man whose inhumanity has been so fully proved? As for the queen, whenever the ambassador blames her, it is for sparing persons whose destruction was advised by the Spanish government.

The queen went in great state to Westminster-abbey the day her third parliament was summoned to meet, and was present with the lords and commons at the mass of the Holy Ghost.² The session, however, was not opened by her, but by Gardiner, who in his speech observed, "that the queen could not come without danger to her person, because of the furious storm of wind and rain then raging."³ The queen must have had some other motive for absenting herself, since the parliament-chamber of Westminster-palace, called the white hall, was but a short

¹ Tytler's *Edward and Mary*, vol. ii. p. 365.

² *Ibid.*, p. 362.

³ *Parliamentary Journals*, *Parliamentary Hist.* vol. iii. p. 303.

distance from the abbey. Gardiner introduced the subject of the queen's marriage formally in his address, and laid before the senate its articles; "from which it was apparent," he observed, "that instead of the prince of Spain making acquisition of England, as promulgated by the rebels, England had made an acquisition of him, and all his father's kingdoms and provinces.¹" Queen Mary told Renaud, "that while she attended the mass in Westminster-abbey at the opening of parliament, she saw the earl of Pembroke² (who had returned from his country house, where he had been keeping Easter), and she spoke to him, and made much of him, bidding him welcome, and his wife also; and she now trusts all things will go well."

The parliament was that session earnestly employed in passing laws in order to secure the queen's separate and independent government of her dominions, without control from her husband. They took jealous alarm that all power was vested in the name of kings in the statute-book, without any mention of queens-regnant; and their first care was, to provide a remedy for this deficiency, lest Philip of Spain, when invested with the titular dignity of king, might legally claim the obedience of the nation, because there was no precedent of queenly authority in the written laws of the land, to obviate which omission the speaker brought in a bill.³ This motion gave rise to another alarm in the house of commons, which was, "that as the queen derived her title from the common or oral law of the land, acknowledged by the English people before acts of parliament or statute laws existed, she might defy all written laws in which kings only were mentioned, and rule despotic queen of England." On this idea, one of the time-serving agents, who had been formerly employed by Cromwell for the destruction of the abbeys, wrote an essay, in which he argued "that the queen could (without waiting for the co-operation of parliament) re-establish the supremacy of the pope, restore the monasteries, and punish her enemies by the simple exertion of her own will." After reading this unprincipled production with great approbation, the Spanish ambassador carried it to queen Mary; he begged her to peruse it carefully, and keep its contents secret. As the queen read the treatise, she disliked it, judging it to be contrary to her coronation-oath. She sent for Gardiner, and when he came "she charged him, as he would answer it at the general day of doom, that he would consider the book carefully, and bring her his opinion of it forthwith." The next day happened to be Maundy-Thursday, and after queen Mary had made her maundy to her alms-people, Gardiner waited on her in her closet, to deliver the opinion she requested on the manuscript, which he did in these words:—"My good and gracious lady, I intend not to ask

¹ Tytler's *Edward and Mary*, vol. ii. p. 368.

² Ibid. Katharine Parr's sister was at this time dead, and Pembroke remarried.

³ Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii.

you to name the devisors of this new-invented *platform*; but this I will say, that it is pity so noble and virtuous a queen should be endangered with the snares of such subtle sycophants, for the book is naught, and most horribly to be thought on." Upon which queen Mary thanked him, and threw the book behind the fire; moreover, she exhorted the Spanish ambassador, "that neither he, nor any of his retinue, should encourage her people in such projects."

In this interview, one of the good points in the character of Mary's prime minister was perceptible, which was, attachment to the ancient laws of England; and he had sometimes dared to defend them at that dangerous period when Cromwell was tempting Henry VIII. to govern without law. Gardiner was likewise an honest and skilful financier, who managed Mary's scant revenue so well, that while he lived she was not in debt; yet he was a generous patron of learning, and if he could benefit a learned man in distress, even the cruelty and bigotry, which deformed and envenomed his great talents, remained in abeyance. Having thus, by stating the "for" and "against" in the disposition of this remarkable man, humbly followed the example prescribed by Shakespeare, in his noble dialogue between queen Katharine and her officer Griffiths on the good and evil qualities of Wolsey, it remains to quote, in illustration of his conduct, a curious anecdote concerning himself, queen Mary, and Roger Ascham (the celebrated tutor of the princess Elizabeth), Roger himself, in one of his epistles, being the authority. Queen Mary had promised Roger Ascham the continuation of his pension of 10*l.* per annum, granted by her brother Edward VI. as a reward for his treatise written on archery, called the "*Toxophilite*." "And now," said he, "I will open¹ a pretty subtlety in doing a good turn for myself, whereat, perchance, you will smile. I caused the form of the patent for my pension to be written out, but I ordered a blank place to be left for the sum, and I brought it so written to bishop Gardiner. He asked me, 'Why the amount of the sum, ten pounds, was not put in?' 'Sir,' said I, 'that is the fault of the naughty scrivener, who hath, withal, left the blank space so large, that the former sum, *ten pounds*, will not half fill it; and therefore, except it please your good lordship to put 'twenty pounds' instead of ten, truly I shall be put to great charges in having the patent written out again; but the word *twenty* will not only fill up the space, but my empty purse too!' Bishop Gardiner laughed, and carried the patent to queen Mary, and told her what I said; and the queen, without any more speaking, before I had done her any service, out of her own bountiful goodness, made my pension twenty pounds per annum. I had never done anything for her," added Ascham, "but taught her brother Edward to write; and, though I dif-

¹ The anecdote is in one of his letters to queen Elizabeth, complaining of his being badly provided for. Edited by Dr. Whitaker in his *History of Richmondshire*.

ferred from her in religion, she made me her Latin secretary." He adds many commendations on the learning and wisdom of Gardiner, which sprang from exuberant gratitude for the complete success of his "pretty subtlety."

Whilst the session of parliament continued, the execution of the unfortunate Wyatt took place, and a few days afterwards, the trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. This gentleman, who had given the queen that important warning which had saved her life and crown, had become malcontent; and had, to a certain degree, intrigued by message and letter with Sir Thomas Wyatt. His trial was the first instance, since the accession of the Tudor line, in which a jury dared do their duty honestly, and acquit a prisoner arraigned by the crown. The prisoner defended himself manfully; he would not be brow-beaten by his partial judge, Bromley, who had been so long accustomed to administer polluted law, that he was obstinate in forcing the trial into the old iniquitous way, which had destroyed thousands in the fearful days of Henry VIII., when condemnation followed arraignment with unerring certainty. Throckmorton had an answer for every one: he appealed to the recently restored laws of England; he quoted the queen's own eloquent charge to her judges¹ when she inducted them into office, the memory of which would have been lost but for the pleadings of this courageous man. "What time," he said, "my lord chief-justice, it pleased the queen's majesty to call you to this honourable office, I did learn of a great man of her highness's privy council, that, among other good instructions, her majesty charged and enjoined you 'to administer law and justice indifferently, without respect to persons.' And notwithstanding the old error among you, which did not admit any witness to speak, or any other matter to be heard in favour of the prisoner when the crown was party against him, the queen told you 'her pleasure was, that whatsoever could be brought in favour of the accused, should be admitted to be heard;' and, moreover, 'that you, specially, and likewise all other justices, should not sit in judgment otherwise for her highness than for her subject. This manner enjoined by the commandment of God, and likewise commanded by the queen's own mouth, reject nothing that can be spoken in my defence; and in so doing, you shall show yourselves worthy ministers, and fit for so worthy a mistress.'" "You mistake the matter," replied judge Bromley. "The queen spake those words to master Morgan, chief-justice of the common *place*" [pleas]. As if it mattered, in regard of moral justice, to which of her judges she addressed herself.

This exordium of Mary to her judges was no hypocritical grimace, no clap-trap at her accession; she honestly acted upon it, for the witness whose testimony acquitted Throckmorton that day came out of her own

¹ Holinshead, b. iv. 4to ed. vol. ii. p. 1747.

household. At the moment when the prisoner's life hung on the proof of whether he was conscious or not of the precise time of Wyatt's rising, he called on Sir Francis Inglefield (who, with his colleague, Sir Edward Waldegrave,¹ was sitting on the bench with the judges), and asked him to speak what he knew on that head. Inglefield immediately bore witness, like an honest man as he was. "It is truth," said he, "that you were at my house, in company with your brothers, at that time, and ignorant of the whole matter." The moment Throckmorton was acquitted, the base judge committed the honest jury to prison, who had done their duty like true Englishmen—men deserving everlasting praise as the practical restorers of the constitution of the country, long undermined by the abuses the queen had pointed out to her judges. The facts developed in this remarkable trial indicate that the wishes and will of the queen were distinct from those of the officials who composed her government—men who had been bred in the despotic ways of her father.

It was the trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton which first brought the illegal proceedings of the privy council into popular notice, under the designation of the decrees of the Star-chamber, afterwards so infamous in English history. They had long been at work in the same way, but, in the present instance, public attention had been peculiarly excited by Throckmorton's recitation of the queen's eloquent charge to her judges; and indignation was raised to a high pitch when the jury were, after unjust imprisonment, threatened by the Star-chamber, and mulcted with heavy fines, while the acquitted prisoner was as unjustly detained in the Tower. As the queen, at the representation of his brother, set Sir Nicholas Throckmorton free soon after, uninjured in person or estate, he considered he had had a fortunate escape.² It is said that she finally remitted the fines of the worthy jury which had acquitted him; but it was alike degrading to a queen who wished to rule constitutionally, and to Englishmen whom the law had not declared guilty, to give and receive pardons of the kind.

The queen was extremely ill, almost to death, at the time of Throckmorton's trial. The public, and even Renaud, attributed her indisposition to Throckmorton's acquittal; but the decided part taken by the queen's confidential friend, Inglefield, in his favour, is a sure proof that the trial took a course not displeasing to her, however it might enrage her privy council.³ The first use the queen made of her convalescence was to assist in processions at the court of St. James. May 3, being

¹ The reader is familiar with the names of both these gentlemen, as Mary's servants in her long adversity. They had endured imprisonment for her sake, during her religious troubles in her brother's reign. They were now privy councillors and officers of the household, and were basking in the full sun-

shine of royal favour.

² Throckmorton Papers.

³ It is scarcely to be doubted that Inglefield was the man who had reported to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton the queen's charge to her judges.

Rogation week, the queen's grace went in person, with four bishops mitred, and her heralds, and sergeants of arms. They went to all her chapels in the fields; to St. Giles-in-the-Field, to St. Martin-in-the-Field, with song-mass, and the third to Westminster, and there they had a sermon and song-mass, and made good cheer, and afterwards went about the park, and home to St. James's court there."¹

Mary dissolved parliament in person May 5. She pronounced a speech from the throne in presence of her assembled peers and commons, which excited so much enthusiasm, that she was five or six times interrupted by loud shouts of "Long live the queen!" and, at the same time, many persons present turned away and wept. Such was the description given by Basset,² one of the royal attendants present, to Renaud, and the courtly reporter attributed these emotions to her majesty's eloquence. It is to be hoped, that those who wept were mourning over the deep degradation of the national character, since the house of peers, which had unanimously joined in establishing the Protestant church of England four short years before, now, to the exultation of the Spanish ambassador, as unanimously agreed in enacting "that the ancient penalties against heretics should be enforced," classing as heretics the members of the very church they had so recently planted. The peers consisted of about fifty laymen, who were, with the exception of five or six persons, the very same individuals who had altered religion in the preceding reign. It is true, that the spiritual peers who sat among them were Catholic instead of Protestant bishops; yet, had the lay peers been honest or consistent, a very strong majority might have prevailed against the enactment of cruel penal laws for the prosecution of a church they had lately founded; but they were not honest, for Renaud plumed himself on the emperor's success in bribing the most influential of their body.³

Queen Mary had been previously made unconsciously a party in a little supernatural interlude, which her learned dean of Canterbury, Nicholas Wotton, promulgated for the preservation of the heir of his house, Thomas Wotton. Her majesty had appointed dean Wotton as her envoy to France, and there he either discovered some correspondence or, according to his own account, dreamed that his nephew was concerned in a rebellion which convulsed England to its centre, and, among other notable mischiefs, threatened to overthrow the respectable family of Wotton. "Now, as the Wottons were remarkable as dreamers of dreams, dean Nicholas considered how he was to make the best use of his vision; he therefore wrote to queen Mary, and asked her as a

¹ Machyn's Diary, p. 61.

² One of the gentlemen in waiting, husband to Sir Thomas More's grand-daughter.

³ Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. pp. 369, 389. The Journals of the house of lords

are lost, but the above inference is justified by the comparison of the list of the house of lords summoned in the first year of Edward VI. and the first of Mary I. See Parliamentary Hist., vol. iii. pp. 216, 289.

favour to send for his nephew, Thomas Wotton, out of Kent, and cause him to be questioned by her council on certain particulars, and that he would inform her of his reasons by word of mouth, when he returned and had an interview with her majesty." The queen did just as he requested, and Thomas Wotton was kept safely in prison until after the Wyatt rising and its failure. The dean of Canterbury, on his return to England, one day visited his nephew in prison, just at the time of the execution of Wyatt and many others, and he told his uncle "what a favour her majesty had done him by becoming suspicious of his intentions, and keeping him prisoner; for if he had had his liberty, he should assuredly have been in arms with his dear friend Wyatt, and done his best to have earned his share in the punishments now distributing on all sides."

William Thomas was hung at Tyburn on the 18th of May; he had been clerk to the privy council of Edward VI., and had been very urgent with the rebels to destroy Mary, if she fell in their power. The queen had pardoned her kinsman, lord John Gray, likewise Sir James Crofts and admiral Winter, although the two last had been each the leader of a separate revolt; nor did she exercise this privilege of her high station without much murmuring from Renaud. This minister of mercilessness announced to his master, the emperor, "that all the judges had pronounced that, if brought to trial, the proofs against Courtenay were such as to insure his condemnation to death, if the queen could be prevailed on to give him up to it; but besides her impracticability in his favour, her trusted servant, Sir Robert Rochester, was the stanch friend of both Courtenay and Elizabeth, and wished for their union; and that the queen trusted lord William Howard implicitly with her ships, who made no scruple of avowing his friendship for Elizabeth, and it was expected he would one day revolt with the whole fleet."¹ The queen showed implicit reliance on Rochester and Howard, *malgré* all these insinuations; she knew they had proved true as steel in the hour of her distress, and it is most evident by the result, that she did not consider them as enemies because they pleaded for her unfortunate relatives.

The day succeeding the execution of William Thomas, the princess Elizabeth was removed from the Tower, and sent by water to Richmond-palace, and from thence to Woodstock, where she remained under restraint. Part of the queen's household guards, under the command of Bedingfeld, had charge of her. The city diarist, Machyn, says the removal of Elizabeth did not take place till two days afterwards: "On May 20, my lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, came out of the Tower, and took her barge at Tower-wharf; and so went to Richmond, and from thence to Windsor, and then to Woodstock." About the same time, Courtenay was sent to Fotheringay-castle, like-

wise under guard, though not confined closely. In the same important week arrived don Juan Figueroa, a Spanish grandee of the first class. He was designated, in a private letter of the earl of Shrewsbury,¹ "as the ancient ambassador with the long grey beard, who was here when the late king Edward died." His errand was to be ready in England for the reception of prince Philip.

The lord admiral Howard had sailed from Portsmouth with the finest ships of the queen's navy, to join the united fleets of Spain and the Netherlands, that Philip might be escorted to his bride with the utmost maritime pomp. On the appointment of Howard to this command, the emperor's ambassador offered him a pension as a token of the prince's gratitude. He referred him to the queen, who gave leave for its acceptance, but it had not the least effect on the lord admiral's independence, for his national combativeness rose at the sight of the foreign fleets; and Renaud² sent a despatch, full of complaints, to the emperor, saying, "that the lord admiral Howard had spoken with great scorn of the Spanish ships, and irreverently compared them to mussel-shells." Moreover, he quarrelled with the Spanish admiral, and held him very cheap. He added "that the English sailors elbowed and pushed the Spanish ones whenever they met on shore, with which rudeness the lord admiral was by no means displeased; and had it not been for the "extreme forbearance of the Spanish admiral," in preventing his men from going on shore during the month the combined fleets were waiting for queen Mary's spouse, the English would have forced a quarrel, and given their allies battle-royal. To add to all these affronts, lord admiral Howard insisted on the prince of Spain's ships performing the maritime homage the English fleet always claimed as sovereigns of the narrow seas, by striking topsails in the Channel, though the prince was on board in person."³

Philip had continued, until the middle of May, at Valladolid, governing Spain as regent for his distracted grandmother, the queen-regnant Joanna. Queen Mary had written to him a French letter, commencing with the words, "*Monsieur, mon bon et perpetuel allié*," in which she announced to him the consent of her parliament to their marriage. The letter is worded with great formality, and assumes the character of England writing to Spain, rather than queen Mary to her betrothed husband; yet she could scarcely adopt a different tone, since the prince had sedulously avoided writing to her, as may be gathered from the reiterated remonstrances of Renaud on this subject,⁴ even at so late a date as the 28th of April, 1554, six days after the despatch of queen Mary's letter. At the end of May the bridegroom made a farewell

¹ Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 238.

² Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p.

414.

³ Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii.,

Renaud's letter, June 9; and a quotation in Kempe's Losely MSS.

⁴ Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p.

380.

visit to the royal maniac whose sceptre he swayed. To save time, his sister, the princess-dowager of Portugal, met him by the way; and, at the same time, he bade her adieu and resigned into her hands the government of Spain.¹ He arrived at Corunna at the latter end of June, and after waiting some time for a favourable wind, finally embarked for England on the 13th of July.²

Mary and her council, meantime, retired to Richmond-palace, and sat in earnest debate regarding the reception of don Philip, and the station he was to occupy in England. Unfortunately, Mary had no precedent to guide her in distinguishing between her duties as queen-regnant, and the submission and obedience the marriage vow enforced from her as a wife. It is true that she was the grand-daughter of Isabel of Castile, the greatest and best queen that ever had swayed an independent sceptre; but then, on the other side, she was grand-daughter to the undoubted heiress of England, Elizabeth of York, who had afforded her the example of an utter surrender of all her rights to the will of her husband. Evidently queen Mary considered that her duty, both as a married woman and a sedulous observer of the established customs of her country, was, as far as possible, to yield implicit obedience to her spouse.³ All the crimes, all the detestation with which the memory of this unfortunate lady has been loaded, certainly arose from this notion. The first question on which the queen and her council came to issue was, whether, in the regal titles, her name should precede that of her husband. On this point Renaud became very earnest: "I told the chancellor," he wrote to the emperor, "that neither divine nor human law would suffer his highness to be named last."⁴ The result was, that the queen yielded precedence to the titular dignity of Philip. Her next desire was to obtain for him the distinction of a coronation as king; but, on this point, Gardiner and her council were resolute. "She had," they said "been crowned, and received their oaths, with all the ceremonies pertaining to the kings, her ancestors, and what more could be needed?" Mary then expressed her wish that her wedded lord might be crowned with the diadem of the queen-consorts of England, but that was negatived.⁵ She was forced to content herself by provid-

¹ Renaud's Despatches, Tytler's *Edward and Mary*, vol. ii. pp. 401, 402.

² Dr. Lingard, vol. vii. p. 172.

³ The undefined rights of a queen-regnant of England had been made matter of anxious discussion by Henry VIII., in reference to his daughter Mary. "He caused to come before him the two chief-justices, with Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and Garter king-at-arms, to argue the question, 'Whether men were by law or courtesy entitled to hold baronies, and other honours, in right of their wives?'" In the course of the debate, the king asked, "If the crown should descend to his daughter, whether her husband should

use the style and title of king of England?" The chief-justice answered, "Not by right, but by grace, because the crown of England is out of the law of courtesy; but if it were subject thereto, then it were clear." This opinion certainly implied the power of the female sovereign to confer, by her special favour, the title of king on her husband.—From Sir W. H. Nares' Collections, folio MS. p. 22, formerly in the hands of John Anstis, Garter king-at-arms, now in possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, bart., of Middle Hill, through whose favour this extract is taken.

⁴ Renaud's Despatch, June 9.

⁵ Martin's Chronicle.

ing for him a collar and mantle of the Garter, worth 2,000*l.*, with which he was to be invested the moment he touched English ground.

The queen had to answer Sir Henry Bedingfeld's application concerning books which the lady Elizabeth's grace, his charge at Woodstock, wished to peruse; likewise to settle some disputes regarding her servants. "As touching the lady Elizabeth's requests," writes queen Mary, "ye may provide her the English Bible she requireth, and for the rest, satisfy with general good words until further answer from hence." Her majesty added in a postscript, "that she is also pleased that the lady Elizabeth's grace may write to her highness according to her desire." Mary was then at Richmond, June 13, 1554. Twelve days afterwards she is settled at Farnham-castle, where she received that most extraordinary letter quoted in Elizabeth's Life, denying treasonable correspondence with "the traitor Wyatt," as she calls him, and collusion with Noailles, clinching all with one of her wonted asseverations, "May God confound me, if I did." Mary's reply was addressed to Sir Henry Bedingfeld; her sister's letter was not taken in good part. "We were most sorry at the beginning to have any cause of suspicion,"¹ she wrote from Farnham. "But when it appeared unto us that the copies of her secret [private] letters to us were found in the packets of the French ambassador, and that divers of the most notable traitors made their chief account upon her, we can hardly be brought to think that they would have presumed so to do except they had had more certain knowledge of her favour towards their unnatural conspiracy than is yet by her confessed. Therefore, though we have on our part (considering the matter brought to our knowledge against her) used more clemency towards her than in the like matter hath been accustomed, yet cannot her fair words so much abuse [deceive] us, but we do well understand how these things have been wrought." She desires Bedingfeld "Not to let her [Mary] be any more molested by such disguised and colourable letters, but to keep good watch on his charge.—Given under signet at the castle at Farnham, June 25, 1554." Till within a few days of her expected bridegroom's landing, Mary remained in the seclusion of Farnham-castle, belonging to Gardiner's see, and situate within a morning's ride of Winchester and Southampton. Here she wrote again to Bedingfeld, giving him leave to hunt and hawk in Woodstock-park.²

It was the middle of July before tidings were heard of the approach of the combined fleets, when the queen despatched Russell, lord privy-seal, to receive Philip, who was expected at Southampton. Mary gave her envoy the following instructions, which afford an ominous instance

¹ Letter of Queen Mary to Sir H. Bedingfeld, June 25, 1554. Edited by Rev. C. R. Manning.

² Bedingfield Papers. Edited by Rev. C. R. Manning.

of the future sway that Philip was to bear, through her, in the government of England :—

“INSTRUCTIONS FOR MY LORD PRIVY-SEAL.

“First, to tell the *king* the whole state of the realm, with all things pertaining to the same, as much as ye know to be true. Second, to obey his commandment in all things. Thirdly, in all things he shall ask your advice, to declare your opinion as becometh a faithful councillor to do.

“MARY THE QUEEN.”¹

The day before the royal *cortége* departed for Winchester, the book containing the list of the queen's attendants was brought before the privy council, and carefully scanned by Gardiner and Arundel, when the following odd dialogue took place, whilst they were examining the list of the gentlemen-at-arms presented to them by the lieutenant, Sir Humphrey Ratcliffe. When they came to the name of Edward Underhill, “the hot gospeller,” “What doth he here?” said Arundel. “Because he is an honest man; because he hath served queen Mary from the beginning, and fought so well for her at Wyatt's rebellion,” answered Sir Humphrey Ratcliffe. “Let him pass, then,” said Gardiner. “He is an arch heretic, nevertheless,” rejoined Arundel.²

The carriage which conveyed the queen's ladies on her bridal expedition was a very droll vehicle, and redolent as it was with red paint, must have surpassed the splendour of a modern wild-beast caravan. It is graphically described, in one of Mary's own royal orders, as follows :—“We command you, on the sight hereof, to deliver to our well-beloved Edmund Standon, clerk of our stable, one *waggon* of timber work, with wheels, axletrees, and benches; and fine red cloth to cover the said waggon, fringed with red silk, and lined with red buckram; the waggon to be painted outside with red. Also collar, draughts, and harness of *red leather*; a hammercloth, with our arms and badges of our colours, and all things pertaining to the said waggon, which is for the ladies and gentlewomen of our privy-chamber.”

The tidings arrived, that don Philip and the combined fleets of England and Spain, amounting to one hundred and sixty sail, had made the port of Southampton, Friday, July 20, after a favourable voyage from Corunna of but seven days.³ The queen and her bridal retinue the next day set out for Winchester, where she had resolved her nuptials should be celebrated, by her prime minister, Gardiner bishop of Winchester. Mary made her public entry into Winchester⁴ July 23, in

¹ MS. Cott., Vesp., F. iii. f. 12. This document is entirely in Mary's hand. She styles her betrothed “king,” by which she must mean king of England, as the investitures of the kingdom of Naples had not taken place.

² Strype's Memorials.

³ Lingard, vol. vii. p. 172.

⁴ The narrative of this marriage is from Ralph Brooke, York herald's book of Precedents (printed from the MS. of Sir Edward

the midst of a furious storm of rain and wind, and took up her abode in the episcopal palace, which had been prepared for her reception. In the meantime, don Philip had landed on the 20th of July. He was rowed on shore in a magnificent state barge, manned by twenty men, dressed in the queen's liveries of green and white. The barge was lined with rich tapestry, and a seat was provided for the prince, covered with gold brocade. Mary had sent this vessel to meet her spouse, attended by twenty other barges lined with striped cloth, which were to accommodate, with due regard to their several dignities, his Spanish officers of state. Among these was more than one historical character; the duke of Alva—afterwards infamous for his cruelties to the Protestants in the Netherlands—was the principal in rank, as Philip's *major-domo*. When the prince ascended the stairs leading to the mole at Southampton, he found a deputation from the queen, and a great concourse of nobles and gentry waiting to receive him. He was immediately presented with the order of the Garter, which was buckled below his knee by the earl of Arundel when he first set foot on English ground: he was likewise invested with a mantle of blue velvet, fringed with gold and pearl. The queen had sent, by her master of horse, a beautiful genet for the prince's use, who immediately mounted it, and rode to the church of the Holy Rood, at Southampton, where he returned thanks for his safe voyage. From thence he was conducted to "a very fine palace," in which an apartment was prepared for him, with a canopy and chair of state of crimson velvet, gold, and pearl. The room was hung with some of Henry VIII.'s best arras, figured with white and crimson, and gold flowers, and bordered with the titles of that monarch, in which the words "Defender of the Faith, and Head of the Church," seem to have made a remarkable impression on the minds of Philip's attendants. The prince was dressed simply in black velvet; he wore a berret-cap of the same, passamented with small gold chains: a little feather drooped on the right side. There are letters¹ and descriptions extant which wonderfully commend his beauty of face and figure, but his numerous original pictures do not bear out such assertions—his complexion was cane-coloured, his hair sandy, his eyes blue, with heavy lids, and gloomy expression, which is peculiarly odious in a person of very light complexion. A mighty volume of brain, although it sloped too much towards the top of the head, denoted that this unpleasant-looking prince was a man of considerable abilities.

The following day was Friday. Don Philip went to mass, accompanied by many English nobles, to whom he behaved courteously, and gave much satisfaction—excepting only, they remarked, that he never

Dering), combined with the author's original translation from the Italian of Baccardo, printed at Venice; likewise in the black letter pamphlet of J. Elder.

¹ By John Elder, young lord Darnley's pedagogue, to the bishop of Caithness.

raised his berret-cap. The weather had set in with an incessant down-pouring of wet, such as an English July only is capable of. "It was a cruel rain," says the Italian narrator, "on the Saturday," through which Gardiner bishop of Winchester came to welcome don Philip, accompanied by fifty gentlemen with rich gold chains about their necks, dressed in black velvet, passamented with gold; and a hundred other gentlemen, in black cloth barred with gold. The duchess of Alva landed in the evening, and was carried on shore in a chair of black velvet, borne by four of her gentlemen. Next day was Sunday, don Philip despatched, in the morning, his grand chamberlain, don Ruy Gomez de Silva, with a magnificent offering of jewels, of the value of 50,000 ducats, as a present to his royal bride. After mass he dined in public, and was waited upon by his newly appointed English officers of the household, to the great chagrin of his Spanish attendants, most of whom were, according to the marriage-treaty, obliged to return with the Spanish fleet. Don Philip courted popularity; he told his new attendants, in Latin, that he was come to live among them like an Englishman, and, in proof thereof, drank some ale for the first time, he gravely commended it "as the wine of the country."

In "down-pouring rain," on the Monday morning, the royal bridegroom and his suite mounted their steeds, and set out in grand state and solemn cavalcade to Winchester, where the queen and her court waited for them. The earl of Pembroke had arrived the same morning as their escort, with two hundred and fifty cavaliers, superbly mounted, dressed in black velvet, and wearing heavy gold chains. A party of a hundred archers, with their bows ready, came on horseback, dressed in yellow cloth striped with red velvet. Four thousand spectators, variously mounted, whom curiosity had brought together, closed the procession. Don Philip was, as usual, dressed in black velvet; but, on account of the heavy rain, he wore over all a red felt cloak, and a large black hat. When the cavalcade had progressed about two miles from Southampton the prince met a gentleman, riding post, who presented him with a small ring as a token from the queen, and prayed him, in her name, to advance no further. Philip, who did not very well understand his language, and knew the violent resistance the English had made to his espousing their queen, apprehended immediately that she meant to warn him of some impending danger; and calling Alva and Egmont apart, drew up, in consternation, by the road-side for a consultation; when an English lord, seeing there was some misapprehension, immediately said, in French, "Sire, our queen lovingly greets your highness, and has merely sent to say that she hopes you will not commence your journey to Winchester in such dreadful weather." When the prince rightly comprehended the queen's message, he gallantly resolved to persevere in his journey, and his line of march again moved forward on the Winchester

road, but did not proceed far before another cavalier was encountered, bearing a long white wand in his hand, who, addressing the prince in Latin, informed him "that he had the command of the county," and entreated his leave to perform his office. This being granted, the gentleman turned his horse, and raising his wand on high, and taking off his cap, preceded the cavalcade, the rain pouring on his bare head the whole way, though the prince repeatedly entreated him to be covered. About a mile from Winchester, two noblemen from the queen came to meet the prince, attended by six of the royal pages, attired in cloth of gold, and mounted on great Flemish coursers, trapped with the same.

Although Southampton is but ten miles from Winchester, the cavalcade moved with such Spanish gravity and deliberation, that it was between six and seven o'clock before Philip arrived at the city gate. The mayor and aldermen of Winchester presented him with the keys of the city, which he returned. "A great volley of artillery was shot off as he entered the city." Philip then mounted a fair white courser, and throwing off his ugly felt cloak he appeared in purple velvet cloak, doublet, and hose, richly embroidered with gold, "with a white feather in his hat, very fair." He alighted at the west door of Winchester cathedral, and was welcomed by Gardiner as bishop and lord chancellor, with five other prelates. After he had kneeled and kissed the crucifix, and prayed, he crossed the choir by ascending the steps of the platform prepared for his wedding. He put off his cap when he perceived the altar, went bareheaded with great humility to his seat, where he kneeled. Gardiner himself began the *Te Deum laudamus*. When it ceased, Philip was brought by torchlight through the cloisters to the dean's house, where he resided till his marriage.¹ Here he altered his dress: he wore hose and nether-stocks of white and silver, and a superb black velvet robe, bordered with diamonds.

The queen's first interview with her affianced husband took place that evening, about ten o'clock, when Philip was conducted by the privy council through a secret passage which led from the deanery to the bishop's palace. Mary received him "right lovingly," and conversed with him familiarly in Spanish for about half an hour.² Before he retired he asked the queen to teach him the proper English words wherewith to take leave of her lords at parting for the night. The queen taught him to say, "Good night, my lords, all of you." He conned this lesson well enough to surprise the lords of the council with it when they escorted him back to the deanery.³ The queen held a grand court at three o'clock the next afternoon, when she gave Philip a public audience. He came on foot from the deanery, attended by the lord high

¹ Elder's letter to the bishop of Caithness, printed by Wayland, 1555.

² Ralph Brooke, York herald.

³ John Elder.

steward, the earl of Derby, and the earl of Pembroke; likewise his Spanish grandees and their wives. He was dressed in black and silver, and adorned with the insignia of the Garter. The royal minstrels met him, and played before him, and the people shouted "God save your grace!" He was thus conducted in great state to the hall of the bishop's palace, where the queen advanced, as far as the entrance, to receive him and kissed him in the presence of the whole multitude. She led him to the presence-chamber, where they both stood under the canopy of state, and conversed together before all the courtiers. At even-song he withdrew from the presence-chamber, and attended service at the cathedral, from whence he was conducted, by torchlight, to his residence at the deanery.¹

The morrow (the 25th of July, and the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain) had been appointed for the royal nuptials. A raised causeway, covered with red serge, leading to two thrones in the choir, had been prepared for the marriage-procession. Queen Mary walked on foot from the episcopal palace, attended by her principal nobility and ladies—her train borne by her cousin, the lady Margaret, assisted by the chamberlain, Sir John Gage. She met her bridegroom in the choir, and they took their seats in the chairs of state; an altar between them. Gardiner came in great state, assisted by Bonner bishop of London, and the bishops of Durham, Chichester, Lincoln, and Ely, with their croziers borne before them. Philip was attended to the altar by sixty Spanish grandees and cavaliers, among whom were Alva, Medina, Egmont, and Pescara. He was dressed in a robe of rich brocade, bordered with large pearls and diamonds; his trunk-hose were of white satin, worked with silver. He wore a collar of beaten gold, full of inestimable diamonds, from which hung the jewel of the Golden Fleece; at his knee was the Garter, studded with beautiful coloured gems. The ceremony was preceded by a solemn oration from Figueroa, regent of Naples, who declared, "that his imperial master, Charles V., having contracted a marriage between the queen of England and his chief jewel—his son and heir, Philip prince of Spain—in order to make the parties equal, had resigned his kingdom of Naples, so that queen Mary married a king, and not a prince." Figueroa then asked, in a loud voice, "If there were any persons who knew any lawful impediment between the contracting parties; if so, they might then come forth, and be heard." The marriage, which was both in Latin and English, proceeded till it came to the part of the ceremony where the bride is given. The question was then asked, "who was to give her?" and it seems to have been a puzzling one, not provided for, when the lords of the privy council, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, and Pembroke came forward, and gave her in the name of the whole realm. Upon

Bacardo collated with the York herald, and John Elder; all three were present

which the people raised a great shout, and prayed God to send them joy. The wedding-ring was laid on the book, to be hallowed. Some discussion had previously taken place in council regarding this ring, which the queen decided, by declaring she would not have it adorned with gems, "for she chose to be wedded with a plain hoop of gold, like any other maiden."¹ King Philip laid on the book three handfuls of fine gold coins, and some silver ones.² When the lady Margaret, her cousin, saw this, she opened the queen's purse, and her majesty was observed to smile on her as she put the bridal gold within it.

Directly the hand of queen Mary was given to king Philip, the earl of Pembroke advanced, and carried before the bridegroom a sword of state, which he had hitherto kept out of sight. The royal pair returned hand in hand from the high altar. They seated themselves again in their chairs of state, where they remained till mass was concluded. At the proper period of the mass, Philip rose from his place and went to the queen, "and gave her the kiss of peace," for such was the custom.³ The titles of the royal pair were then proclaimed in Latin and English; after which, sops and wine⁴ were hallowed and served to them, of which they partook, and all their noble attendants. Don Philip took the queen's hand, and led her to the episcopal palace; both walked under one canopy when they returned from their marriage. The queen always took the right hand. The ceremonial in the cathedral lasted from eleven in the morning till three in the afternoon. The queen was dressed at her marriage in the French style, in a robe richly brocaded on a gold ground, with a long train splendidly bordered with pearls and diamonds of great size. The large *rebras* sleeves were turned up with clusters of gold, set with pearls and diamonds. Her chaperon, or coif, was bordered with two rows of large diamonds. The close gown, or kirtle, worn beneath the robe, was of white satin, wrought with silver. On her breast the queen wore that remarkable diamond of inestimable value, sent to her as a gift from king Philip whilst he was still in Spain, by the marquis de los Naves. So far, the dress was in good taste, but scarlet shoes and brodequins, and a black velvet scarf, added to this costume by the royal bride, can scarcely be considered improvements. The chair on which queen Mary sat is still shown at Win-

¹ John Elder's letter. He, doubtless, had this information from the mother of his pupil Lord Darnley, lady Margaret, countess of Lennox. Elder wrote a curious description of the royal wedding: he was present with the family he served.

² The York herald only mentions the gold; the Italian narrator adds the silver, which was no doubt correct, as in the Roman catholic ritual, to this day, the bridegroom presents the bride with gold and silver money. It is the York herald who has preserved the little by-

scene between the queen and her cousin. It appears, by Mr. Blencowe's Sydney Papers, this very amiable custom was continued at the marriages of the country nobility and gentry of the church of England till the Revolution. The bridegroom of Lucy Sydney put 200 guineas on the book, at the important clause in the marriage-service "with all my worldly goods I thee endow." Such old customs are best for the ladies.

³ Baordo.

⁴ The Italian says, biscuits and ipocras.

chester cathedral: report says, it was a present from Rome, and was blessed by the pope. It looks shabbily modern to our eyes.

The hall of the episcopal palace in which the bridal banquet was spread, was hung with arras striped with gold and silk; it had a stately dais raised at the upper end, ascended by four steps. The seats for queen Mary and her spouse were placed on this, under one canopy, before which their dinner-table was set. Below the dais were spread various tables, where the queen's ladies, the Spanish grandes, their wives, and the English nobility, were feasted. Bishop Gardiner dined at the royal table, which was served with plate of solid gold; and a cupboard of nine stages, full of gold vases and silver dishes, was placed full in view, for ornament rather than use. In a gallery opposite was placed a band of admirable musicians, who played a sweet concert till four heralds entered, attired in their regal mantles, and, between the first and second courses, pronounced a congratulatory Latin oration in the name of the realm; likewise a panegyric in praise of holy matrimony. The Winchester boys had written Latin epithalamiums, which they recited; they were rewarded by the queen. After the banquet, king Philip returned thanks to the lords of the privy council and the other English nobility; and the queen spoke very graciously to the Spanish grandes and their noble ladies, in their own language. The tables were taken up at six o'clock, and dancing commenced; but the whole gay scene concluded at nine o'clock, when the queen and king Philip retired from the ball.

While these grand state festivals were proceeding, private grudges and quarrels were fermenting among her majesty's Protestant and Catholic attendants. The "hot gospeller," Mr. Edward Underhill—whose lively journal gives the best idea of the interior of the palace during the reign of our first queen-regnant—was on duty in the presence-chamber at Winchester, and performed his office of assisting in carrying up the dishes at the wedding-banquet. He never chose to give up his post of guarding the queen's person, though his adversary, Norreys, who was promoted to the place of queen's usher, again renewed his persecutions. A day or two after the royal marriage, Norreys came from his station, at the door of the queen's private sitting-room, into the presence-chamber, when the gentlemen-at-arms all made reverence to him, as his place required. He fixed his eyes on Edward Underhill, and asked him "What he did there?"—"Marry, sir!" replied the undaunted Protestant, "what do you do here?"—"You are very short with me," observed Norreys. "I will forbear," rejoined Underhill, "out of respect for the place you be in: if you were of the outer chamber, I would be shorter with you. You were the door-keeper when we waited at the queen's table. Your office is not to find fault with me for doing my duty. I am at this time appointed to serve her majesty by those who are in authority under her, who know me well."—"They shall know

you better," returned his foe, "and the queen also." Mr. Calverley, one of Underhill's comrades, brother to Sir John Calverley of Cheshire, then interposed, saying, "In good faith, Mr. Norreys, you do not well; this gentleman, our fellow, hath served queen Mary a long time. He has been ever ready to venture his life in her service, and at the last troubles was as forward as any one to guard her. He is now appointed, at very great charges (as we all are), to serve her again. Methinks you do more than the part of a gentleman to seek to discharge him."—"Ye all hold together," muttered Norreys. "Else were we worse than beasts," retorted Calverley. And master Norreys retreated, grumbling, to his post at the queen's door. If he ever carried his threats into execution, of telling tales to her majesty of the valiant "hot gosseller," it is certain that he never succeeded in injuring him.

The Spanish fleet sailed for the coast of Flanders the next day, having first landed eighty genets belonging to Philip, of such perfect beauty that they could not be surpassed. A number of Spaniards, to the amount of four thousand, who had intended to land in England with their prince, were extremely disappointed at finding that their presence was forbidden in the island by the queen's marriage-articles. Four or five hundred persons, among whom were a number of fools and buffoons (belonging to the suites of the grandees of high rank immediately attendant on Philip), were permitted, however, to come on shore. This was the sole Spanish force that accompanied the queen's bridegroom.

CHAPTER VI.

QUEEN Mary and her spouse went to Basing-house the morning after their marriage, and were splendidly entertained there by the lord treasurer, Paulet marquis of Winchester. They finally left Winchester within a week of the marriage, and went to Windsor-castle, where a grand festival of the Garter was held on Sunday, August 5, in celebration of the admission of king Philip to the order; indeed, he then took place as its sovereign, for at all the other festivals at which queen Mary was present, even on the day of St. George, she took no other part than witnessing the scene from a side-window,¹ although, in her maiden reign, she had headed the procession of the knights in St. James's chapel on the anniversary of St. George that year. The Tuesday after the queen's marriage, the court at Windsor-castle assisted at a species of hunting little practised in England: toils were raised in Windsor-forest four miles in length, and a great number of deer slaughtered. The queen

¹ Machyn's Diary, pp 80, 85, 134.

and her spouse removed to Richmond-palace August , and staid there till the 27th, when they embarked on the Thames, and rowed in great pomp to Southwark, where they landed at Gardiner's palace; and passing through Southwark-park to Suffolk-place (once the pleasant residence of her aunt Mary and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk), they sojourned there for the night.¹ At noon, next day, they crossed London-bridge on horseback, attended by a stately retinue of English nobles and Spanish grandees. They were received in the city with the usual display of pageantry; among which the circumstance most noted was, that a figure representing Henry VIII. held a book, as if in act of presentation to the queen, on which was inscribed VERBUM DEI. The queen was offended, and the words were obliterated so hastily with a painting-brush, that the fingers of the figure were wiped out with them. Philip brought over a quantity of bullion, sufficient to fill ninety-seven chests, each chest was a yard and a quarter long. This treasure was piled on twenty carts: it was displayed with some ostentation on this occasion, in its progress to the Tower to be coined. The citizens were much pleased with this replenishment to their currency, dreadfully exhausted and debased by Henry VIII. and the regencies of his son.

The queen, after holding her court at Whitehall, dismissed for a time the crowds of English nobility and gentry who had assembled, from all parts of the country, to celebrate her marriage. The death of the duke of Norfolk interrupted the nuptial festivities, since Mary ordered a court mourning for him,² "because," adds Heylin, "she loved him entirely." On occasion of this mourning she retired to Hampton-court, where she remained for some time in profound retirement with her husband. Here an important change took place in the customs of English royalty, which gave mortal offence to the people. "Formerly," murmured the populace, "the gates of the palace where the royal family resided were set open all day long, and our princes lived in public; but since the Spanish wedlock, Hampton-court gates are closed, and every man must give an account of his errand before entering." The royal pair did not seclude themselves at Hampton-court to indulge in the luxuries of the table, if their diet may be judged by one of the bills of fare³ which has survived them. The dinner was on a maigre-day, and consisted of "salt salmons, porpus, fresh sturgeon, roast eels, perches, boiled grabs [crabs], buttered eggs, apples, and oatmeal, with twelve gallons of cream." To the dinner succeeded as queer a dessert, consisting of "scrape cheese with sugar, apples with *carnayes* [surmised to be carraways], pears with *pysketts* [peascods], damsons (black and white), wafers, filberts; and for beverage, ipocras, six gallons."

Within a few weeks of her marriage, Queen Mary's prisoner at Woodstock duly qualified herself for sharing in any gaieties the royal court

¹ Machyn.

² Heylin's Reformation, p. 209.

³ Gutch's Curiosa, vol. ii. p. 2.

might offer. Elizabeth had called for the Roman Catholic priest,¹ and falling on her knees, made confession of her innocence of all treason against the queen, and then received the Roman Catholic sacrament upon it. Hitherto she had been permitted to use Henry VIII.'s Common Prayer, at Woodstock, in English, with the exception of this political prayer inserted by Henry VIII. among the beautiful aspirations of the Litany, "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, deliver us." Now Elizabeth ridded her devotional services of every particle of English, and used the Roman services in Latin, joining in every office of the Roman church, to the astonishment of her faithful but crusty castellan, who duly informed queen Mary of the conversion of his charge, at the same time earnestly praying his royal mistress to be released from the care of her. The queen's answer proves how happy the news had made her. There is little doubt that she would have received her sister earlier, but some very serious bodily affliction, requiring surgical treatment, which Elizabeth would only discuss with an ancient medical attendant of the royal family, whom she sent at her entreaty, prolonged her stay at Woodstock. The meeting took place between queen Mary and the princess Elizabeth, at Hampton-court, in the autumn of 1554, instead of the spring of 1555 as affirmed hitherto.

Queen Mary received the princess Elizabeth, who had been brought under a strong guard from Woodstock, in her bedchamber at Hampton-court, at ten o'clock at night. When the princess entered the queen's presence, she fell on her knees, and protested, with streaming eyes and in earnest language, "her truth and loyalty to her sovereign majesty, let whosoever assert the contrary!" Queen Mary replied, somewhat sharply, "You will not confess your offence, I see, but rather stand stoutly on your truth. I pray God your truth may become manifest!"—"If it is not," said the princess, "I will look for neither favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands."—"Well, then," said the queen, "you stand so stiffly on your truth, belike you have been wrongfully punished?"—"I must not say so to your majesty," replied Elizabeth. "But you will report so to others, it seemeth," rejoined Mary. "No, an' please your majesty," replied the princess. "I have borne, and must bear, the burden thereof; but I humbly beseech your grace's good opinion of me, as I am, and ever have been, your majesty's true subject." The queen turned away with a half soliloquy in Spanish, uttering audibly "God knoweth!"²

If the intercepted correspondence between Elizabeth and the French ambassador was at that moment in Mary's thoughts, she could scarcely have said less. The story goes, that king Philip had interceded for Elizabeth; that he caused her to be sent for that she might partake the

¹ Bedingfield Papers, Sept. 14, 1554; edited by Rev. C. R. Manning.

² Foxe, who implies that he had the incident from Elizabeth herself.

splendid festivities at Christmas, in honour of the nuptials, and that he was, during this interview, hidden behind the tapestry to prevent his wife's harsh treatment of her sister. But those who know how eagerly the Spanish ambassador sought Elizabeth's life the preceding spring, will find some difficulty in believing that Philip was a better friend to her than the queen.¹ The interview terminated amicably between the sisters, for the queen put on Elizabeth's finger a costly ring, as a pledge of amity; and Leti² adds, that she said impressively, "Whether you be guilty or innocent, I forgive you." The queen had given a ring at her accession, as a token to recall their love if Elizabeth ever stood in danger. Elizabeth had sent it to her in the hour of deep distress, at Whitehall. Mary had probably retained it until this instant.

The queen recommended Sir Thomas Pope to her sister as comptroller of her household. She mentioned him as a person of humanity, prudence, and altogether of such qualities as would render her home pleasant and happy; and the sequel proved that the queen really placed about her sister a man of honour and good feelings. Whenever this celebrated interview took place, it is certain that, although most trying circumstances afterwards occurred, owing to Elizabeth's own imprudence in listening to fortune-tellers,³ and, moreover, two or three dangerous plots were concocted among her servants, yet she never lost the privilege of access to her sister, or was again put under durance.

At this period queen Mary was in constant intercourse with one who, notwithstanding consanguinity, was the very last person any reader of English history could have expected to hear was about her majesty's path, and about her bed, and in hourly communication with her. For who could imagine that the desolate widow of the duke of Suffolk, the bereaved mother of lady Jane Gray, could be found within a few months of their execution a close attendant on queen Mary's person, and, withal, an active courtier, soliciting her royal kinswoman to receive into her service the niece of Suffolk and the first cousin of the martyred Jane? Yet the proofs are incontestable, and here are cited in the very words of the Willoughby manuscript before quoted:—"Mrs. Margaret Willoughby has been to court with the lady Frances' grace [duchess of Suffolk], who has her place in the privy-chamber. Young mistress Margaret was much commended, and the lady Frances' grace did not doubt but, in a short time, to place her about the queen's highness, so as to content all her friends."⁴ Some little time afterwards queen Mary

¹ Renaud's Despatches, Tytler's Edward and Mary.

² Gregorio Leti's life of queen Elizabeth, avowedly written from manuscripts in possession of lord Aylesbury, reign of Charles II.

³ Tytler's State Papers, Edward and Mary, vol. II. The curious letter and examination of 1st Dee and other conjurers, for visiting

Elizabeth and casting her nativity, and that of the queen and Philip, will be discussed in her succeeding biography. Dee suffered confinement as a coadjutor of Packer and other conspirators, servants of Elizabeth.

⁴ MSS. of the Willoughbys of Wollarton.

⁵ Letter of Mr. Medeley, executor of the young Willoughbys, to John Hall, the steward

complied with the solicitations of her relative and attendant, duchess Frances, by placing Margaret Gray in the newly formed household of her sister Elizabeth at Hatfield.¹

The meeting of Mary's third parliament, November 11, drew her from her autumnal retirement to her palace of Whitehall. Her procession to open it was an equestrian one of peculiar splendour. King Philip rode by her side, wearing his berret-cap and black velvet doublet. A sword of state was borne before each, in token of their independent sovereignties. The queen was mounted on a trained courser, whose ample chest was decorated with rosettes and bands of gems, while a housing of cloth of gold descended below the saddle step. The attitude of her equestrian portraits proves that she rode on the bench side-saddle, although Catherine de Medicis had already introduced the pommelled one now in use. She wore a small coif: a band of the most costly jewels passed over her head, and clasped under the chin; the Spanish mantilla veil hung in broad lappets from the crown of her head to her waist. Her dress opened from the throat to the chest, with a very small ruff surmounting a chemisette, and called a partlet;² it showed a carcanet of jewels round the throat, connected with a splendid ouche and pear pearl, fastened on the chest. The sleeves, slashed and moderately full towards the elbow, were gathered at the wrist into ruffles and jewelled bracelets. The corsage of the dress, tight and tapering, was girt at the waist with a *cordelière* of gems. The skirt of the robe was open from the waist, but closed at pleasure with aglets studded with jewels. Such was the riding-dress of ladies of rank³ before the monstrous farthingale was introduced, which was worn even on horseback.

It had been warmly debated in queen Mary's council, in her presence, "whether it were not expedient to restore the church lands to their original purposes;" when the earl of Bedford, who was present, knowing his interests greatly concerned, fell into a violent passion, and breaking his rosary of beads from his girdle, flung them into the fire, swearing deeply "That he valued his sweet abbey of Woburn more than any fatherly council that could come from Rome."⁴ His words may be believed without the slightest difficulty. The queen was convinced by

of Tylsey. It is a plain letter of business, drawing money for the outfit of Margaret Willoughby.

¹ Margaret Willoughby, being the daughter of Anne Gray, sister to the husband of Frances Brandon, was by that descent, equally with queen Mary and princess Elizabeth, a great-grand-daughter to queen Elizabeth Woodville. The steward of Tylsey marks, in the Willoughby accounts, the expenses of young Margaret on her journey to Hatfield—3*l.* to put in her pocket, and ten shillings for fees paid to the lady Elizabeth's grace's

usher at Hatfield, December the 23rd, 1555. Margaret continued in the service of the princess at Hatfield until she married Sir Matthew Arundel, 1558, a good match for her.

² Called so, because it *parted* the little round face-ruff, which could be opened or closed at pleasure, with aglets, or hooks and eyes.

³ Mary is thus represented on her great seal.

⁴ Portfolio of a Man of Letters; Monthly Magazine, Nov. 1802. This communication consists of extracts from the Cole MSS., Brit. Museum, then recently opened to the public.

this scene, that it was utterly useless to recommend any degree of restitution to her father's new nobility. Nevertheless, Mary was extremely urgent with her parliament to restore the lands which had been seized by her father from the church, and distributed among the partisans of his measures. Had the English parliaments been as firm in the defence of the Protestant faith, and of the lives of their fellow-creatures, as they were of these ill-gotten goods, the annals of the first queen-regnant would have been clear of all stain of persecution; but the reckless facility with which they passed laws for burning their Protestant fellow-subjects, forms a strong contrast to their earnestness when a hint glanced against the mammon they really worshipped; many struck their hands on their swords, affirming, with oaths, "that they would never part with their abbey lands while they could wield a weapon." Which resolution being told to the queen, she said, "She must content herself with setting them a good example, by devoting the lands she found in possession of the crown to the support of learning, and the relief of the most destitute poor." Her council represented, that if she gave these revenues away, she could not support the splendour of her crown. She replied, "That she preferred the peace of her conscience to ten such crowns as England." Mary knew that cardinal Pole was on his way to England, with authority from pope Julius to reconcile the country to the see of Rome, confirming these worshippers of their own interest in possession of their spoils. She had sent her trusty knight, Sir Edward Hastings, who was the cardinal's nephew, as his escort to England, accompanied by lord Paget. Sir William Cecil (afterwards lord Burleigh) attached himself as a volunteer agent on the mission of inviting the papal supremacy into this country;¹ thus affording an additional instance to the many furnished by history, that leaders of persecutions have been almost invariably renegades. Pole came by water from Gravesend; and fixing the large silver cross, emblem of his legantine authority, in the prow of his state-berke, its progress was surveyed with mixed emotions by the citizens, who lined the banks of the Thames as he was rowed to Whitehall. Gardiner received him at the water-gate, king Philip rose from table, and received the cardinal at the principal entrance, and the queen herself at the head of the stairs, where she greeted him with these words, "The day I ascended the throne I did not feel such joy!"² Festivities on a grand scale took place, a tournament was held—the last in England—which was attended by royal and noble foreigners,³ November 25, 1554. Her majesty distributed the prizes with her own hand; and king Philip was one of the combatants. The first prize

¹ Tytler, in his researches at the State-Paper office, Edward and Mary, occupying the latter part of the last volume.

² Noailles' Ambassades, vol. v.

³ Strawberry-hill MS., from the Harleian

Collection. The tournament was proclaimed in the presence-chamber (the white hall of Westminster-palace) to take place at Westminster.

Mary gave was "for the best armour and the most gallant entry." King Philip was pronounced only second best in this case; and the queen bestowed her prize of a rich *ouche* on don Frederic de Toledo. The candidates for the sword prize are thus described:—"Sir George Howard (brother to the unfortunate queen Katharine Howard) fought very well; don Adrian Garcias better; and Sir John Perrot best of all; and to him the queen gave in reward a ring set with a fine diamond." Public report insisted that Sir John Perrot was the queen's half brother. He was a knight of gigantic stature, who bore a strong resemblance to Henry VIII. "At the pike-in-rank, Thomas Percy (afterwards restored by queen Mary as seventh earl of Northumberland) acquitted himself right valiantly; don Carlo di Sanguine with better fortune, but don Ruy Gomez best of all;" and to him the queen's majesty gave a ring. The last course was a tourney with the foil. Lord William Howard, the high-admiral, fought with high commendation; the marquis of Torre Mayore exceeded him, but king Philip surpassed all," to whom queen Mary gave, nothing loath, the prize of a diamond ring. The darting of the Moorish jereed, called *jeugo des cannes*, was among the diversions at this festival. Philip and his Spanish cavaliers excelled in it, and thus gave a new feature to the English tournament. "The king's grace," says an eye-witness,¹ "my lord Fitzwalter, and divers Spaniards, did mount dressed in various colours, the king in red, some in green, some in yellow, some in white, and some in blue. They had in their hands targets and canes: forthwith they commenced hurling the canes at each other. Their trumpeters were dressed in their masters' colours, and they had drums made of kettles [kettle-drums], and banners the colour of their garments."

The queen was extremely ill on the day she had appointed to introduce the mission of cardinal Pole to parliament; and as she could not go as usual to Westminster, she was forced to take the privileges of an invalid, and convene her peers and commons in her great presence-chamber at the palace of Whitehall. Here she was carried to her throne, attended by all her ladies.² King Philip was seated under the same canopy, but at the queen's left hand. A seat of dignity was placed for the cardinal at the queen's right hand, but at a due distance from the royal canopy. The lord chancellor Gardiner commenced the business of the day with this quaint address:—"My lords of the upper house, and my *maisters* of the nether house here present, the right reverend father in God my lord cardinal Pole, legate *à latere*, is come from the apostolic see of Rome as ambassador to the king and queen's majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm. Which ambassade (their majesties' pleasure is) to be signified by his own mouth,

¹ Machyn's Diary, 76.

² The Parliamentary Journals say this ceremony took place on the 7th of November.

you giving attentive and inclinable ear to his grace, who is now ready to declare the same."

Cardinal Pole then stood up, and, in a speech of considerable length and eloquence, recapitulated his own sufferings and exile; and with the ingenuity of a great barrister pleading a cause, uttered everything that could be urged in favour of the Roman Catholic side of the question. He mentioned the queen with emotion, declaring, "the time was when, on her grace's part, there was nothing but despair; for numbers conspired against her, and policies devised to destroy her right. Yet she, a virgin, helpless and unharmed, prevailed, and had the victory; and her faith, like a lamp assaulted by adverse winds through a dark and stormy night, yet kept a light to the hopes of many, and now shed, a bright radiance." In the course of the speech, the cardinal hinted "that he had power from pope Julius III. to absolve the English, without previous restitution of the church lands distributed by Henry VIII." The immediate consequence of this understanding was, that the houses of parliament, by general consent,¹ prepared a petition to the throne, praying for reconciliation with the see of Rome.

The next morning the queen, her ladies, king Philip, and the cardinal, took their places as before, when the peers and commons, led by Gardiner, again entered the presence-chamber, and presented the petition of parliament to the royal pair. Philip and Mary rose, and doing reverence to the cardinal, delivered this petition to him, who received it with glad emotion at their hands. He delivered a few words of thanks to God, and then ordered his commission from the pope to be read aloud. This ended, the peers and commons fell on their knees, and the cardinal pronounced solemnly his absolution and benediction. The whole assembly then followed the queen and her spouse to St. Stephen's chapel, where *Te Deum* was sung, which ended the ceremony. Queen Mary was struck with a relapse of illness during this solemnity, so agitating was it to her. She, however, trusted that her indisposition was owing to her situation, which promised (she persuaded herself) an heir to the crown. Her health rallied sufficiently to permit her appearance at the Christmas festival, which was kept with more than usual splendour, on account of her marriage and the reconciliation to Rome.

Just at this time the queen expressed her pity for Sir John Cheke, but did not pardon him of her own accord; she referred his case to Gardiner. His offence was not a small one, for he had written the letter from the council which branded the queen with illegitimacy in the

¹ Parl. History, vol. iii. p. 322, from which this singular scene is taken. The proportion of the Protestants to the Catholics in England, in the reign of Edward VI., is thus mentioned in a confidential letter of lord Paget to the protector Somerset, June 7, 1549:—"The use of the old religion is forbidden by law, and

the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven or twelve parts of the realm, what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth."—Strype's Records, vol. xi. p. 110.

coarsest terms, and tauntingly advised her to offer her homage to queen Jane. It was the office of Sir William Cecil to write all letters of council, but he shifted this on poor Sir John Cheke, with a dexterity on which he afterwards greatly plumed himself.¹ In one of Sir John Cheke's supplicatory letters to Gardiner, from Padua, dated December, 1554,² he makes use of these words :—"I hear queen Mary's noble highness, pitying the extreme state of my case, hath referred unto your lordship to take order in my matters after what sort your lordship listeth. Therefore all now lieth in your hand, that either of this endless misery you may ease me, or else cast me into extreme beggary. I envy not others to whom the queen's grace was merciful, but I crave the same mercy in a like cause."

The festivities on Christmas-eve were peculiarly splendid; the princess Elizabeth was not only permitted to join them, but to take her place at the banquet as the heir-presumptive of the realm. The great hall of the palace was lighted with a thousand lamps of various colours, artificially disposed. Here queen Mary, her husband, and a splendid assembly of English, Flemish, and Spanish nobles, supped. The princess Elizabeth sat at the same table with her sister, *next* the royal canopy, called by the chronicler the cloth of estate. Elizabeth likewise was present at the great tourney that took place five days afterwards, according to the proclamation the queen had made on the arrival of the prince of Savoy. The earl of Devonshire had been released from Fotheringay-castle, and was introduced at court, with the honours due to his rank, at these Christmas festivities. He expressed a wish to travel, that he might improve his mind, and was offered by the queen an honourable introduction to the emperor's court.³

As the bridal festivities of queen Mary had been postponed to the Christmas season, great magnificence was expected on the occasion; yet it was the queen's desire that they should be conducted with a regard to economy which was perfectly disgusting to the functionaries whose offices were to arrange the amusements of the court. Sir Thomas Carden, who had seen the spoils of many a goodly abbey tossed to him⁴ as funds for "finding his puppets," was indignant at the change of times, and remonstrated, through Sir Henry Jerningham, "that

¹ See his curious narrative, published in Fytler's State Papers, vol. ii., Edward and Mary. He first tried to induce Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to undertake it.

² *Nugæ Antiquæ*, by Sir John Harington.

³ He left England in the spring of 1555.

An affectionate letter is extant from him to queen Mary, giving her an account of his interview with the emperor in Flanders. It appears the Courtenays possessed a seat at Kew, for the mother of Courtenay dated her letters to her son from that place.

⁴ He was a favourite gentleman of the bedchamber to king Henry VIII., and showed, according to the royal taste, a great genius in the composition of pageants and masques. He had been enriched with the spoils of the hospital of St. Mary of Rounceval, which once occupied the site of the present Northumberland-house, in the Strand. He was a great reformer, but whether the devourer of an hospital could be conscientiously religious, is a difficult point of ethics.

he had already shown all his novelties to king Philip, and wanted new properties." Upon which Sir Henry penned, under the queen's direction, an epistle, wherein her majesty plainly intimated her desire that something should be provided without any further drain on the royal purse.

A slight notice of the properties under "gentle master Carden's" surveillance, will give an idea of the childish spectacles prepared for amusement at this juncture. He had to furnish forth a masque of apes, and a masque of cats. He paid George Allen 6s. 8*d.* for covering six counterfeit apes with grey rabbits' skins. These creatures were to seem playing on bagpipes, and to sit "at top in a row, like minstrels, as though they did play." The same George Allen was paid for furring six great shapes of wicker, made for a masque of cats, and 6s. for furnishing six dozen cats' tails. The chief novelty, however, for king Philip's entertainment was a masque written by the learned Nicholas Udall; the scene represented Venice, and the persons were patrons of Venetian galleys, with galley-slaves as their torch-bearers; "six Venuses, or amorous Venetian ladies, with six Cupids and six Turkey-women as torch-bearers." A masque of covetous men, with long noses, and a mask of black and tinsel with baboons' faces. A play, "called Ireland, representing the state of that country, and the humours of the people," had been prepared for the entertainment of Edward VI., but its representation was delayed, "because the young king was very sick." There is reason to believe it was acted for the amusement of queen Mary, and was certainly got up with attention to the costume of the country. There were dresses made of "grey carsey," like Irishmen's coats, with long plaits, and orange frizado (frieze) for mantles. Thus, at an earlier period than that of Shakespeare, Irish character had possession of the English stage; moreover, there were Orangemen before the era of William III. The most valuable among Carden's properties was "one painted book of Hans Holby's making," for which he paid him six pounds. This was the illustrious painter Hans Holbein, who died of the plague in London, in the year 1554.

Queen Mary's court at this season was the resort of men whose undying names fill the history of that stirring century, whose renown, either for good or evil, is familiar in memory as household words. There met together, in the palace halls of St. James or Whitehall, the ministers and the victims of Philip the Second's long career of vigorous tyranny while they were yet in early manhood, just starting for their devious course of life. There appeared, in all the grace of manly beauty, Alva the Terrific, whose fine person disguised a disposition of demoniac cruelty, afterwards exercised on the unfortunate Protestants of the Low Countries; by his side was the magnificent Fleming, count Egmont, and his fellow-patriot count Horn, afterwards the resisters and victims of the cruelties

and despotism with which Philip and Alva desolated the Protestant cities of Flanders. There might be seen, then a youthful gallant, a contender in tournaments for ladies' smiles and royal prizes, the grandee Ruy Gomez, afterwards the celebrated prime-minister of Spain; and, as if to complete the historic group, there arrived, soon after, Philibert Emanuel duke of Savoy, the suitor of Elizabeth and the future conqueror at St. Quintin. Last, and greatest, came that illustrious prince of Orange who wrested Holland from the grasp of Philip II. The queen sent her lord privy-seal to welcome the princes of Savoy and of Orange at Gravesend; they came through London-bridge to Whitehall in the royal barges, January 9, 1555,¹ and landed at Whitehall-palace, where brilliant festivities were at that moment held.

All this splendour soon closed in the darkest gloom. The queen's health had been sinking since November set in; yet, inspired by her illusive hopes of offspring, she kept up her spirits with more than usual energy. She was carried to her throne in the house of lords, January 16, for the purpose of dissolving parliament, when she went through the ceremony of sceptering² those demoniac acts, passed by her third parliament, which let loose the fiends of persecution over her country. A singular act was likewise passed, declaring it treason to pray publicly for her death, which it seems was done in some meetings of Protestants; but a clause was added, probably by her desire, that "if penitence was expressed, the parties were only to be obnoxious to minor punishment, awarded by their judge."³ The two houses had joined in a petition to Philip, requesting, that if it should happen to the queen otherwise than well in her travail, he would take upon him the government of the realm during the minority of her child, with its guardianship. Lord Paget had raised an objection to this measure, but the friends of Philip declared he had protested, on his honour, that he would resign the government when his child came of age. "Ay," replied Paget; "but should he not, who is to sue the bond?"—a witticism taken extremely ill by the king and queen. But the act was passed, notwithstanding lord Paget's opposition, and it certainly threw great power into the hands of Philip during the queen's long illness. Noailles, indeed, expressly assured his sovereign, the king of France, that it is of little use appealing to queen Mary as an independent sovereign; for, from the day of her marriage, Philip of Spain ruled virtually in every measure, domestic or foreign, in the kingdom of England. The bishops, he says,⁴ received notice to make processions and prayers for the life and safety of the heir to the throne, of which the queen expected to become the mother. Soon after placards were fixed on her palace walls, containing these words—

¹ Holinshed, whose chronicle is drawn from the narrative of an eye-witness, George Ferrers, master of the revels to Edward Mary, and Elizabeth.

² Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 332. For her illness, see Holinshed; first edition.

³ Parl. Hist. p. 331.

⁴ Noailles' Ambassades, vol. v.

“Are ye so stupid, English nobles, as to believe that our queen should have aught, without it be a marmot or a puppy-dog?”¹

It is true that her hope of bringing offspring was utterly delusive; the increase of her figure was but symptomatic of dropsy, attended by a complication of the most dreadful disorders which can afflict the female frame, under which every faculty of her mind and body sunk for many months. At this time commenced that horrible persecution of the Protestants which has stained her name to all futurity; but if eternal obloquy was incurred by the half-dead queen, what is the due of the parliaments which legalized the acts of cruelty committed in her name? Shall we call the house of lords *bigoted*, when its majority, which sanctioned this wickedness, were composed of the same individuals who had planted, very recently, the Protestant church of England?”² Surely not; for the name implies honest, though wrong-headed attachment to *one* religion. Shall we suppose that the land groaned under the iron sway of a standing army? or that the Spanish bridegroom had introduced foreign forces? But reference to facts will prove, that even Philip’s household servants were sent back with his fleet; and a few valets, fools, and fiddlers, belonging to the grandees his bridesmen, were all the forces permitted to land—no very formidable band to Englishmen. The queen had kept her word rigorously, when she asserted “that no alteration should be made in religion without universal consent.” If she had bribed one parliament, why did she not keep it sitting during her short reign? If her parliaments had been honest as herself, her reign would have been the pride of her country, instead of its reproach; because, if they had done their duty in guarding their fellow-creatures from bloody penal laws respecting religion, the queen, by her first regal act, in restoring the ancient free constitution of the great Plantagenets, had put it out of the power of her government to take further vengeance on *any* individual who opposed it. She had exerted all the energy of her great eloquence to impress on the minds of her judges that they were to sit as “indifferent umpires between herself and her people.” She had no standing army to awe parliaments, no rich civil list to bribe them. By restoring the great estates of the Howard, the Percy, and many other victims of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.’s regency, by giving back the revenues of the plundered bishoprics and the church lands possessed by the crown, she had reduced herself to poverty as complete as the most enthusiastic lover of freedom could desire. But her

¹ Noailles’ Ambassades, vol. v.

² The house of lords, in the 16th century, was composed of fewer members than our present queen’s privy council. A numerous legislative nobility, it may be inferred from the history of the Tudors, is far more favourable to civil and religious liberty. Many of the haughty ancient nobility, who controlled the crown in the preceding age, were cut off

by Henry VIII., and their places supplied by *parvenus*—the menial servants of the royal household raised by caprice, whose fathers had been mace-bearers to lord mayors, heralds, and lower limbs of the law, &c.; proper candidates for the lower house if they won their way by ability, but awkward members of a house of peers, then amounting to about fifty laymen.

personal expenditure was extremely economical, and she successfully struggled with poverty till her husband involved England in a French war. The French ambassador affirmed, in his despatches, that the queen was so very poor, that her want of money was apparent in everything pertaining to herself, even to the dishes put on her own table.¹

The fact of whether the torpid and half-dead queen was the instigator of a persecution, the memory of which curdles the blood with horror at this distance of time, is a question of less moral import at the present day, than a clear analyzation of the evil with which selfish interests had infected the legislative powers of our country. It was in vain that Mary almost abstained from creation of peers, and restored the ancient custom of annual parliaments;² the majority of the persons composing the houses of peers and commons were dishonest, indifferent to all religions, and willing to establish the most opposing rituals, so that they might retain their grasp on the accursed thing with which their very souls were corrupted—for corrupted they were, though not by the unfortunate queen. The church lands, with which Henry VIII. had bribed his aristocracy, titled and untitled, into co-operation with his enormities, both personal and political, had induced national depravity. The leaders of the Marian persecution, Gardiner and Bonner, were of the apostate class of persecutors. "Flesh bred in murder," they had belonged to the government of Henry VIII., which sent the zealous Roman Catholic and the pious Protestant to the same stake. For the sake of worldly advantage, either for ambition or power, Gardiner and Bonner had, for twenty years, promoted the burning or quartering of the advocates of papal supremacy; they now turned with the tide, and burnt, with the same degree of conscientiousness, the opposers of papal supremacy. The persecution appears to have been greatly aggravated by the caprice, or the private vengeance, of these prelates. Yet all ought not to be included in one sweeping censure; a noble minority of good men, disgusted at the detestable penal laws which lighted the torturing fires for the Protestants, seceded boldly from the house of commons, after vainly opposing them. This glorious band, for the honour of human nature, was composed of Catholics as well as Protestants; it was headed by the great jurist, serjeant Plowden, a Roman catholic so firm as to refuse the chancellorship, when persuaded to take it by queen Elizabeth, because he would not change his religion. This secession is the first indication of a principle of merciful toleration to be found among any legislators in England. Few were the numbers of these good men, and long it was before their principles gained ground; for, truly, the world had not made sufficient advance in Christian civilization at that time to recognise any virtue in religious toleration.

¹ Noailles, vol. v² Drake's Parliamentary History.

One of Mary's earliest cares had been to provide a series of orthodox masses for the soul of her father; and for this purpose she wished to appropriate certain rectorial tithes belonging to Kendal church, then in possession of the crown. She consulted her ecclesiastic confidants on the matter; but they assured her that the pope would never permit the endowments of a parish to be appropriated to the assistance of so determined an enemy of the church as Henry VIII. She, in the hope that her father's soul was not wholly beyond the reach of intercession, presented the advowson to a college he had refounded at Cambridge, saying, "That as his benefaction to this college was the best thing he had done for himself, the best thing she could do to show her duty, was to augment its revenues for his sake."¹ Among the popular accusations against Mary is a very terrible one; no other than that she instigated an ecclesiastical council to exhume her father's bones, to be burnt for heresy. At the very time when Mary is represented as encouraging such parricidal insults on her father's body, she was occupied in fond, vain solicitude for the comfort of his soul; and was actually sparing endowments from her poverty, in hopes that his state might be ameliorated. The story was founded on one still stranger, the detail of which is preserved by the Scottish ambassador, Melville. He writes, that when he journeyed over the border, on a mission to queen Elizabeth, a man who professed divining and other conjurations joined his train. He was, or had been, valet of queen Elizabeth's chamber, and had served in the household of her father and brother; he was, in all probability, a spy of the English court. Melville was entertained by him with the wildest tales concerning the royal family of Tudor. "Henry VIII.," said this informant,² "consulted necromancers, who told him that Edward his son would have few years, and no heirs; that his two daughters would succeed each other; that Mary would take in marriage a Spaniard, and make great alterations in England; and that Elizabeth would marry a Scotchman or a Frenchman. Whereupon Henry VIII. poisoned both his daughters; but they took antidotes and recovered, after suffering severe internal agonies." He added, "that Mary never regained her health; and that all the dreadful internal sufferings which the women who *haunted her chamber* [meaning her bed-chamber women] told him she endured, were owing to her father's cruelty. Therefore, to be revenged on him, she had her father's bones taken up and burnt." As, however, the gigantic skeleton of Henry VIII. was found by Sir Henry Halford and George IV. quite whole in the vault of St. George's chapel at Windsor, no better proof can be given of the falsehood of both statements.

The proto-martyrs of the Protestant church of England were men of blameless lives and consistent conduct; their leader was prebend Rogers,

¹ Hist. of Kendal. Southey's Hist. of the Church

² Melville's Memoirs, p. 55; Bannatyne edition.

of St. Paul's who was burnt at Smithfield, February 4, 1555. The same week were burnt, Saunders, rector of All-hallows, at Coventry; Dr. Rowland Taylor,¹ at Hadleigh; and bishop Hooper, at Gloucester. All were offered their lives as the price of apostacy, but all remained firm in their faith. The martyrdom of bishop Hooper was a peculiar instance of ingratitude in Mary's government, for his loyalty to her had been as firm as his adherence to his church. He wrote a narrative of his conduct, in which he says, with *naïve* simplicity, "When queen Mary's fortunes were at the worst, I rode myself, from place to place (as is well known), to win and stay the people for her party. And whereas, when another was proclaimed [lady Jane Gray], I preferred our queen, notwithstanding the proclamations. I sent horses in both shires [Gloucester and Worcester] to serve her in great danger, as Sir John Talbot and William Lygon, esq., can testify."

At the end of the week of crime² which saw the sufferings of these four good men, Alphonso di Castro, a Franciscan friar, confessor to king Philip, preached before the court a sermon, inveighing against the wickedness of burning them; he boldly declared the truth, that the English bishops learned not in Scripture to burn any one for conscience sake. This truly Christian sermon produced an order from court, whether from the queen or her husband is not known, to stop the burnings for upwards of five weeks, which raised hopes of future clemency; but in vain, for, at the lowest computation, above two hundred human creatures perished before the persecution and Mary's reign ceased altogether. In February, 1555, Christiern III., king of Denmark, wrote an excellent letter to queen Mary, claiming bishop Coverdale, one of the translators of the English Bible, as his subject. Thus, to the joy of all humane persons, was a good and learned man delivered from a dreadful death.

The only notice of the queen's existence for several months is to be found in the pages of the Diary of a resident in the city of London,³ who notes, that "on April 3, the king's grace removed the queen to Hampton-court to keep Easter, and to take her chamber there," after the usual mode of the queens of England who expected offspring. Once only was queen Mary seen by the public, which was on St. George's-day, the 23rd of the same month. Philip of Spain, as sovereign of the order of the Garter, went in procession with the knights and lords in their robes, with three crosses, and a crowd of priests and clerks. Gardiner, the lord chancellor, was likewise chancellor of the order: he wore his mitre, and was all the day attired in robes of gold tissue. The choir sang *Salva festa dies*, as they went round the courts and cloisters of

¹ It is not generally known that bishop Jeremy Taylor, one of the greatest literary ornaments of our church, was grandson to this admirable man.

² Feb. 10, 1555. See Foxe's Martyrology part II. p. 145.

³ Machyn's Diary, p. 84.

Hampton-court. The queen, who was anxiously looked for by many of her subjects, came to a casement, and remained there while the heralds were surrounding king Philip, "so that hundreds," adds Machyn, "did see her grace after she had taken to her chamber"¹ Reports were prevalent in England that she was dead. A few days afterwards, the rumour went that she had given birth to a prince. Machyn mentions it in his quaint language thus: "The last day of April tidings came to London that the queen's grace was delivered of a prince; so that there was great ringing throughout the city and other places of *Te Deum*. The morrow after it was turned otherwise, according to the pleasure of God; but it shall be, when it please God, who will remember his true servants that put their trust in him." Expectation of the birth of an heir or heiress to England continued for some weeks, notwithstanding this disappointment.

So much ridicule has been cast on the mistake made in the queen's situation, that no person has asked the obvious question of, "Who governed England during the time which embraced the commencement of the Protestant persecution and her violent illness?" How violent that illness was, may be learned from the testimony of the Venetian ambassador, Michele:² "From the time of her first affliction she was a prey to the severest headaches, her head being frightfully swelled: she was likewise subject to perpetual attacks of hysteria, which other women exhale by tears and piercing cries." From this notice may be implied, that the wretched queen still retained sufficient command of herself to suppress all audible complaints, as unbecoming her royal station. Who can, however, believe that a woman in this state of mortal suffering was capable of governing a kingdom, or that she was accountable for anything done in it?³ Foxe, in his narrative of the sufferings of the Protestant martyrs, whenever the queen is mentioned, really confirms the description of Michele. "Sometimes," he reports, "she laid weeks without speaking, as one dead, and more than once the rumour went out that she had died in childbed."

Whilst queen Mary remained at Hampton-court, she gave audience to the two Noailles, on business of the utmost import touching peace or war. She rose twice or thrice from her chair in great agitation during the interview, and expressed herself very warmly regarding the expatriation of the prince of Savoy, whose restoration to his dominions, detained by France, was the point in dispute. She had not been visible for months before, and all her subjects, except the very few women shut up with her, suspected that she was dead.⁴ The king of France, who was

¹ Machyn's Diary, p. 85.

² MS. Lansdowne, p. 840 A, folio 157; British Museum.

³ Her illness commenced with redoubled violence at its usual time—the fall of the

leaf. The busy and brilliant scenes which succeeded each other the same autumn greatly aggravated it, so that she never regained her health.

⁴ Noailles' Ambassades, vol. v. pp. 26, 27

uneasy regarding the war that Philip was meditating, told Noailles "to seek another audience with the queen to discuss the matter with her, watching her countenance earnestly all the time." Noailles went to Hampton-court in the beginning of May, with the best intentions in the world for making the physiognomical inquisition his king recommended, but found himself debarred from her presence, for her seclusion was deeper than ever, as she was suffering excessively. The next news he sent word to his king was "that the queen would never bring any child into the world; and that the wise woman, and an old maid who had attended her from her youth, had declared that the queen's supposed state was by no means of the hopeful kind generally supposed, but rather some woful malady, for she sat whole days on the ground crouched together, with her knees higher than her head."

The females of her household and her medical attendants still kept up the delusive hope that her accouchement was at hand. Prayers were put up for her safe delivery, in May, 1555; and circulars were written—similar to those prepared at the birth of queen Elizabeth and Edward VI.—in which blanks were left for dates, and for the sex of the royal offspring. The news was actually published in London, and carried to Norwich and Flanders, that a prince was born.¹

The queen returned to St. James's palace no one knew when, and continued in a deplorable state of health throughout the summer, until she was advised to remove for the air of the country. Her removal is thus minutely described by Strype's MS. chronicler: "July 21, 1555, the queen removed from St. James's-palace in the fields. Passing through Whitehall and the park, she took her barge at Whitehall-stairs to Lambeth, my lord cardinal's house; there she mounted into her chariot, and rode through St. George's-fields to Newington, and over Newington-fields to Eltham-palace, where she arrived at five in the afternoon—cardinal Pole, lord Pembroke, lord Montague, and many more of her court, following on horseback, when a vast conflux of people crowded to see her grace, above ten thousand." This seems her first appearance since her illness. Whilst Mary remained suspended between life and death, only animated by a hope which every day became fainter, the conduct of her young husband was by no means edifying to her court. Fortunately, the queen had chosen maids of honour whose correctness of life was unimpeachable; who were not only ladies of approved virtue, but ready to do battle, if any audacious offender offered an incivility. Of this praiseworthy spirit, the beautiful lady Magdalen Dacre, who married, in the next reign, viscount Montague, afforded a signal instance.² One day, as she was at

¹ Machyn's Diary.

² Life of Magdalen Dacre, Viscountess of Montague, by R. Smith. Magdalen Dacre was born in 1538; she was therefore sixteen at the time when she resisted the advances

of the spouse of her royal mistress, by the help of the stout staff which stood on duty in her dressing-room. She loved Mary, but detested and defied Philip. Magdalen was the daughter of a fearless sire, the great lord

her toilette, king Philip, who had observed a small window which lighted her dressing-room from a corridor at Hampton-court, contrived to open it far enough to put in his arm; when the fair maid of honour, justly indignant at a liberty she never encouraged, took up a staff which stood *à propos* in a corner, and gave the intruding arm so sound a rap, that Philip was glad to draw it back in a hurry, and to make a speedy retreat. He took no offence at this specimen of an English lady's spirit, but was ever afterwards observed to treat the heroine of the staff with remarkable deference. The fair Dacre was of so stately a presence, that she towered above all the ladies of the court in height; she was maid of honour afterwards to queen Elizabeth, but was accustomed to speak with infinite scorn of the immorality of her court, when compared to that of queen Mary.

The determination of Charles V. to abdicate his dominions in favour of his son, was the ostensible cause of the departure of Philip of Spain from England. Preparations for his departure commenced with removal from Hampton-court, whither the royal pair had returned. They went by water, August 3, to stay a few days at Oatlands, when an occurrence took place connected, it may be supposed, with the report that the queen was dead. As her majesty passed through the park to take her barge at the water-gate on the Thames, an old beggar, recognising her, became elated with joy, and casting away his crutches, followed her chariot, leaping and shouting. Mary commanded that an alms should be given him.¹ Queen Mary arrived at Westminster on the 23rd of August.² After three days' rest, she was carried through the city in an open litter, her husband riding by the side of it, "in order," as the French ambassador observes, "that her people might see that she was not dead." At Tower-wharf Philip and Mary took barge for Greenwich-palace. The princess Elizabeth came privately from Hampton-court by water, and shot the bridge time enough to join the royal procession to Greenwich-palace. "The queen received nine or ten supplications [petitions] as she landed at the 'long bridge' at Greenwich. She went direct to a grand religious celebration at the Friar Observants, and came to the palace by the light of a hundred burning torches."³

Philip took his leave of the queen, August 29. Mary parted from her husband with the most passionate tears and lamentations. She

Dacre, lord marcher of the northern border, who, relying on his powerful position, sometimes told his terrific master truths which he did not hear from courtier lips. More than once lord Dacre sarcastically congratulated Henry VIII. on the power his supremacy gave his majesty, of absolving himself from the sins he committed. At another time he said to him seriously and impressively, "Your majesty will find, when too late, that a man has small chance of peace, let his rank be

what it may, who has more than one wife for his chamber, and more than one faith in his heart." Magdalen Dacre had two suitors, the "great Sir John Arundel," and viscount Montague, the son-in-law of her royal mistress's friend, the fair Geraldine. She married the latter in the reign of queen Elizabeth.—Latin Life of Magdalen Dacre, Retrospectiv view.

¹ Machyn's Diary, p. 92.

² Noailles.

³ Macnyn's Diary, p. 93.

wished much to go to Dover and see him embark the next week, meaning to wait there during his absence.¹ She would have had a considerable long time to tarry; but she was not well enough to accompany him at his embarkation, and was forced to content herself with having daily orison made at her chapel for his safety and speedy return. He waited for a wind at Dover, and sailed early in September. The princess Elizabeth remained the chief part of the autumn at Greenwich with her sister, accompanied her to mass, and shared all her devout observances. The queen had, in September, somewhat recovered, owing to the sagacity of an Irish physician, who ventured to pronounce a true opinion of her case, and apply proper remedies for her agonizing maladies.² For a few afternoons, the queen struggled to pay the attention to business she had formerly done, but her health gave away again in the attempt, and she was seen no more at council.³ With her married life the independence of her reign ceased: from whatever cause, either owing to her desperate state of health, or from her idea of wifely duty, Philip, whether absent or present, guided the English government. When he left England, the queen desired cardinal Pole to make minutes of the king's last injunctions for the privy council, and they are still preserved in his handwriting. Philip gave his commands and wrote his mind, with no more recognition of his wife's authority than was observed by Henry VII. to Elizabeth of York, and he very coolly, in his own name, orders twelve ships of the English fleet to escort his abdicated father to Spain, without the ceremony of asking leave of their royal mistress. These documents afford incontestable proof that Philip of Spain, not Mary of England, was the reigning sovereign after their hands were united. If this had not been the case, how could the truthful Fuller, the historian of our church, who lived too near the times of queen Mary to be deceived, thus speak of her?—"She had been a worthy princess, if as little cruelty had been done under her as *by* her. She hated to equivocate, and always was what she was, without dissembling her judgment or conduct, for fear or flattery."

Queen Mary is commended for the merciful provision she made for the poor; there is, however, no trace of poor-rates levied from the community at large, like those established in the last year of the reign of her sister Elizabeth, at the close of the sixteenth century. But that the poor were relieved by Mary is evident, by the entire cessation of those insurrections on account of utter destitution which took place in her father's and brother's reigns, and, now and then, under the sway of Elizabeth. This is more singular, since corn was at famine price,⁴ throughout the chief part of Mary's reign, owing to a series of inclement

¹ Noailles' Despatches, vol. v. p. 99.

² Ware's Annals, p. 234, quoted by Sir F. Madden, Privy-purse Expenses of Queen Mary.

³ Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii.

⁴ See the calculation of the price of corn throughout four centuries, in Toone's Chronological History.

years and wet harvests. It seems likely that part of the church lands she restored were devoted to the relief of the destitute, since very few monasteries were refounded.¹

The queen continued at Greenwich the remainder of the year 1555, so very sick and weak, that it was daily expected she would surrender her life where she drew her first breath. The autumn was unhealthy, owing to the incessant floods of rain: the Thames rose so high, that Westminster-hall was under water, and wherries rowed through it. Gardiner, the lord chancellor, died at the close of the same year.² Mary severely felt his loss as a financier, for his integrity and sagacity were remarkable in pecuniary affairs: he managed her income so well, that her expenditure did not exceed the ancient revenues of the crown as long as he lived. Queen Mary permitted the duchess of Northumberland to retain a maintenance sufficient to support her rank, through the intercession of don Diego de Mondega. There is reason to suppose the queen carried her generosity so far, as to reinstate the duchess in the royal palace of Chelsea, for she died there, and was buried at Chelsea church in 1555.

Noailles, in a private letter written to madame de Roye³ from the English court, enters into the character of Mary with much more candour than in his official despatches. He declares, December 30, 1555, that "the policy of king Philip has now become apparent that he never means to reside for any length of time in England, having gradually withdrawn all belonging to him in England, both goods and persons, that the queen wept and bewailed herself piteously every time he withdrew an officer or a valuable that he had left behind. Now that he has taken all but his confessor, she is in that depth of melancholy, that nothing seems to remain for her but to imitate the example of Dido. But that," adds Noailles, "she will not do, for she is so virtuous and good a lady, that she will conquer this adversity by the same means and remedy which she has found efficacious in an infinity of other tribulations, which have been her aliment from her youth upwards, like her daily bread, when she saw her life, and even her honour, many times matter of dispute, and she found no enemies more bitter than her own father and brother. See, now, how this queen suffers for having, against the wishes of her people, the laws of her country, and the will of her father, sought at a great expense a strange husband from the uttermost parts of Spain, who has shown her, plainly as possible,

¹ Westminster, the Observants at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Shene, and Brigettines at Sion, with the hospital of the Savoy.

² In Foxe's Martyrology a popular error has been induced by a narrative, declaring that Gardiner was struck with death while waiting for the news of the dreadful executions of Latimer and Ridley. It is singular,

that this story likewise made the old duke of Norfolk impatient for his dinner on the same occasion, though he had been in his grave more than a twelvemonth before.

³ A lady of the illustrious house of Chatillon, nearly related to the great Protestant leader, Coligny, and mother of the princess of Condé.—Noailles' Despatches, vol. v p. 266

that ambition solely prompted his marriage. Queen Mary," adds the ambassador, "told her ladies, that as she had done all possible to induce her husband to return, and as she found he would not, she meant to withdraw utterly from men, and live quietly, as she had done the chief part of her life before she married." "This princess," he continued some weeks afterwards, addressing his king, Henry II., "always remains in a state of fear and anguish, possessing neither the love of her husband or her people, and in apprehension of losing her own life by means of her own attendants, one of her chaplains having undertaken to kill her; but this has been hushed up without any public report. There, sire, is all that this great heiress has gained by marrying a stranger. . . . This poor lady lets no one see her but four women of her chamber, and a fifth who sleeps with her. All her time she wastes in tears and in writing to her absent husband, and she is astonished and angry at the faithlessness of her subjects, even among those on whom she relied the most firmly. At present she confides in none but in lord Montague and her grand equerry, who are two young men unfit to extricate her from the perils with which she is environed. . . . It appears that all things are very ill-disposed for the coronation desired by her husband, and there are those who say that, instead of the pope sending them a golden bull of dispensation for their marriage, he should send another to dissolve it." Madame de Noailles waited on the unhappy queen to pay her respects to her on the 18th of May, 1556, but declared that she scarcely recognised her, for she seemed to have grown ten years older than when they last met.¹

Mary once more appeared in public at the commencement of the year 1556, pale as a corpse, and looking ten years older than when she was last seen, as madame de Noailles had previously observed.² The queen reviewed her band of gentlemen-pensioners in Greenwich-park: after which a tumbler came forth from the crowd, and volunteered so many droll antics for the royal diversion, that he elicited a hearty laugh and a reward from the sick queen. An alarming accident happened whilst the queen dwelt at Greenwich, owing to the forgetfulness of a gunner belonging to a ship passing down the Thames, who, intending to salute the palace, discharged a small cannon or falcon, loaded with ball, which broke the windows of the queen's chamber, and the ball even penetrated into her room. The unlucky marksman was not punished for this unwelcome salute, as he pleaded accident.

A deep obscurity remains as to Mary's place of abode throughout the chief part of this year, which was marked with persecution, insurrection, and famine: the dreadful martyrdom of Cranmer took place in the

¹ Noailles' Despatches, vol. v. There was another diplomatist who succeeded him as ambassador to England, his brother, Noailles bishop of Acqs, with whom he must not be confounded.

² Michele, the Venetian ambassador; Lansdowne MS.

spring. The utter paucity of all intelligence concerning the residence and movements of Mary, and her total absence from council, leads to the conclusion that she was again desperately ill. She made no progresses in the summer; indeed, such movements were impossible in her state of health, for, when she attempted them in her father's reign, she was usually carried home ill in a litter. Her affectionate maid of honour, Jane Dormer, who married a Spanish grandee, the conde di Feria, and wrote her own memoirs, affirms that her royal mistress, when convalescent in the summer, retired to the palace at Croydon, which had been a dower-residence of her mother, Katharine of Arragon. Here her sole amusement was walking, plainly dressed, with her ladies, and entering the cottages of the poor, and, unknown as she was to them, relieving their wants. She likewise chose those of their children who seemed promising for the benefits of education. This account agrees with her extreme love of children, and the numerous god-children and infant *protégés* on whom she lavished a great part of her narrow income in her youth.¹ The invalid queen, in her moments of convalescence, soothed her cares and miseries at the embroidery-frame. Many specimens of her needle-work were extant in the reign of James I., and are thus celebrated by Taylor, the poet of the needle:—

“ Mary here the sceptre swayed;
And, though she were a queen of mighty power,
Her memory will never be decayed,
Which by her works are likewise in the Tower,
In Windsor-castle, and in Hampton-court:
In that most pompous room called Paradise,
Whoever pleases thither to resort
May see some works of hers of wondrous *price* [value].
Her greatness held it no disreputation
To hold the needle in her royal hand;
Which was a good example to our nation,
To banish idleness throughout the land.
And thus this queen in wisdom thought it fit;
The needle's work pleased her, and she graced it.”

Where “ the pompous room called Paradise at Hampton-court ” may be, must remain a mystery; but it was probably one of the ancient state apartments destroyed by William III. to make way for the quadrangle, built and ornamented in the mode *à la Louis Quatorze*. It is easy to surmise that it was hung with tapestry representing the garden of Eden, with beasts, birds, and plants depicted according to such artistical ideas as Mary and her maids of honour might possess when delineating subjects of natural history in cross-stitch. The queen her mother commenced ornamenting the state apartments in the Tower. According to Taylor, Mary finished the splendid and elaborate tapestry begun by her mother, but all vestiges of the queen's

¹ See almost every page of her Privy-purse Expenses, edited by Sir F. Madden.

apartments in the Tower were swept away by the destructive warfare in the succeeding century. The very site has become matter of dispute ; and with these antique palatial lodging-rooms vanished the united labours that queen Mary and her mother had bestowed on their hangings and furniture.

A series of plots and insurrections took place, agitated by a younger brother of the Stafford family, who was a nephew of cardinal Pole, and had been malcontent before his uncle returned to England. The French ambassador was, as usual, concerned with this rising, which had several ramifications ; in which two of the household of the princess Elizabeth were again concerned, and when arrested they accused their mistress of participation. The princess, however, had not the least difficulty in convincing her sister of her innocence, who sent her a ring, in token of her confidence. The officers of Elizabeth were executed. A new disturbance was raised in July, by an impostor who personated the deceased earl of Devonshire, and actually proclaimed himself and Elizabeth king and queen. This trying circumstance produced no division between the royal sisters, nor did the populace take the slightest interest in the attempts of any of the disturbers. Lord Braye, the son-in-law of the earl of Shrewsbury, was confined in the Tower, being accused of participation in Stafford's revolt. Lady Braye was admitted to the queen's presence, and pleaded the cause of her lord very earnestly and successfully. Mrs. Clarencieux, the queen's old maid, came to lady Braye with kind words from her majesty, and invited her to dine with her, and led her by the hand through the court to her chamber ; and this was thought to be by the queen's special commandment. The queen, two days after, spoke of the devotion of the young wife with great praise ; but added, with emphasis, which it was thought alluded to her own case, that " God sent oft-times to good women evil husbands." ¹ The evil done by lord Braye was by no means a crime of deep dye. It was reported to the privy council that he had imagined the death of the queen in the following speech, alluding to the expected succession of the princess Elizabeth : " If my neighbour at Hatfield should come to the crown, I might hope to pay my debts, and be my own man again." ² Lord Braye, after queen Mary had forgiven his imprudent speech, volunteered his services in the army mustering to invade France.

The " hot gospeller," Edward Underhill, escaped all persecution for his religion, though he had been in some danger whilst the queen's severe illness lasted. His enemies sometimes would tell him that warrants were out against him. To which the valiant Protestant replied, " If they were, and he found them not duly signed by the queen, he should go further than Peter, who only cut off the ear of Malchus ; for he

¹ Strype. Lodge's Illustrations. Shrewsbury Correspondence.

² Family Papers of lady Braye, kindly communicated.

should cut off the head, and ears into the bargain, of any messenger who served such warrant." Thus it is certain that the sick queen's signature was not appended to these tyrannical instruments of the cruel inquisition that performed the enormities in her name after her marriage, for Underhill added, "that he considered himself legally authorized in resisting to death any warrant which was not signed by *five* of the council." Underhill took the precaution of walling up, with a good barrier of bricks, all his polemic library in a niche of his bedchamber, in Wood-street. He assures his reader they were all released from their concealment, as good as new, when the scene changed at the accession of Elizabeth. In fact, the "hot gospeller" weathered all the political and religious storms of the reign of Mary, and lived prosperously, till a good old age, in next reign.

Visits of friendly intercourse were exchanged between the queen and her sister Elizabeth, who spent some weeks at Somerset-house. Queen Mary returned the frequent visits her sister had made her, at Somerset-house, by a progress to Hatfield. Here the next morning, *after mass*, she was entertained by Elizabeth with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, with which, says the chronicler, "their highnesses were right well content." To do Mary justice, this is the only instance recorded of her presence and satisfaction at any exhibition of cruelty. Neither letters, account-book, nor any other evidence we have yet discovered, represent her as an encourager or rewarder of the cruel amusements in vogue at her era; and in this, with the exception of her mother, she stands alone among her family. She seldom hunted, even in her youth, and she never swore—negative good qualities, which candour demands should be recorded to her credit, when so many evil ones have been alleged against her. The evening recreations of Hatfield, it may be considered, were more to the taste of the musical queen than the morning bear-baiting, for they consisted of concerts, at which her sister Elizabeth amused her by playing on the virginals, accompanied by a chorister-boy, who possessed "a divine voice."

The return of queen Mary's truant spouse was announced to her by an *avant-courrier*, whom she had recently reprieved from sentence of death for treason, and released from incarceration in the Tower. He was no other than the lord Robert Dudley who afterwards occupied a remarkable position in the reign of Elizabeth, under the title of earl of Leicester. This is the first appearance of that ambitious scion of Dudley in public life, independently of those family ties which had dragged him downwards with the fall of his house. "The 17th day of March, 1557, my lord Robert Dudley came riding from king Philip, from beyond the sea, to the court at Greenwich, to our queen with letters in post. After him came master Kemp of the privy-chamber, announcing that the king would come to Calais that day, the 17th of March; and the same day

the new bishop of Lincoln, doctor Watson, did preach afore the queen."¹ Philip himself arrived at Greenwich-palace March 20, and landed at five in the afternoon. A ship came up with the tide, and as king Philip entered the court-gate of Greenwich-palace, the ship, to show its loyalty, shot a salute of sixteen guns, "which were very great pieces," and after reiterating the salute, the crew shouted "God save the king and queen!"

The day after Philip's arrival, queen Mary went with him in state through the royal gallery at Greenwich to their chapel-closet, where they heard mass. There were two swords borne before them, one by lord Cobham, the other by my lord admiral: the sword-bearing was the symbol of regnant power, and as Philip claimed honours as the independent sovereign of Naples, he assumed equality of dignity with his wedded partner. Orders were issued that afternoon for *Te Deum laudamus* to be sung in every church in London, and with "ringing great praise to God." Such ringing might have been rightfully considered as a woful knell for the renewed persecution which followed the arrival of Philip of Spain;² nevertheless, England and the English must rest under the disgrace of permitting these cruelties, for they were not overborne by foreign force, since the contemporary diarist³ who notes the fact, observes that "only three *hoys* full of Spaniards arrived at the same time with king Philip." "The lord mayor and aldermen met their graces both on Tower-wharf." The royal *cortége* moved forward, with "my masters the aldermen" and other civic dignities. All the crafts of London, in their liveries, had standings of timber set up, "where trumpets and other instruments were blowing with great joy and pleasure: there was shooting of the Tower guns, and playing of the city waits on the leads of St. Peter's at Cornhill. The lord mayor bare the sceptre before Philip and Mary."⁴ The attentions of the queen and her spouse to the citizens had connection with the newly-founded Russian company, for an important mercantile mission to Russia, confided by the queen to Sebastian Cabot in the commencement of her reign, established on a firm foundation the commerce with Russia, which has proved a source of prosperity to both countries. Early in the days of her successor, the rich fruits began to be manifest, but the seed was sown and took root in Mary's reign. According to our city diarist, a duke of Muscovy paid a long visit to England at this period, as ambassador, having landed previously to Philip of Spain. The queen received the

¹ Machyn's Diary, p. 128; Camden Society.

² Nares' Memoirs of Lord Burleigh, vol. i. p. 734. Philip's own historians challenge the Marian persecution as wholly the work of their master, not as the disgrace it really is, but as an honour! Bentivoglio records an answer of king Philip to one who urged milder measures than burning the Protes-

tants: "I would rather be without a kingdom, than reign over heretics."

³ Machyn, who is favourable to the powers existing, enumerates thirteen victims cruelly destroyed in London and its environs during Philip's short stay.

⁴ Machyn's Diary.

Muscovite noble at court, and he astonished all beholders by the enormous size of the pearls and gems he wore on his nightcap,¹ and the ouches set about his robes. He lodged in the city, and was attended to court by a train of London merchants "free of Muscovia."

The king and queen came from Greenwich-palace to Westminster for the celebration of St. George's-day; but in this national festival Philip took the place of the invalid queen-regnant. All the part Mary sustained was confined "to looking out of a window in Westminster-palace, beside the court on the garden side." In the afternoon the sick queen gave the Muscovite noble audience, in her own chamber, with some merchants and aldermen of London. They came down to even-song in the abbey, where king Philip and the knights of the Garter attended in procession in their robes, and afterwards repaired to the queen's presence-chamber. The Muscovite ambassador was likewise received with great distinction at all the gloomy fêtes connected with the return of Philip of Spain. The replacing of Edward the Confessor's body in the shrine in Westminster-abbey was one of these.² The coffin containing the body of the royal Saxon was removed from some safe nook in the recesses of the vast structure, where it had long been hid "when the abbey was spoiled and robbed; and it was a goodly sight," says the city diarist, "to see how reverently he [St. Edward] was carried, with singing and censuring, and mass song." Queen Mary, on one of these occasions, went all round the cloisters of Westminster-abbey in procession, accompanied by king Philip, and the choristers and chapter, who sang with marvellous sweetness. The Muscovite ambassador paid a visit to the restored shrine of king Edward.

The queen sometimes spent an hour looking, from her chamber-window at Whitehall, at knightly exercises performed below in the privy-garden. She thus became witness of a dreadful accident: James Garnado, one of Philip's foreign knights, was one day thrown against the garden-wall, owing to his bridle breaking when in full career; his brains being dashed against the wall, he was taken up a corpse in the queen's presence.³ Philip's arrival had been the signal for renewed persecutions. Ten men and women were in April burnt in Smithfield, a few days before the gorgeous procession of the Garter knights; while executions, far more numerous in proportion to those which avenged the Wyatt insurrection, followed the surprise of Scarborough-castle by young Stafford.

The queen assisted, in company with her husband, at a solemn procession on Ascension-day about the cloisters of Westminster-abbey. In June, war with France was proclaimed in London by the queen's heralds.⁴ Some of the rebels alluded to in the proclamation as being "as

¹ Probably close cap, or skull-cap.

² Machyn's Diary, p. 130.

³ Ibid May 3, 1557.

⁴ Ibid., p. 138, June 7.

yet untaken," were on the night of June 13, carried through the "traitors' gate" in a manner to which Englishmen were little accustomed, blind-folded and muffled.¹ The queen and her sister continued on friendly terms. At midsummer, 1557, Mary sent her royal barge to fetch Elizabeth from Somerset-house. The decorations provided at the midsummer voyage up the Thames for Elizabeth, who was then in the prime of her life and hopes, might have been exceeded in costliness by that princess when in the zenith of her regal splendour, but never in taste; for Mary had caused her barge to be festooned, for her sister's voyage, with rich garlands of flowers, and covered with an awning of green silk, embroidered with branches of eglantine and golden blossoms. Under this canopy Elizabeth sat in state, attended by the comptroller of her household, Sir Thomas Pope, and four of her ladies of honour. Six boats followed, with the gentlemen of Elizabeth's retinue, who were dressed in russet damask and blue satin, with caps of silver cloth and green plumes. Queen Mary received her sister and her brilliant train in Richmond-palace gardens, and entertained her with a sumptuous banquet in a pavilion constructed in the labyrinth, in the form of a castle, made of cloth of gold and violet velvet, embroidered with silver fleurs-de-lis, and her mother's device of the pomegranate in gold. A concert succeeded the banquet, at which the best minstrels in the kingdom gratified the high musical tastes of the royal sisters; but there is no mention made that either bulls, bears, badgers, or any other creatures were baited for their diversion. In the evening, the queen's barge, with its gay garlands, was again launched on the silver Thames for the homeward voyage of the heiress of England, and, followed by the attendant boats, the beautiful water-procession arrived safely the same night at Somerset-house. The queen had reason soon after to express her high approbation of the dutiful conduct of Elizabeth, regarding her reception of the king of Sweden's proposal of marriage for his heir. She sent for Sir Thomas Pope, and, after declaring her approval of Elizabeth's reference to herself respecting the Swedish offer, requested him to learn her sister's real sentiments, as to whether her constant refusal of suitors proceeded from any objection to the married state in general.

The queen accompanied her husband to their favourite seat of Hampton-court, but their household and council remained at Whitehall, where, on the return of the royal pair, they went in grand procession, "on Corpus Christi-day, through the hall and the grand court-gate, accompanied with the most goodly singing that ever was heard." The very day before king Philip left the country he stood godfather with royal pomp at Whitehall, in the queen's presence, to the infant heir of the duke of Norfolk, afterwards the unfortunate Philip earl of Arundel. The queen bore her husband company to Dover, from whence

¹ Machyn's Diary, p.138 June 1.

he was to sail for the purpose of prosecuting the newly declared war with France. They remained all night at Sittingbourne, July 3. The king embarked for the Low Countries: the queen never saw him more. His friend the prince of Savoy won for him the battle of St. Quintin, but this victory seemed an illustration of the Irish adage of "gaining a loss," since the principal result was, that the French got possession of Calais a few months afterwards. Mary visited her friend cardinal Pole at Lambeth, and after dinner proceeded to her palace at Richmond, where she remained until the autumn. The recent visit of her husband, and the martial excitement around her, had roused queen Mary for a short time from the deadly torpor of disease, and she became sufficiently convalescent to be occupied with a series of vexations. Not the least of these was the pertinacity with which Philip II. insisted on her forcing her sister Elizabeth to give her hand to his friend the prince of Savoy, who was, at this time, the hero of the day. It must be owned, that if Mary wished to disinherit or banish her sister, it was strange that she encouraged her in her objections to every foreign match. When Philip urged arguments in behalf of his friend, queen Mary answered "that she had consented to the match while she thought Elizabeth would approve of it; but that, as she found her exceedingly averse, in conscience she could not force her¹ into an unwilling marriage." The queen added, that she was certain parliament would not suffer her sister to quit the kingdom—a clear acknowledgment of Elizabeth's position as second person in the realm. This controversy produced an angry letter from Philip, in which he charged Mary, on her conscience, and as she regarded the future welfare of her religion, to bring this matter to bear. Queen Mary wrote in answer a letter in French, which has been pronounced inexplicable by several historians in the century succeeding her reign. Her letter is worded in the self-denying and humble style conventional in epistles of the era, but contains a distinct avowal of determination to act, in regard to her sister's marriage, only as her parliament should agree; a principle which governed her in every act of her regal life, although she has been made singly responsible for all the evil enacted by her parliaments.

"Nevertheless, in my last letter to your highness,² I made an offer to agree to the marriage, *provided I have the consent of this realm*, and so I will; but without such consent, I fear that neither your highness nor the realm will be well served on this occasion. For your highness will remember, that once I procured, of myself, an opportunity of listening to your highness's friars, but they, and Alphonso,³ propounded questions so obscure [irrelevant], that, to my simple understanding, there was no

¹ Burnet's Reformation.

² The original is in Strype's Memorials, No. 56, printed with many evident mistakes in the French.

³ Alphonso di Castro was king Philip's confessor, who preached against the English persecution.

comprehending them: as, for instance, 'Who was king in Adam's days?' and said, withal, 'that I was bound to conclude this marriage by an article in my creed.' . . .

"Meantime, your highness has written in the said letters, that, if a parliament shall go contrary, your highness will impute the fault to me. I beg, in all humility, that your highness will defer this matter till your return, and then it will be manifest whether I am culpable or not. Otherwise I shall live in apprehension of your highness's displeasure, which would be worse to me than death; for I have already begun to taste it too much, to my regret. . . .

"Wherefore, monseigneur, in as humble wise as it is possible for me (being your very loyal and very obedient wife, which to be I confess myself justly obliged, and in my opinion more than any other woman, having such a husband as your highness is, without speaking of the multitude of your kingdoms, for that is not my principal motive), I entreat your highness that we both pray to God, and put our first confidence in him, that we may meet and live together. And that same God, in whose hand is the direction of the hearts of kings, will, I hope, without fail enlighten us in such manner, that all at last shall tend to his glory and your satisfaction."

This letter has been mentioned (but surely by persons incapable of reading the original) as an instance of the utter slavery of Mary's disposition, when, in truth, she makes in it a proper distinction between the duty of a wife and the duties of an English queen. She will discuss the marriage with whomsoever her husband appoints; but she will not be influenced to act against her regal integrity, either by the mysticism or the bigotry of his friars. She means to leave the whole to her parliament, but deprecates his unreasonable displeasure in making her accountable, when she has no right to control their acts. She shows that nothing but trouble will follow any exertion of despotism in the affair; yet, if her husband wishes to influence her people, he had better do it in person, for she wants much to see him. And she concludes with a prayer, almost in the words retained in our liturgy, that "God, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, will direct this matter to his glory."

The ambassador to whom Philip confided the negotiation of this marriage, was his beautiful cousin, Christina of Denmark. Like all the female descendants of Isabel of Castile, this princess possessed great talents for government. She was daughter of the deposed Christiern II., king of Denmark, and the virtuous Isabel, sister of the emperor Charles V. Early inured to misfortune, Christina was reared in exile, and became the ornament of the imperial court; she was at this time a widow. Philip II. was suspected of cherishing a passion for his lovely

cousin, who was an active politician, but, to her credit be it spoken, she had an enthusiastic turn for negotiating peace.¹ Some rumours of Philip's partiality for Christina had reached the ears of Mary, who, jealous of the ambassadress, gave her, though a near kinswoman of her own, anything but a gracious reception, and warned Elizabeth, that if she did not wish to marry Philibert of Savoy, she must keep close at Hatfield. After the departure of the duchess of Lorraine, it is said queen Mary, in an excess of jealousy, cut her husband's picture to pieces with her own hand.² Philip of Spain, for the first time in his life, had worn armour in actual warfare at the battle of St. Quintin. Mary desired to have a portrait of him attired in his warlike panoply: he very gallantly complied with her wish, and sent her his portrait in armour, all but the helmet; as he did not think it was consistent with etiquette that the head should be covered before the queen.³ When it came, she was exasperated at the thought that her husband had deserted her, and given to his cousin the confidence she ought to have possessed; and this is supposed to have been the portrait she defaced. Her health again received a mortal shock from the attacks of chronic disease, but, with a self-deception like monomania, she once more fancied that she was about to become a mother. She made her will in the autumn of 1557 under this impression, in which she alluded to her delusive hope of offspring.

Michele, the Venetian ambassador, who saw queen Mary at the close of the year 1557, will not allow that she was otherwise than an interesting-looking woman. He thus minutely describes her person: "She is of low stature, but has no deformity in any part of her person. She is thin and delicate, altogether unlike her father, who was tall and strongly made; or her mother, who, if not tall, was massive. Her face is well formed, and her features prove, as well as her pictures, that when younger she was not only good-looking, but more than moderately handsome: she would now be so, saving some wrinkles, caused more by sorrow than by age. She looks years older than she is, and always appears very grave. Her eyes are piercing, and inspire not only deference, but even fear in those on whom she bends them; yet she is near-sighted, being unable to read, or do anything else, without her eyes being close to whatever she would peruse or well discern. Her voice is powerful and high pitched, like that of a man, so that when she speaks she is heard at some little distance." This is a peculiarity often observed in females who sing well, for a very fine voice in singing is often counterbalanced by most unpleasant tones in speech. "In short," resumes Michele, "she may, at her present age, be considered good-looking, not

¹ Christina composed the warfare between Philip II. and Henry during the succeeding year.—Hollinshead.

² Granger's Biographical History.

³ Leti.

only as a queen, but a woman, and ought never to be despised for ugliness.”¹ Such is the opinion of a contemporary ambassador, whose national interest by no means led him to be her adulator; rather the contrary.

The real portraits of Mary are as much historical mysteries as her private character and conduct. Her portraits, as a girl and young woman, vary much from each other, on account of the extreme fluctuations of her health. In the Holbein family group at Hampton-court, she is a pleasing woman of twenty-eight; indeed, till after her marriage, all portraiture represents her as agreeable. She is, in an original picture which the Granger Society have engraved, seated in state under a canopy, dressed with royal magnificence in a gold-cloth brocaded kirtle, hanging *rebras* sleeves, and a jewelled hood: her husband, who is a young man of mean presence and caroty complexion, stands near her canopy. Two little hounds are at her feet. The room in which the royal pair are represented, is a state chamber at Whitehall which commanded a view of old St. Paul’s, for that cathedral is seen through an open window. The date is 1558, and it must have been painted after Philip’s last visit to England, when the effects of dire disease were painfully apparent on the queen’s visage. A woman’s portrait ought to be taken, for futurity, in the prime of life.

A series of the most dismal, wet, and cold seasons, such as have been observed to occur, in many instances, in the middle of centuries, plagued the reign of Mary. Famines and burning fevers succeeded this atmospheric irregularity, and were regarded by many as judgments inflicted by God for the tortures of the Protestants; gloom and superstitious excitement pervaded the whole population of England in the middle of the sixteenth century, and every aberration from the common course of nature was viewed through their medium. In the damp, unwholesome autumn, phosphoric exhalations of luminous appearance were observed with awe by the common people at the latter end of the reign of Mary, and believed to be supernatural reflections of those horrid fires which had consumed the Protestant martyrs.² These phosphoric meteors certainly boded no good to human health, for general pestilence succeeded them.

The natural result of hostilities with France was war with Scotland, both kingdoms being then united under one royal family. The Scotch having made a desperate inbreak over the English border, queen Mary took the resolution of heading an army against them;³ she had sufficient energy of mind for such an exploit, had her sinking frame seconded her intentions. The unexpected loss of Calais, with which the new year commenced, overwhelmed both the English and their queen with dis-

¹ MS. Lansdowne, 840 A, folio 155, b.

² Strype, vol. iii. p. 509.

³ Lodge’s Illustrations vol. i. p. 306.

may, and during the remainder of her miserable life, she was harassed with schemes to regain that fragment of France—the sole fruits of all the conquests of the Plantagenets. Calais had been maintained by the sovereigns of England at an expense equal to a fifth of the revenue. Several conspiracies, which shook the English throne, had been concocted within its walls: yet it was dearly prized by the English. It is little known that this town sent two representatives to the English house of commons. England would make no peace with France till Calais was restored; and this involved the queen in such a mesh of disputes, that she declared “she should die, and if her breast was opened, Calais would be found written on her heart.” Mary had resided at Richmond in the spring, where she caught a bad intermittent fever, induced by the series of wet, ungenial seasons prevalent throughout her reign. Before the discovery of Peruvian bark, agues and intermittents were the scourge of the country, and often degenerated into the worst typhus fevers. Finding she grew worse, she removed from thence to St. James’s: her spirits were oppressed with extreme melancholy at the tidings of the death of her kinsman Charles V., which occurred in September, 1558.

King Philip did not visit England, but sent the count de Feria with a message and ring to his dying wife. On the marriage of Mary queen of Scots with the dauphin, Philip II. requested queen Mary to take some steps for the proper recognition of Elizabeth as her successor; “a proposition which Mary,” says Feria, “greeted with great satisfaction.” The queen likewise sent her jewels to her sister by the countess de Feria (formerly Jane Dormer); to these, by king Philip’s orders, was added a very precious casket of coloured gems he had left at St. James’s-palace, which he knew Elizabeth particularly admired. The queen, when she sent the jewels, charged her sister to pay all the debts she had contracted on privy-seals, and to keep religion as she found it: both which injunctions the countess de Feria affirmed Elizabeth swore to regard. Thus it is evident, that Mary was on good terms with her sister when she lay on her death-bed. Cardinal Pole was dying of the same intermittent fever as his royal cousin: it was doubtful which would expire first, and messages hourly passed between these early friends. The whole court had deserted Mary’s palace since her recognition of Elizabeth as her successor, and were seen passing and repassing on the road to Hatfield. Of this desertion the queen never complained; perhaps she thought it natural, and she had devoted friends round her, who paid her requisite attention; but Elizabeth often recalled the circumstance with horror, when pressed to name a successor.

The hand of death was on the queen throughout the 16th of November, but her previous sufferings had blunted the usual agonies of dissolu-

tion, for she was composed, and even cheerful. Between four and five in the morning of November 17, 1558, after receiving extreme unction, at her desire mass was celebrated in her chamber : at the elevation of the Host she raised her eyes to heaven, and at the benediction bowed her head, and expired. These particulars of the last moments of queen Mary were given by an eye-witness, White bishop of Winchester. Cardinal Pole survived her : when informed of her departure, he expressed the greatest satisfaction at the prospect of his speedy dissolution, which actually took place within two days. The deceased queen was embalmed, and then removed from the chamber in which she expired, into the chapel of St. James's-palace, on the evening of the 10th of December, where she lay in state, with the usual watch of ladies. It was the custom for the body of an English sovereign to be buried in royal array, but Mary had earnestly entreated that no semblance of the crown, which had pressed so heavily on her brow in life, might encumber her corpse in death. She requested that she might be interred in the habit of a poor *religieuse*. Her funeral proves how completely the gothic etiquette, followed at such ceremonials, recognised alone the warlike and masculine character in a sovereign. Helmet, sword, target, and body-armour were carried before the corpse of our first queen-regnant ; and a stranger in the country, trusting only to the eye, would have supposed the English were attending the burial of a king. The procession set out from the palace of St. James, where the queen died. A herald, who was an eye-witness of the scene, thus describes it :¹—" So up the highway went the foremost standard, the falcon and the hart : then came a great company of mourners. Then another goodly standard of the lion and the falcon, followed by king Philip's servants, riding two and two. Then the third standard, with the white greyhound and falcon. The marquis of Winchester bore the banner of England on horseback ; Chester herald, the helm, the crest, and the mantle ; Norroy, the target, with the crown of England and the order of the Garter ; Clarencieux, the sword, and Mr. Garter king-at-arms her coat armour—all on horseback. The Somerset, Lancaster, Windsor, and York heralds carried four white banners of saints embossed in fine gold. Then came the corpse, in a chariot, with an exact image representing queen Mary dressed in crimson velvet, with many gemmed rings on the hands. The pall over the coffin was black cloth of gold, intersected by a cross of cloth of silver. The body was followed by the chief mourners ; the queen's ladies came after on horseback, but their black trains were long enough to sweep after them on the ground." Before the corpse, and following after, came processions of monks, mourning their own fate as well as the death of Mary. Such was the funeral pomp

¹ Strype's *Mems.*, vol. iii. par. 2, pp. 141, 142. The falcon in these banners seems the imperial eagle.

which passed by Charing-cross and arrived at the great door of Westminster-abbey, where every one alighted from their horses. "There waited gentlemen, ready to take the queen out of her chariot." The effigy above mentioned was carried between "men of worship." At the great door of the abbey four bishops and abbot Feckenham, *in pontificalibus*, met the procession, and censed the coffin. The royal corpse was then placed in the hearse, and watched the live-long night of December 13. A hundred poor men in good black gowns and hoods, bearing long torches, with the queen's guard in black coats, bearing staff torches, stood round the hearse that night; and wax-chandlers were in attendance to supply any torches that burnt out. The next morning, December 14, was the queen's mass, and all the mourners offered; and the queen's body armour, her sword, her helmet, her target, her banner of arms, and three standards, were all offered, her heralds standing round her coffin. The bishop of Winchester preached a most remarkable funeral sermon for the deceased queen; he was often interrupted by his tears: the historical circumstances attending this oration prove that queen Elizabeth was present at the ceremony. "Then her grace was carried up to that chapel king Henry VII. builded, attended by mitred bishops. When the heralds brake their staves, and flung them into her grave, all the people plucked down the hangings and the armorial bearings round about the abbey; and everyone tore him a piece as large as he could catch it." What a scene of uproar and confusion must have concluded the last royal funeral conducted according to the rites of the Roman church in England! However, the archbishop of York, in the midst of the hurley-burley, "proclaimed a collation; and the bishops, abbot Feckenham, the lords, ladies, and knights went into the abbey to dinner."

Mary was interred on the north side of Henry VII.'s chapel. No memorial exists of her, saving her participation in the following inscription, on two small black tablets erected by the order of James I., which points out the spot where her body reposes, with that of her sister, queen Elizabeth—

REGNO * CONSORTES	ET * MARIA * SORORES
ET * URNA * HIC * OBDOR-	IN * SPE * RESURREC-
-MIMUS * ELIZABETHA	-TIONIS.

A prying Westminster boy discovered the depositories of the hearts of queen Elizabeth and her sister, queen Mary, and subsequently described how he grasped in his puny hand those once haughty and indomitable hearts: "In the beginning of the year 1670, the royal vault was opened for the funeral of Monk, duke of Albermarle. Within niches were the urns, one with the name of queen Mary, the other with that of queen Elizabeth. I dipped my hand into each, and took out of each a kind of

glutinous red substance, somewhat resembling mortar. Mary's urn contained the least moisture."¹

Queen Elizabeth despatched lord Cobham, on the 23rd of November, to Philip II., who was then in Flanders, with the news of her sister's demise. Mary's widower celebrated her requiem in the cathedral of Brussels, simultaneously with her burial;² and on the same day, by a singular coincidence, the like service was performed for his father, Charles V., and for his aunt, the queen of Hungary, so busy had death been among the royal family of Spain.³ In her testament, Mary styled herself queen of England, Spain, France, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defender of the faith, archduchess of Austria, duchess of Burgundy, Milan, and Brabant, countess of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol. She named her husband as principal executor, and her cousin cardinal Pole as the acting executor, to whom she left 1000*l*. She considered that she had a right to dispose by will of the church property she found still unalienated by her father and brother. The income arising from it she seems to have devoted to the maintenance of the most miserable of the poor, with which the country abounded. "Forasmuch," she says, "as there is no house or hospital specially ordained and provided for the relief and help of poor and old soldiers—namely, of such as have been hurt or maimed in the wars and service of this realm, the which we think both honour, conscience, and charity willeth should be provided for; and therefore my mind and will is, that my executors shall, as shortly as they may after my decease, provide some convenient house within or nigh the suburbs of the city of London, the which house I would have founded and created, being governed with one master and two brethren; and I will, that this hospital be endowed with manors, lands, and possessions to the value of 400 marks yearly; specially I would have them [her executors] respect the relief, succour, and help of poor, impotent, and aged soldiers, chiefly those that be fallen into extreme poverty, and have no pension or other living." She devotes about 2000*l*. in all to the refoundation of the convents of Sion, Shene, and the Observants, for works of charity and relief of the poor, and the support of the Savoy hospital.⁴ There is not a penny

¹ Manuscript Diary of William Taswell, D.D., rector of Newington and St. Mary, Bermondsey, lent to the authors of these biographies most liberally by H. Merivale, esq., through the kind intercession of Mr. Blencowe, editor of the Sidney Diary.

² Holinshed.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The whole will is edited by Sir Frederick Madden, with his Privy-purse Expenses of Mary, from the Harleian MS. (*See* Appendix, No. iv. p. 185.) The hospital of the Savoy, a useful institution, founded by Henry VII. and confiscated by Henry VIII., was refounded by Mary, after her temporary recovery in 1557—an action which seems greatly

to be appreciated by our good churchman Fuller, whose sayings, delectable in their quaintness, it is a pleasure to quote. "The hospital being left as bare of all conveniences as the poor creatures brought to it, the queen encouraged her maids of honour to supply it, who, out of their own wardrobes, furnished it with good bedding, &c. Were any of these ladies still alive, I would pray for them in the language of the Psalmist—'The Lord make all their bed in their sickness,' and *he* is a good bedmaker indeed, who can and will make it fit the person and please the patient." And very earnestly does Fuller urge, "that it is no superstition to commend their example."

bestowed on any devotional observance unconnected with active charity ; neither image, lamp, nor pilgrimage is mentioned—and here the will is in coincidence with her privy-purse expenses. One passage in it is interesting ; which is, her desire to be united in death with her “dearly-beloved and virtuous mother, queen Katharine.”—“And further I will,” she says, “that the body of my most dear and well-beloved mother, of happy memory, queen Katharine, which lieth now buried at Peterborough, shall, within a short a time as conveniently it may after my burial, be removed, brought, and laid nigh the place of my sepulture ; in which place I will my executors cause to be made honourable tombs, for a decent memory of us.” This, it is scarcely needful to say, was never done. When however, the altars in Westminster-abbey, that in Henry the Seventh’s chapel and the high altar, were torn down in the reign of Elizabeth, the consecrated stones were carried and laid on queen Mary’s grave.¹

Queen Mary left to Philip to keep for “a memory” of her, one jewel, “a table-diamond, which the emperor’s majesty, his and my most honourable father, sent unto me by count d’Egmont at the betrothal of my said lord and husband ; also one other table-diamond, which his majesty sent unto me by the marquis de los Naves ; and the collar of gold set with nine diamonds, the which his majesty gave me the Epiphany after our marriage ; also the ruby, now set in a gold ring which his highness sent me by the count de Feria.” She very anxiously provided in her will for her state debts, raised for the support of the war on her privy-seals, bearing the enormous interest of from twelve to twenty per cent. ;² likewise for the payment of the debts of her father and brother, which hung heavily on her mind. These would have been blended with the national debt in modern times, but Mary, like other sovereigns of her era, treated them wholly as her personal obligations, and, at the same time, considered the goods of the state as her private property ; for she pointed out in her will, “that she left ships, arms, and crown-jewels far beyond the value of the debts,” on which she clearly implied that the state-creditors had just claim. Mary built the public schools in the university of Oxford, but in a style more suited to her poverty than love of learning. They were afterwards taken down, and rebuilt, yet the university remembers her in the list of its benefactors. She likewise granted a mansion, on Bennet’s-hill, near St. Paul’s, to the learned body of heralds, and it is to this day their college.

However fatally mistaken Mary might be in the principles of religious government, her last testament proves that she was not insensible to the prosperity of her country. The codicil of her will, added after her

¹ Diary from Strype, printed in vol. i. of the *Progresses of Elizabeth*, by Nichols. This singular funeral memorial of Mary was perhaps disturbed when queen Elizabeth’s monument was erected by James I.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii.

strange mania of maternity was dispelled by the near approach of death, provides for the continuance of the alliance between England and Flanders—that great desideratum which had been a national object since the era of William the Conqueror with Matilda of Flanders. Mary thus solemnly addresses her husband and sister: “And for the ancient amity sake that hath always been between our noble progenitors, and between this my realm and the Low Countries, whereof his majesty king Philip is now inheritor, as God shall reward him (I hope, among the elect servants of God), I pray that it may please his majesty to show himself as a father in his care, or as a *brother* of this realm in his love and favour, and as a most assured and undoubted friend in his power and strength, to my heir¹ and successor.” With this sentence concludes a biography, which presented a task at once the most difficult and dangerous that could fall to the lot of any Englishwoman to perform. It was difficult, because almost the whole of the rich mass of documents lately edited by our great historical antiquaries, Madden and Tytler, are in direct opposition to the popular ideas of the character of our first queen-regnant; and dangerous, because the desire of recording truth may be mistaken for a wish to extenuate cruelty in religious and civil government. A narrative, composed of facts drawn from contemporaneous authorities, is here presented to the public, as little blended with comment as possible. Readers will draw their own inferences: and when their object is historical information rather than controversy, these are really more valuable than the most elaborate essay that the pride of authorship can produce.

¹ Females were called *heirs* at this era; the word heiress was unknown. The queen evidently means Elizabeth, by calling Philip *brother* of the realm.

END OF VOL. II.

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